

STATE LIBRARY OF PENNSYLVANIA

main,sts

205Ev13

Evangelical review.

v.14 1862/1863 Evangelical review

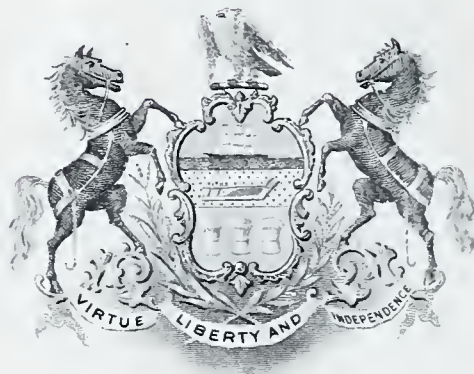


0 0001 00658503 6



CLASS 205 BOOK Ev 13

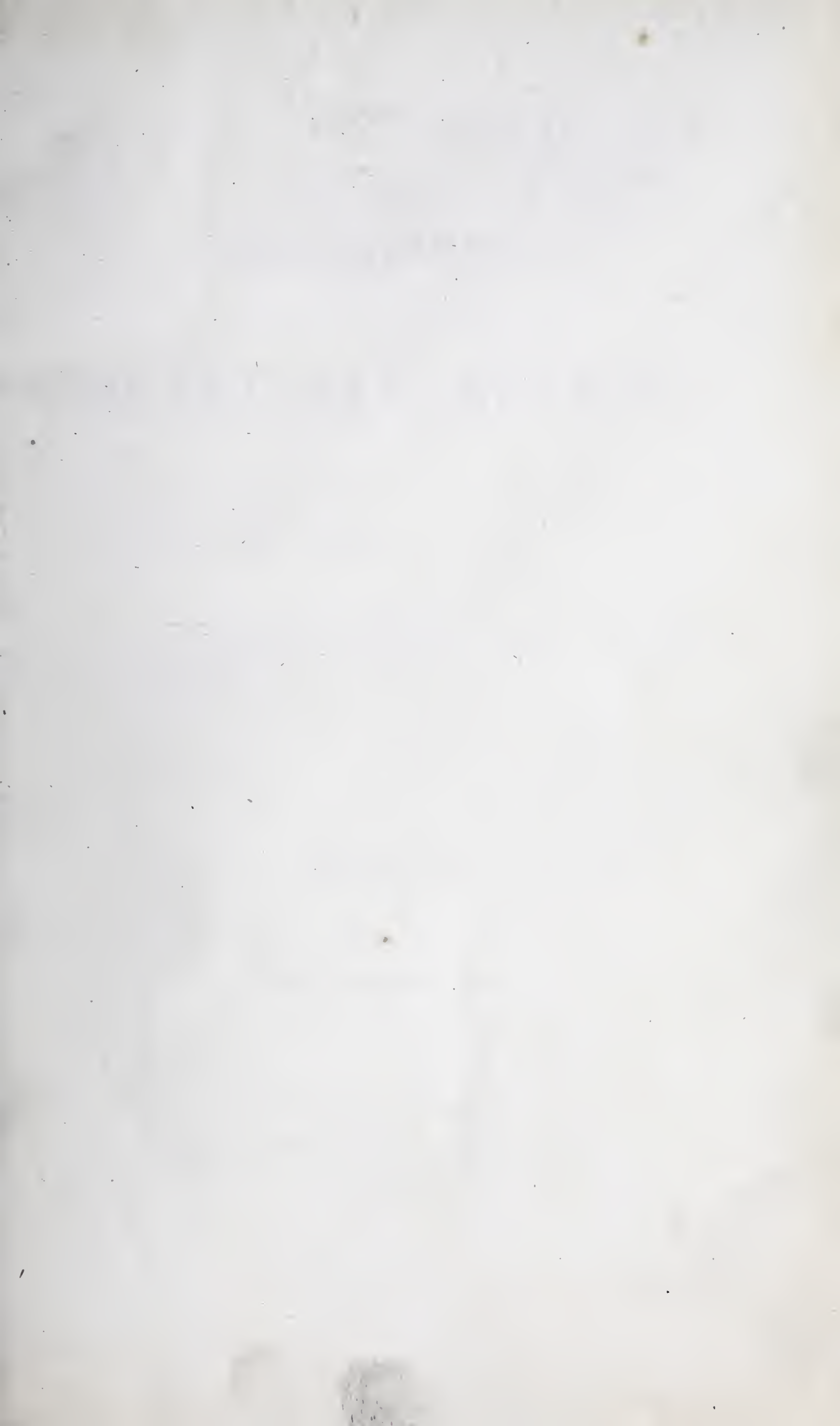
VOLUME 14



PENNSYLVANIA
STATE LIBRARY



04-79-716-3



THE



EVANGELICAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

M. L. STOEVER,

PROFESSOR IN PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE.



VOLUME XIV.

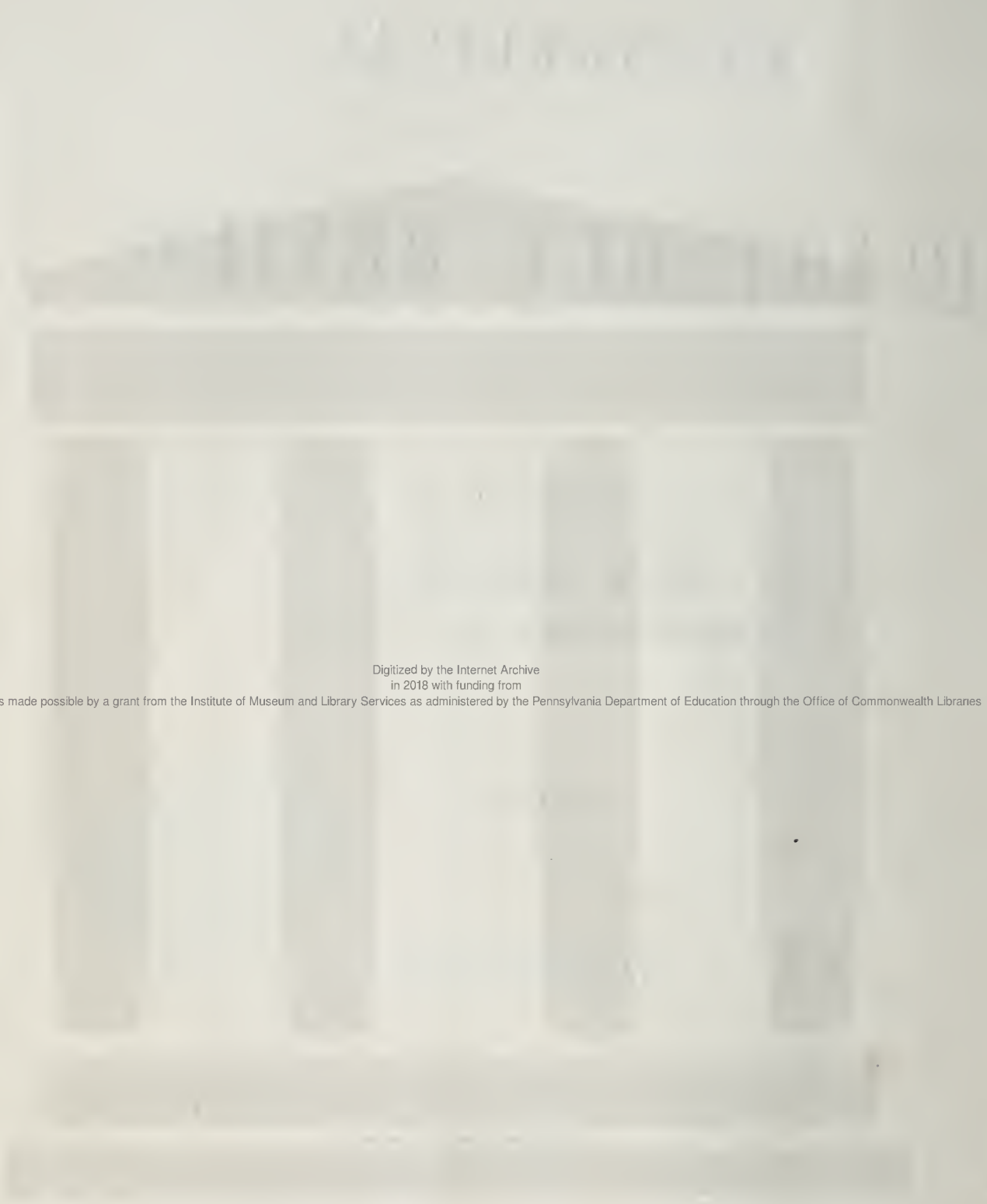


GETTYSBURG:

H. C. NEINSTEDT, PRINTER, FRANKLIN STREET,

NEAR CORNER OF WEST.

1862-63.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from

This project is made possible by a grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services as administered by the Pennsylvania Department of Education through the Office of Commonwealth Libraries

CONTENTS OF NO. LIII.

Article.	Page
I. THE BOOK OF JOB.....	1
Translated from the German By CHARLES F. SCHAEFFER, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.	
II. MARTIN LUTHER.....	33
Translated from the German of Julius Köstlin By GEO. DIEHL, D. D., Frederick Md.	
III. PUBLIC WORSHIP.....	60
By Prof. L. STERNBERG, A. M., Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.	
IV. PHILIP JACOB SPENER.....	68
Translated from the German of Dr. A. Tholuck, By Prof. F. A. MÜHLENBERG, A. M., Gettysburg, Pa.	
V. OUR GENERAL SYNOD.....	97
VI. THE CRUSADES.....	116
By G. A. LINTNER, D. D., Schoharie, N. Y.	
VII. THE GREAT COMMANDMENT.....	132
By G. B. MILLER, D. D., Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.	
VIII. REMARKS ON ROMANS VI: 3, 4.....	144
By E. GREENWALD, D. D., Easton, Pa.	
IX. NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.....	150

This number (April) opens with a valuable translation from Harless', presenting Luther's judgment as to the bearing of ministers in time of war. It has been adapted to our own time and country by the translator, Rev. G. A. Wenzel, whose distinguished merits as a translator the readers of the *Lutheran* well know. The second article is on Herder from Hagenbach, well translated by Rev. J. H. W. Stuckenberg. The imperishableness of Christianity, deduced from its hold upon the practical principles of our nature, is an interesting contribution to the Philosophy of Religion by President Sprecher, of Wittenberg College. The Races of Men in French History by Professor Coppee, will be read alike for its fund of information and its graceful style. Professor Stoecker, now the actual editor-in-chief of the Review, continues his important and popular labors as an annalist and sketches Dr. Miller and Rev. Frederick Ruthrauff. We are glad to find in the Review the article of Luther's Works by Rev. E. J. Koons. It is mainly bibliographical, presenting from German sources information of the most interesting and important character. There is nothing in the English language to take its place. The number closes with notice of New Publications. The notice of Dr. Smith's Hagenbach points out some important *errata* in that work. The number looks well and in variety and readableness is one of the very best ever issued. It would be an irreparable misfortune to the Church, if in these depressing times the Review were allowed to sink.—*Lutheran and Missionary*.

No one can question for a moment the importance of this *Theological Review* to the highest interests of the Lutheran Church, and we trust the appeal for renewed exertions to give it a more extensive circulation will meet with a prompt and satisfactory response.—*Luth. Observer*.

The Evangelical (Lutheran) Review has a very interesting article made up of extracts from Luther on the question of the bearing of ministers of the Gospel in time of war, one on Herder, one on the Imperishableness of Christianity, one on the Races of Men in the French History, Sketches of Jacob Miller, D. D. and Rev. Frederick Ruthrauff, in continuation of the most useful series by Professor Stoecker of Reminiscences of deceased Lutheran ministers, and a very valuable Bibliographical article on editions of Luther's Works.—*The Congregationalist*.

The *Evangelical Review* discusses the bearing of ministers of the Gospel in time of war, gives a sketch of Herder, has an able paper on the Imperishableness of Christianity, discusses the Races of Men in French History, gives interesting Reminiscences of deceased Lutheran ministers and reviews Luther's works. This Quarterly is published at Gettysburg, Pa.—*New York Observer*.

This Review ought to receive a liberal patronage from the Lutheran Church, of whose doctrines it is in this country the leading, and a very able exponent.—*Sunday School Times*.

The first article in this number, by Rev. G. A. Wenzel, of Philadelphia, on the Bearing of Ministers in time of War, well reflects the sterling patriotism of the Lutheran ministers and people. It gives highly interesting extracts from the writings of Luther on the subject. Professor Coppee of the University of Pennsylvania, gives a valuable article on the Races of Men in French History. The other articles are: Herder, by Rev. J. Stuckenberg, (a translation of a chapter from Hagenbach's Church History of the Eighteenth Century,) Reminiscences of Deceased Lutheran Ministers (containing biographical sketches of Dr. J. Miller and of Frederick Ruthrauff,) and Luther's Works, (a brief history of the different editions of Luther's Works,) by Rev. E. J. Koons.—*The Methodist*.

THE EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

NO. LIII.

OCTOBER, 1862.

ARTICLE I.

THE BOOK OF JOB.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.*

By CHARLES F. SCHAEFFER, D.D., Gettysburg, Pa.

I. THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK.

THE determination of the period in which the Book of Job was composed, was, for a long time, attended with the same difficulties which are experienced in establishing the age of various monuments of Indian (Asiatic) antiquity; more than one thousand years intervene between the earliest and the latest eras to which critics have respectively assigned the origin of the book. Writers who have lived since the completion of the Talmud, have differed so widely, and have often so strangely combined the materials which they possessed, that in the whole period extending from the era of Abraham to the Exile (Babylonish Captivity,) there is scarcely a single century which some author has not claimed as the period of the composition of the book. The learned men of Germany, in particular, have been found, in a comparatively brief space of time, to fluctuate between two opposite extremes, in

* DAS BUCH HIJOB: Verdeutscht und erläutert von Lic. Konstantin Schlottman. (*The Book of Job: Translated into German and explained, &c.*) This article constitutes a portion of Chap. V. of the Introduction prefixed to the work by the author; its title is: *On the time of the composition of the book, the locality and circumstances in which the book originated, and its later history.* For this "later history," the analysis of the several dialogues, as furnished in Chap. II. of the Introduction, has been substituted.—TR.

establishing the date in question. One author alleged, near the close of the last century, that all who were competent to form an opinion in such a case, agreed that the Book of Job was the oldest of all those which constitute the Bible. On the other hand, it was quite as usual, during the earlier decennaries of the present century, to adopt the views of Gesenius and de Wette, and to assign the origin of the book to the Chaldaic period (the Exile;) subsequently, the weighty opinion of Ewald and a corresponding modification of de Wette's views so far prevailed, that it became customary to connect the age in which the author of the book lived, with the seventh century, before Christ.

We will first examine the theory of those who assign the composition to the latest possible period. No one has advanced more extreme views in this respect than Vatke, who fixed on the fifth century, B. C.; but, as Hirzel justly observes, "without any reason founded on the language or the historical basis of the book, and simply on account of its internal relationship with the Proverbs, which latter, without any discrimination, and with a mere reference to Hartmann, he assigns to that century." The opinion is more generally entertained even at the present time, and is supported by many plausible arguments, that the Book of Job belongs to the period of the Exile, or to the one which immediately succeeded the latter. This opinion partly coincided with the view prevalent at the beginning of this century, and which invested the poem with a national character; it was strangely supposed that the vivid descriptions which the poem furnishes of the misery of mankind could be explained only by referring them to some national calamity which pressed with a heavy weight on the poet's soul. The advocates of this theory, further, appealed to the Aramaisms of the book; but these, as, for instance the Song of Deborah and the second Psalm (2: 12 *bar*) clearly show, are peculiar to the most ancient poetic style, and they occur in connection with numerous Arabisms in Job, which Jerome already noticed (Praef. in Dan.) and for which we cannot possibly account, if that late century be adopted. How little reason there is to appeal to the supposed Persian origin of the conception of Satan is apparent from the remarks made in the foregoing chapter [of the author's Introduction: On the great antiquity of certain conceptions predominating in the Book of Job.] A writer must indeed entertain a very strong faith in his own favorite theory, as Ewald rightly intimates, who can believe

it possible that a work so perfect and complete, both in reference to the contents and the language, could have originated in the period of the deepest decline of Hebrew poetry. Finally, the circumstance that Jeremiah exhibits in various passages distinct evidences of the influence of the Book of Job, must prevent any unprejudiced mind from adopting the theory in question. The converse proposition—that Jeremiah was the original author, where these indications of acquaintanceship occur—cannot be entertained, as it contradicts the well known literary character of the prophet, and is irreconcilable with the character of the passages themselves.* We have accordingly here found a boundary in the later ages, below which we cannot descend.

We proceed to consider the theory of those who assign the highest antiquity to the book; they usually confounded, at the same time, the age of the *poet* and that of his *hero*. The dogmatic prejudices by which the theory was supported, have been already noticed in the first Chapter [of the Introd. on the poetry, tradition and historical matter of the Book of Job.] David Michaelis believed that this theory corresponded to that principle of utility which, as we showed, he had also, in other respects, adopted in his views of the book; he accordingly endeavored to establish it in his unimpassioned and argumentative style. As Herder, too, had supported it with his polished pen, this theory acquired that popularity, to which we have alluded above. Its friends identified the poet, in different directions, with a descendant of Nahor, or with an Idumean, or with a Hebrew living in Arabia Deserta during the hoary ages of antiquity. They alleged, in support of their view, the circumstance that the laws of Moses are no where mentioned in the book, maintained that the features of the patriarchal age were distinctly visible in the whole extent of the poem, and held that the Arabisms could be best explained by assuming that, in that remote age, the dialectic peculiarities of a later time, had not yet been grouped in distinct classes. Many arguments have been advanced against these views which scarcely seem to be tenable. Hævernicks, for instance, (Einl. III. S. 339) refers to “various branches of human knowledge, Astronomy, Natural Science, History,” which are indicated in the book, but could not have so existed in that early age; but all the statements to

* Comp. Jer. 20: 13, 14 with Job 3; Jer. 20: 7, 8 with Job 12: 4; 19: 7; Jer. 49: 19 with Job 9: 19; Lament. 2: 16 with Job 16: 9, 10; 27: 33, etc. F. Kueper, Jer. S. S. interpr. pag. 164 ss.

which he alludes, are, in reality views of nature and of facts so simple and obvious, that they can by no means be justly represented as foreign to the patriarchal age. For the men of that age doubtless distinguished the most striking constellations, observed the habits of animals, and surveyed the lot of races and tribes that were oppressed and that perished, with a memory as retentive as that of later generations. Even the origin of mining, the description of which has seemed to some to be inconsistent with so high an antiquity, probably belongs to a period far earlier than the age of Abraham and the patriarchs; for the hieroglyphics of the Egyptian copper mines of *Petræa*, which *Lepsius** deciphered, partly belong to the monarchs of the fourth dynasty, that is, between 4,000 and 5,000 B. C. It is true that no mine-pits have yet been found in those hitherto unexplored mountainous regions; still their actual existence is highly probable, inasmuch as the shafts of the Theban arched sepulchres, which descend many hundred feet below the surface, belong, according to the inscriptions, to the same remote antiquity; it is scarcely to be conceived that after the construction of shafts was once understood, the search for the precious metals should have been discontinued. We can as little discover a necessary allusion to the Sinaitic legislation either in the mention of special duties which coincide with the demands of the Law, or in Job's declaration that he had not "gone back from the commandment of God's lips" (23: 12,) as such duties always remained the same, and the divine will had been revealed to the patriarchs. But *Hævernîck* is perfectly right when he maintains that Job's deep and heart-felt consciousness of his sinfulness and guilt, can be explained only by his experimental knowledge of the Law. Indeed it is almost as inconceivable that a poem exhibiting such artistic skill, should have been composed in an age anterior to King David, as it is that the era of the Exile should have given birth to it. The Song of triumph in Exodus and the Song of Deborah unquestionably demonstrate that the poetry of the Hebrews had risen to a high rank at a very early period. Still, these were merely individual national songs; the Book of Job, on the other hand, is an extended poem, the several parts of which, by their skilful combination, form a complete whole, and the ability with which it adopts appropriate language in expressing the most varied thoughts and emotions, conclusively proves that both lyric and also gnomic poetry must

* Journey from Thebes to the Peninsula of Sinai, p. 9, 10.

have, previously to its composition, existed in a very fully developed form. We accordingly find a boundary, in reference to the earlier ages, in the era of David and Solomon, above which we cannot ascend, in determining the age of the book.

We are therefore restricted in our investigations to a period of four centuries, or from B. C. 1,000 to B. C. 600 ; it exhibits two distant epochs of a successful cultivation of Hebrew poetry—of Lyric and Gnostic poetry at the beginning, of Prophetic poetry at the close. If we inquire with which of these two epochs the book of Job, viewed in reference to its internal character, possesses the highest degree of affinity, no one can long hesitate to decide in favor of the former. The poetic form of the book is altogether lyrico-gnostic. The structure of the verses conforms precisely, as we have shown above, [in a previous chapter,] to that which prevails in the book of Proverbs ; and the thoughts, too, which occur in it, resemble those expressed in the Psalms and Proverbs far more than those of the prophetic writings. The theocratic conceptions which proceed from the Mosaic records, predominate in the latter, whereas in the poetry of David and Solomon, while their influence is plainly perceived, they nevertheless do not so generally give their own impress to every expression of devout thought and religious feeling. It is undoubtedly true, that Hebrew gnostic poetry did not expire with Solomon, and that the echo of the poetry of David's Psalms may be heard during the era of the Exile, and even later. Still, such instances are isolated, and even they owe their existence indirectly to the life and power of an earlier age. The book of Job, on the contrary, is so far from depending on previous productions, that it possesses all the youthful vigor of an original and independent work. It may be added, that the antique spirit which pervades the whole poem may be far more readily explained, if we assign it to a period which, although separated by many an internal and external struggle from the simplicity of the patriarchal age, was still not far remote from it ; the explanation becomes difficult if we assume that the poem originated at a later time when the wealth of theocratic conceptions was widely diffused among the people, insomuch that the Jewish mountain-country, itself distinguished by a certain air of antiquity and a striking peculiarity of character, produced the shepherd Amos—a man, who, moved by the Holy Ghost, secured the recognition of those theocratic conceptions in the

capital of the Northern Kingdom, and was one of the first who committed them to writing. According to a modern standard, it would be an evidence of distinguished poetic talents, if a writer should, under such circumstances, retire altogether from the influence of the spirit of his own age, and intentionally reproduce an image of the past, or attempt to recall those simple habits, thoughts and sentiments which had long since disappeared from the world; antiquity would, according to every analogy, have regarded such a work, not as the result of *art* but of *artifice*. The case is very different if we assign the poem to the age of Solomon, when not only the recollections, but also the higher influences of the past materially influenced the modes of thought and feeling prevailing in that generation. And we are, further, directed to fix on an age preceding the full development of the prophetic literature, by external evidence, which is not indeed as forcible and direct as that by which the existence of the book of Job in the days of Jeremiah is demonstrated, but which is, nevertheless, of considerable weight. Thus the nineteenth chapter of Isaiah contains a verse which strikingly resembles one in the fourth discourse of Job, and both portions of the Scripture approximate very perceptibly in another passage.* Hitzig here considers the author of the book of Job to be the imitator; but the latter expresses the sentiments with far more originality and independence than the prophet, who seems in these cases to make allusions to the language of the former. A similar remark may be made on certain points of resemblance which are perceptible in several passages of Amos and Job respectively.† But, if we are thus directed to look beyond the days of Amos, we will scarcely be inclined to arrest our glance when we reach the ninth and tenth centuries B. C. which are so barren of poetry, and thus we arrive at the threshold of the age of Solomon. And that, finally, the poem belongs to this age, is indicated by its language which generally resembles that of the Psalms in many respects, and, in an especial manner, that of the Proverbs—a circumstance to which Calmet has the merit of having first called attention (*Dissertations sur l'écriture sainte* II. p. 168.) Quite a number of words may be found in the Proverbs and in Job, which do

* Comp. Isaiah 19: 5 with Job 14: 11; Isaiah 19: 13, 14 with Job 12: 24, 25.

† Comp. Amos 4: 13 with Job 9: 8; Amos 5: 8 with Job 9: 9 and 38: 31; Amos 9: 6 with Job 12: 15.

not occur elsewhere; of these Calmet has already made a tolerably complete classification, although he thence erroneously inferred that Solomon himself was the author of both works. It is true that an explanation of the circumstances may be attempted by assuming that the author of Job had so fully imbibed the spirit of the ancient models of lyric and gnomic poetry, that he appropriated also to himself the particularities of their diction; this supposition loses all force when we survey the book in its lofty proportions and solitary grandeur; it is not a mere mechanical combination of certain scattered lyric and didactic elements, but is an independent and original artistic creation of the poet himself. We are thus constrained to explain these coincidences of language by assuming that the authors were contemporaneous, and resorted to the same common stock of words. While these peculiarities of language appear to furnish satisfactory evidence that the book was composed during the most flourishing period of Hebrew lyric and gnomic poetry, the considerations which we have previously stated, seem, by their additional weight, to render that evidence conclusive.

On the other hand, if we examine the arguments which have been adduced for assigning the composition of the book to the close of the extended period already specified (B. C. 1,000—B. C. 600,) we can find none which possess any weight. Ewald, who extols the artistic skill and finished character of the composition, nevertheless refers to a certain feebleness both in the language and in the descriptions, indicative of a later age than that of Solomon; such a consideration is too indefinite, and proceeds too exclusively from subjective views, to acquire the force of an argument. Those passages, again, which, as it is said, betray the later, calamitous period of the Jewish state, assume this character only when an arbitrary mode of interpretation is applied. For when Job exclaims: "The earth is given into the hand of the wicked," (9: 24,) we surely need not resort to that later age in order to explain his words; even David could have expressed himself in similar terms, when he was in distress, and mourned over the triumph of haughty foes. Ewald himself admits that the twenty-fourth chapter refers to the wretchedness and misery of the earliest inhabitants of the country, occasioned by the invasion of a hostile tribe; we cannot perceive that such events should be lamented with less reason in the tenth century B. C., than in the seventh.

The most plausible argument is derived from the twelfth chapter, which describes nations, priests and kings that are overwhelmed and led away captive; the advocates of the later origin of the book allege that these statements must refer, if not to the Jewish, at least to the cognate Samaritan people. But we know that such a catastrophe frequently occurred in the earliest ages, and instances may be found even if we recede to the extreme limits of authentic history. Nations and tribes met in hostile array on the banks of the Indus as on those of the Jordan more than a thousand years before the Christian era; hence a poet, a contemporary of Solomon, was as fully enabled to describe such scenes as a contemporary of Nahum or of Habakkuk. Thus all the arguments advanced in favor of a late date of the book, fall to the ground.

We now proceed to the investigation of the *locality* of the composition of the book. Stickel (Job. p. 269) erroneously supposes that it could have been composed neither in Jerusalem nor in the Northern Kingdom, for the reason that all the writings proceeding from those points, present certain characteristic features which indicate the particular locality in which they were prepared. We cannot clearly understand what these characteristic features are, or ought to be. But Stickel has presented many interesting considerations, and exhibited much ingenuity, when he advocates the theory that South Judea was the home of the author. The latter had certainly become acquainted, by personal observation, with the leading features of Northern Arabia and the peculiarities of an Arabic nomadic life, without depending on the narratives of others. It was foreign to the modes of thought and feeling of the ancients, to place themselves in the external relations and general situation of others. The author could nowhere have found in his own days so true a representation of the simplicity of patriarchal life as in the Southern mountainous region. A vigorous race, possessed of great mental endowments, dwelt there. Stickel, with good reason, refers to the "wise woman" (2 Sam. ch. 14) whose instrumentality Joab employed, and who was a native of Tekoah, as well as, especially, to Amos, the bold shepherd, who ventured to enter the corrupt city of the Northern King, an unlearned man, and yet a powerful orator. It is indeed remarkable, as Stickel shows, that even the peculiarities of the dialect of that prophet find corresponding analogies in the book of Job; thus gutturals are softened,

and sibilants are exchanged according to the same law which otherwise exists between the Hebrew and the Arabic;* even if, as Stickel correctly remarks, these circumstances may seem to be unimportant in themselves, they cease to be merely accidental, when they are viewed in connection with the other facts. It cannot hence be regarded as altogether improbable that, as the book of Job was first made known to the people of the mountainous region in which it originated, Amos should have been induced to refer to it, when he described the divine glory which the works of nature reveal. The home of Job himself, had, besides, not been far remote from that Southern region, and the tradition which referred to him, unquestionably there found the widest circulation. The busy scenes afforded by an extensive traffic will naturally suggest to an observant mind many happy images of other more important scenes occurring in the experience of men. In that region the usual routes of the caravans of Tema and Sheba intersected each other; both names occur in the beautiful description of the deceitful brooks (ch. 6: 19; Stickel, p. 271.) The circumstance that this boundary land was visited by so many strangers, also furnishes a happy explanation of the fact, that when Job, in his refutation of his friends, adduces the lessons of experience, he appeals to the testimony of well informed travellers. Such a southern region, finally, furnished any inhabitant with great facilities, particularly in the age of Solomon, for attaching himself to a caravan and visiting Egypt, which by no means lay at an inconvenient distance; there are various indications in the book, that this course was adopted by the author.

We are constrained, on this point, to espouse the opinion of Hirzel in opposition to Stickel, even if the inference which the former deduces from the author's intimate acquaintance with Egypt—that he was one of the Jews who had been taken to that country in the reign of Pharaoh-Necho—is erroneous. Stickel objects indeed that other portions also of the Old Testament indicate the same intimate acquaintance with the natural features and the customs of Egypt, without thereby authorizing us to conclude that the writers had obtained such knowledge, not from the communications of others, but from personal observation, and, fur-

* 11: 5, בושם for משרף; 6: 10, משרף for משרף; 6: 8, מחצב for מחצב;
7: 16, יצחק for יצחק. Comp. Stickel, p. 276.

ther, that this remark is especially applicable to the well known prophecy of Isaiah respecting Egypt. These facts, however, although they are unquestionable, do not impair the force of the inference respecting the book of Job, which has just been stated. For when a prophet who surveys divine and human transactions with an attentive and searching eye, has occasion to speak of Egypt, it is quite reasonable and consistent that, in his description, he should appropriate to himself those points which had especially interested him in the recitals of others. The allusions in Job to the customs of Egypt and, in general, to life in Egypt, are of a very different character; as the subject which is there discussed, by no means necessarily suggests them, they assume the nature of spontaneous reminiscences. Without mentioning doubtful cases, we may here specify the references to the Papyrus or paper plant, the judicial proceedings conducted in writing, and the representations of the dead, who seem to be the guardians of the sepulchre. It is, however, impossible, (without adducing additional illustrations) that the author should have described the Crocodile and the Hippopotamus not only with the highest poetic vigor, but have accurately specified the most minute particulars, if he had possessed no opportunity of personally observing the habits of these animals. We shall show in the [following] commentary, that the alleged inaccuracies which Stickel thinks that he has discovered in these descriptions, proceed from a misunderstanding of the subject, and that we have before us, not, as older interpreters supposed, fancy sketches of fabulous animals, not, as Hævernick emphatically expresses himself "a poetic idealization," but a copy of nature, faithful and true in all its details.

The results which we have now obtained seem to be sufficiently ample and well established to justify our attempt to indicate those peculiar circumstances in the personal history of the author, to which the composition itself may be traced. We do not, of course, design to conform to the course adopted by those writers, who endeavor to explain some of the most momentous events, nay, even divine procedures, by referring to an alleged organic, but in reality, a mechanical necessity; they deduce the moving cause from the movement, the creative power from the creature; but the laws which they set forth, are practically ignored by the higher exhibitions of power revealed in the intellectual world, by all that truly constitutes ge-

nus, and by all that essentially forms the "miraculous men of history," as Luther happily terms them. Hence such a mode of interpretation is not applicable to the work of the sacred poet, in whom we recognize higher gifts than those comprehensively termed human genius, and who is obviously moved by the same Divine Spirit who as an animating and creative principle, pervades all the sacred writings in all their varied forms. We rather design to trace that exalted and divine mode of action itself, according to which the higher moving force does not enter the world as a *Deus ex machina*, but exhibits the divine and the human, the internal and the external, the individual and the general, as they appear in active co-operation.

We, further, do not claim that we have ascertained strict and precise historic truth, but, at the same time, we are conscious that our statement is not founded merely on accidental or arbitrary combinations; nor does it belong to the class of Harduin's discourses, who, in his Chronology, places great confidence in his own calculations, and maintains that Job died in the thirty-fifth year of King David, and that Solomon wrote this history of the former in the third year of his own reign. For the elements which we present in combination, are sustained by all the previous investigations of science. They may, indeed, be also exhibited in a different combination, for the wealth of the world consists precisely in the varied play of possibilities, which no mechanical law can control; still we think that in the present case, a certain scientific interest attaches to any attempt to combine possibilities with such an air of truth, that the circumstances of the poet's life, as developed from the poem itself, may ultimately be presented as a harmonious whole.

The poet, as we have already seen, was probably born in the mountainous region of South Judea. The reader of his work readily perceives that he was familiarly acquainted with all those peculiar scenes of life exhibited by the desert, by the pasture ground, and by the mountain summit. He gazed with a watchful eye on the fugitive beast of the desert; he saw, as he stood on the rocks of the valley, the goat and the wild oryx (antelope) flee from his presence. He had himself at an early period shared in the distress of the fainting caravan, which he so vividly depicts in his poem. Possibly, he himself, like David his predecessor, and Amos his successor, had fed sheep in those regions; possibly too, he had, like the former, contended with the lion that assailed

the flock, and was thus furnished by his own experience with the image which he transfers to God—that he was persecuted by God as the lion is assaulted by his enemy. His own simple mode of life taught him to value and to love the scenes of the ancient patriarchal life which memory had preserved, and, at an early period, a deep feeling of the grandeur and glory of God, who was almighty and inaccessible, but who nevertheless condescended to visit man, took possession of his soul. Even the peculiar element of the Mosaic theocracy could not have left his excitable mind untouched, for we know that the poetry of the Psalms and the Proverbs, with all its original vitality and power, exercised a commanding influence over him. Indeed the earliest notes of the songs of the royal Psalmist had resounded precisely in the rocky vales of his own home. There the victim of Saul's relentless persecution had found many faithful friends, to whom, when happier times came, he did not fail to testify his gratitude by liberal gifts (1 Sam. 30: 26–31.) These events and these sacred songs, were unquestionably long treasured in the memory of the tribes and families which occupied that region. Through such recollections the author of the book learned to breathe the same spirit which pervaded the psalmodic poetry of David and his singers—a poetry altogether conformed in spirit and design to the institutions of Moses. That poetry exults in the possession of the divine word, and allows us to catch many a glimpse of its ideal conception of a theocratic royalty set forth as the central point of a worship that, at a future period, shall spread over the whole world. Indeed David conceived, as early as the period of his persecution, that the fulfilment of this lofty hope was near at hand—he supposed that the realization of the promise given to Abraham was beginning in that royalty which was promised to him. Still the Messianic element rather resembled, in the age of David and Solomon, a glimmering light than a clearly developed power that could control the individual's whole life; to invest it with the latter character, constituted the task of the far later age of Isaiah. We may then assume that those theocratic conceptions had indeed at one time roused and inspired the author of Job, but that the calamities of the times had gradually caused them to recede from his view. He probably beheld himself the decay of the kingdom in the latter portion of Solomon's reign, and may have possibly survived till the Egyptians invaded the country in the reign of Rehoboam, and plundered Jerusalem. Amid

such scenes it was a relief to his mind when the impressions of his childhood revived, and the recollections of the patriarchal age again presented themselves. When the hope of a re-union of the dispersed members of the human race under the authority of the ONE God grew dim, he began to occupy his mind the more earnestly with meditations on that earlier period in which the internal and external divisions of men had not extended as widely as in his own day, and in which, even among pagans, certain individuals, retaining the original faith in the one God, stood forth like rocks that rear their lofty heads far above the waves of the sea. He reflected on that arrogant Titanic race whose rebellion against God had originally occasioned all those divisions. The traditions respecting the untamed forces of the primeval age and the monsters with which the chaotic world teemed, were not unknown even to the neighboring pagan tribes, and now assumed a new interest and importance in his eyes. He did not, withal, cease to be susceptible of impressions derived from the material world. He now eagerly approached the numerous caravans which passed through the country, the עברי דרך [passers by on the way"] ch. 21: 2, on which, even in his boyhood, he had gazed with interest; he questioned them respecting the condition of distant lands, and was doubtless often pained by the reply that violence and crime prevailed over the face of the earth. Either an internal impulse or external circumstances at length led him to Egypt, that ancient and wonderful country, which he had long desired to behold. If his journey conducted him from the southern border of his native land, he might, without difficulty, also visit the ancient Egyptian mines west of the peninsula of Petrea, and the colonies which the Egyptians, according to the hieroglyphic inscriptions, had named *Mafkat*, the copper land. The habits of his earlier years, when he wandered over the mountains and walked without fear in the desert, enabled him to descend into those depths where man "setteth an end to darkness and thoroughly searcheth the stones of the deepest darkness" (ch. 28: 3,) and to visit the spot where gold and the sapphire glittered, or which the vulture's eye never saw (ver. 6-8.) Here he was suddenly moved by the consideration that man may indeed explore the depths of the earth, but that he is too feeble to explore those of the eternal wisdom of God. He surrendered himself entirely to the impressions which the scenes he witnessed in that strange country, produced on his excited mind. He

gazed with deep interest on the Nile as the "swift ships" (9 : 25) constructed of papyrus, passed before him, and when he saw the reddish eye of leviathan gleaming through the waters, he understood the reason for which the Egyptians compared it to "the-eye of the morning" (41 : 18.) He eagerly sought for information when he saw Behemoth emerge from the river, and listened with eager interest to every account of the habits of the wondrous animal. He entered the rocky world of the tombs, descended into the vaults and surveyed the pictures of the dead which seemed to guard the entrance to their home. The busy scenes of life presented new charms; the rigid forms of judicial processes, and the deep solemnity with which the customary documents were set forth, strangely affected him. But he did not feel happy; every object reminded him painfully that here, too, man and all his works are transitory; two periods of the prosperity of the country had long since passed away, and the splendid monuments around him all alike proclaimed that many royal races had disappeared from the world forever.

When he returned home, doubtless in the full maturity of his age, he composed his great work. He selected as his subject one of those traditions which had descended from a remote antiquity, and which had always possessed for him a peculiar interest; it referred to those devout men of old, who had always awakened his sympathy, and who, while dwelling in a pagan region, continued to revere the *one* true God alone. But other causes combined to persuade him to choose precisely the present subject. He himself must have suffered severe calamities, and have been exposed to a sore temptation; he himself had been well nigh driven to that desperate resistance against God, which he so powerfully portrays in Job. In his severe conflicts he had learned to know all that approaches man with menaces or with allurements, and attempts to pollute the sanctuary of his soul. After many painful struggles he, at length, emerged from deep gloom into the light of day—he found the precious pearl which he had long sought both far and near—he found it in the fear of God and in an humble and childlike submission to the divine will. He now felt happy in the sure possession of it, and in his calm retirement, as his days peacefully glided onward, he enjoyed *the peace of God*. He had had a rich experience of the grace of God, he had obtained very clear views of man's true position and religious obligations; he was now inspired to combine these accumulated treasures and to

preserve them for all future time, as a germ of spiritual life, by embodying his own varied experience in the magnificent poem which he subsequently produced.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

THE historical introduction of the poem exhibits Job as an upright man, prosperous in his external relations, and invested with patriarchal authority and influence. He is not only circumspect in his own walk and conversation, but watches with paternal solicitude over his sons and daughters, lest, in the fulness of their prosperity, they might, at their domestic festivals, forget Him from whom all their blessings flowed, and renounce him in their hearts. But the patriarch himself is, in an unexpected manner, sorely tempted, in order that he might show whether he would be able to preserve, in the midst of great calamities, the same faithfulness which he had maintained in the days of his prosperity. We are introduced into the assembly of the heavenly hosts; here Satan ventures to present himself, and, regarding all human virtue with suspicion and contempt, to question that of Job; he alleges that its hollow character will be betrayed, as soon as Job is exposed to the fiery trial of affliction. To such a trial he would gladly subject Job, but he cannot accomplish his will without the permission of God, whose authority controls all his operations. "Subject him to my power," are the bold words which Satan addresses to God; "the distress which I will inflict on him, will cause him to curse thee to thy face." The Lord, for wise and holy purposes, grants his permission. Calamities in rapid succession overwhelm Job—he loses all his possessions—his sons and daughters perish. But he endures the trial successfully. "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." Satan again presents himself before the Lord. "It was a light trial," he exclaims, "but let me touch his bone and his flesh, and he will curse thee to thy face." He again receives permission, and Job, now smitten with sore boils, is found sitting down among the ashes. Temptation, too, approaches him in the words of his own wife: "Curse God, and die!" But he replied: "What! shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" So far he had remained steadfast and immovable; not a sinful word had escaped his lips.

But the severity of the temptation advances. Months of agony and distress pass by. His three friends, in accordance with a previous agreement, are seen coming from different directions, and now they meet in his presence. His sorrows, of which they had received the tidings, were a frightful riddle to them; according to the established opinions of the age, they could not resist the conviction that some secret crime must have led to such a fate. The horror of the scene is even greater than their previous apprehensions had allowed them to believe. During seven days and seven nights they sit with the wretched man in deep silence—not a word of comfort, not a single prayer do they utter. Such treatment Job can no longer endure; he had read in their countenances the dark suspicions that harbored in their souls, and he relieves his swelling heart in loud complaints. The harsh and unfounded accusations which their profound *silence* expressed, impelled him to a course which neither his agony nor the reproaches of his wife could urge him to adopt. He curses the day of his birth, he deplores the sad lot of man on earth, and his language seems well nigh to be an accusation directed against the Almighty himself. “Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul?”

The friends are dismayed; such expressions only tend to confirm their secret suspicions which they had not hitherto ventured to utter without disguise. The most eminent of the three, Eliphaz, begins to speak with great moderation. He expresses his wonder that Job, who had powerfully consoled so many of the afflicted, can now find no comfort for himself, since God’s ways are uniformly righteous and equitable. He does not indeed in direct terms reproach Job for speaking presumptuously against God; still, he does not conceal his own opinion, when he describes a certain vision of the night in colors as vivid as if the terror which he had experienced, had again taken possession of him; the grandeur of God had been revealed to him—a grandeur so overpowering that no mortal could behold it. He repeats the words which he heard the spirit utter: “Shall man be just before God? shall a man be pure before his Maker?” (ch. 4: 17.*) He intimates that no one among angels or

* [When the author’s rendering in his German version differs from that of the English Bible, the former is usually re-produced in this translation, as far as the idioms of the German and English respectively, will permit.—TR.]

men can be found, who will justify such language as Job has just ventured to employ; he himself would, if in Job's place, rather humble himself before God; then the chastisement, after passing away, would prove to be beneficial, and would secure a higher degree of happiness and prosperity than he had formerly enjoyed. The address seems to be mild and kind in its terms, but the gentle words do not conceal from Job the harshness with which his three friends, in accordance with prevalent prejudices, really judge him. They, with health and prosperity as their portion, may find it very easy—he thinks—to reprove and admonish a man who is crushed to the ground, for they have no standard which they are able or even willing to apply, in measuring the extent of his distress. “Oh that my grief were thoroughly weighed, and my calamity laid in the balances together!” (6: 2.) He knows, (he continues,) too well that his cry of distress is not feigned, and that while he wishes for death, he does find imperishable comfort in the consciousness of his innocence; but his confidence in his friends, on the other hand, had been delusive; they resemble the deceitful brooks, which the traveller, fainting in the heat of summer, painfully seeks, only to find them empty and dry. And yet he had expected from his friends no greater service than honest and upright words—but they were not *friends*, if they pronounced his lamentations to be criminal. And now he discards all restraint, pours forth all his lamentations, and defies not only his friends, but apparently, also his God. “Is there not a warfare [Engl. vers. marg.] to man upon earth? Am I an overflowing sea, or a monster over which God shall set a watch? What is man, that God should magnify him, and that he should constantly visit even his most inconsiderable sins, seeing that he will soon sink into the dust, and disappear from the earth forever!”

The friends are amazed that Job should venture to proceed in this strain. “How long,” exclaims Bildad indignantly, “wilt thou speak these things?” (8: 2.) He adds rebukingly: Thou hast seen in the fate of thy children an illustration of the righteous judgments of God, whilst thou thyself mayest prosper, if thou wilt do righteously. For the wise sayings of our fathers teach us that, according to a holy and unalterable law, even as the plant dies when the rain of heaven is withheld, so man who casts away righteousness and the fear of God, must perish most miserably. Cease to arraign the justice of God, for thou canst confidently expect that, if thou

art righteous, *that* justice will grant thee the fulness of joy and happiness.—Still, such remonstrances of Job's friends do not aid him in solving the problem, of the whole difficulty of which he alone is fully aware, in consequence of his consciousness of his own innocence on the one hand, and of his unspeakable wretchedness, on the other. "I know it is so of a truth: how indeed should a man be just before God?" (9: 2.) The exceeding grandeur of God does not permit a mortal, even if that mortal is righteous and just, to vindicate himself in the presence of God; hence it is an easy task for Bildad—Job implies—to defend the justice of God in opposition to his afflicted friend. This consideration adds to Job's excitement. "I am innocent," he cries, and, boldly defying the suspicions of his friends, he presumes to assail the divine government of the world, rather than deny the truth of his own convictions. "The earth is given into the hand of the wicked; from whom does *this* proceed save from God!" He now impetuously breaks forth in lamentations; "I loathe my life; I will give vent to my complaint; I will speak in the bitterness of my soul" (10: 1.) He desires to know for what reason, for what sin, God so torments him—God had wonderfully made and hitherto sustained him—had God determined already when he bestowed such blessings, to extinguish them subsequently by the present misery, or convert them into a curse? He curses his life anew, and then begs God to grant him at least some relief before he descends to the land of darkness, which is without any order, and where even the light is like the gloom of midnight.

The friends became sore displeased; Zophar, who now takes his place as the speaker, regards all that Job has uttered as merely swelling words of vanity, to which no one can listen without offence. How can Job dare to defend himself before God, whose hidden wisdom is inaccessible to man—a wisdom so perfect and unerring, that it controls all things on earth according to the standard of righteousness and truth, a wisdom so prevailing, that, as Zophar expresses himself in his blunt and almost rude way, it makes the empty-headed man wise, and converts the wild ass into a man (11: 12.) Like his two predecessors, he admonishes the sufferer to turn his heart to God, and he depicts in smiling images the joy that awaits him, while, with an air of menacing he also points to the destruction of the hardened sinner, whose best hope indeed is simply that he will breathe forth his soul in death. If Job, after listening to Bildad, express-

ed his wonder that his friends can utter nothing but trite and well-known things, while graver and more difficult questions should have received attention, still more does he now wonder at the arrogance of Zophar, which allows him to repeat without a blush, the follies of the former speakers. Conscious of his own superior mental power, he momentarily forgets his pains, and with bitter irony, almost in humorous terms, he says: "No doubt but ye are the people, and wisdom shall die with you.—All that you have in rapid succession said respecting the divine wisdom and power, and put forth as if it were new knowledge never before possessed by others, is so obvious and trite, that you may at any time obtain it all from the beasts of the field or the fowls of the air or the fishes of the sea."—And now, in order to show that he knows all these things even more accurately and fully than his friends do, he proceeds to describe in lofty terms the manner in which God, according to his own counsel, builds up and destroys, holds kings, priests and counsellors in his hand, brings hidden things to light and exalts and destroys, or establishes and enslaves entire nations (ch. 12.) "Behold," he continues, (ch. 13,) "mine eye hath seen all this, mine ear hath heard and understood it. What ye know, the same do I know also: I am not inferior to you. But I desire to reason not with you, but with the Almighty whose advocates you vainly and hypocritically claim to be; but think not that ye can thus escape his searching eye." Job now addresses his words to God, and desires that his friends shall be silent witnesses and hearers. He entreats God to withdraw his chastising hand until he (Job) shall have freely uttered all his complaints. While he was rebuking the errors of his friends, a ray of divine light had entered into his soul, and he is conscious that God will sustain, not these presuming advocates, but him who is so unjustly suspected and even accused. Still the dark problem of his calamities weighs too heavily on his soul to permit him, even with all his consciousness of his innocence, to address the Almighty with calmness and reverence. His language becomes passionate, and resembles that of defiance: "How many are mine iniquities and sins? Make me to know my transgression and my sin." (13: 23.) He enquires of God why he imposes such a disproportionate burden of sorrows on men, who, from generation to generation, inherit sin and imperfections. When the tree is cut down, it sprouts again, but when man dies, all hope seems to be extinct forever. It would be far dif-

ferent if the invisible world would offer a place of repose from which God might, in his own good time, again call man forth. Such a possibility Job depicts with deep longings of the soul. "Then (in that case) thou wouldst call, and I should answer thee; thou wouldst desire the work of thine hands" (14: 15.) But Job is still too feeble to entertain this joyful hope; it is indeed the harbinger of a future and happier mental state, but at present it is only a dim light seen in a stormy night, which is quenched again, and thus adds a deeper shade to the surrounding gloom.

The first series of discourses is here completed (14: 22.) If the afflictions of Job conducted him, in consequence of human infirmity, to the use of unbecoming terms in addressing God, the suspicions of his friends, which had betrayed themselves, aggravated all his sorrows, and urged him to employ language which became more and more intemperate. The more his friends urged him to humble himself, or repeated terms which came in conflict with his consciousness of his innocence, the more violent he became in his addresses to God. He reproaches God, doubts his love and justice—we tremble lest the tempter should succeed in urging him to utter the awful word, and positively *curse* his God. But there is another influence in his soul which counteracts that danger—he reflects with gladness on the fact that he had never denied the commandments of the Holy One. Even when he bitterly complains, he is conscious that, in spite of the violent words which his agony extorts, God will acknowledge him as his own; while he despairs of being able to justify himself before the Almighty, he is conscious in his own soul that God will not declare himself in favor of his unwise advocates, but of him, the sufferer, who without disguise or hypocrisy, truthfully utters the sentiments of his soul. His friends feel the force of his words; they have defended God, but not boldly pronounced their suspicions, and their testimony has so far produced no effect. They now advance a step farther, and begin to describe the destitution of the sinner in terms so plain, that Job cannot fail to make the application to himself personally. They do not now utter any thoughts which are, strictly speaking, new, but they make a new application of the wise sayings of the fathers to which Bildad had already referred.

Here Eliphaz again appears as the leader of the others (ch. 15,) but while he holds the main thought constantly in view, he attempts to reach Job partly by increasing,

partly by abating the violence of his reproaches. His remonstrance includes many considerations:—Job's inconsiderate words do not correspond to the character of a wise man—he disowns all fear of God—he claims that he possesses the wisdom of the first man who proceeded directly from the hand of the Creator—indeed, he identifies himself with that eternal wisdom which dwelt with God before the creation—it would be far more decorous if he would listen meekly to the gentle and comforting words of one who was his superior in age, and who had not directly assailed him—he should bear the fact in mind which had been already mentioned by the speaker (4: 18,) that before God even the angels are not clean (15: 15,) much less man who perishes. Job should consequently give heed to the admonition which he (Eliphaz) pronounces in strict accordance with divine revelation, and also with the traditions of the fathers. The wicked man is constantly afflicted, constantly hears alarming sounds, and the ruin which hovers over his head, will surely come at last upon him; for his bold defiance of God, and his proud reliance on his wealth and power, must necessarily attract a divine punishment; then all on which he depended will ultimately be found to be vanity and emptiness.

When Job replies, he says with truth: “I have now heard many such things: troublesome comforters are ye all” (16: 2.) It is easy—he proceeds—for the prosperous to address the afflicted in such a style; he himself, if their respective circumstances were reversed, could as fluently utter such words as they do. But whether he speaks or is silent, his distress continues in all its intensity, and it does—he concedes—seem to witness against him. God had abandoned him to the mockery of the wicked, who rejoiced in his calamities, and who now found fit associates in these friends, since the latter assailed him with their uncharitable suspicions. Such an experience grieved his very soul. “O earth,” he exclaims, “cover not thou my blood.” And now *that* God who had, as he previously complained, given him into the hand of his enemies, seems to rise up as a witness in his favor and to produce the record of his innocence. “Be thou my advocate—plead thou for me before thyself—who, who else would advocate my cause?” Upright men are astonished (17: 8) as they gaze on his mysterious calamities; still, the righteous man holds on his way, and strengthens himself in the midst of the contest, whereas the consola-

tions which Eliphaz boasts that he had offered, are utterly worthless.

But Bildad cannot understand the expressions of Job, which seem to contradict themselves. They reveal no genuine consciousness of innocence, but only involve reproaches against him and his companions; he is the more indignant as he secretly feels that these reproaches are deserved. He addresses the sufferer and all who share his sentiments in these words: "Wherefore are we counted as beasts, and reputed vile in your sight?" (18: 3.) Job, as he alleges, resembles a man who rends himself in his madness, but it is of no avail that he assails the ordinances of God and attempts to remove the earth and the rock from their places—the truth still abides, that the wicked man must perish. Bildad now repeats a thought which Eliphaz had just advanced, and which resembles one that had occurred in his own previous address, namely, that the destruction of the wicked is inevitable in consequence of a natural necessity; snares and traps await every step which he takes—he is dragged away from the protection of his tent and consigned to death, to the king of terrors, the ruler of the lower world, and his desolate dwelling affords an awful warning to all who came after him.

It is incomprehensible to Job that his friends should perpetually renew their efforts to vex his soul and break him in pieces (19: 3.) "These ten times have ye reproached me; ye are not ashamed that ye stun me." He justly claims that if they so heavily condemn him in their hearts, as all their words too plainly reveal, they should openly set forth his crime and substantiate their charge. He begs for the sympathy of his friends, at a time when he is bowed down by the visitation of God, when his honor is departed, when his wife, his kinsfolk and his familiar friends forget him in his distress, and even his men-servants and maids refuse to obey him. "Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me. Why do ye persecute me as God, and are not satisfied with my flesh." The wretched man has again approached the abyss of despair, for in his unutterable agony he regards God as his enemy, and appeals even to these unfeeling friends for aid. Suddenly one of those vast revulsions of feeling occurs within him, of which several instances had already appeared; in this fearful struggle rapid transitions from the loftiest aspirations to the depths of humiliation take place. That God,

whom he had just described as an enemy, can surely not entirely forsake him; although his feeble eye may perceive no happy issue, and his incurable plague appears to hurry him to his grave, he is still persuaded that he will yet see in Him, for whom his soul longs, a Redeemer, who will restore to him his life and honor. This thought takes possession of him with supernatural power, and while he utters it, he desires that his words were written in a book, or rather graven in the rock in imperishable characters. He exclaims: "Yea, I know that my Redeemer liveth; he will at last rise up above the dust, and after this skin of mine is destroyed, I shall without (out from) my flesh see God. Yea, I shall see him myself, *mine* eyes—not a stranger—shall behold him; my heart is consumed in my bosom." This gladness of spirit, this longing which is confident of a happy issue even beyond the grave, now combine to renew his strength; he is able, with more composure, to address a few emphatic words to his friends; he exhorts them to persecute him no longer so unjustly, but rather to fear the avenging sword which will surely smite those who are wrathful without reason.

But this course robs him of all the sympathy which his words of entreaty may have awakened in his friends. The wisdom with which, as they flattered themselves, they had addressed him, had, so far, produced no impression, and their displeasure now closes every avenue by which these admonitory words of Job could reach them. Zophar cannot control his heightened indignation, when he says: "I have been made to hear a shameful reproach, and the spirit through my understanding giveth me an answer." Such a remark leads us to expect a new view, but Zophar is only able to repeat the sentiment of Eliphaz with certain variations; if this address and his former exhibit any peculiar features, they are found simply in the special harshness, and even coarseness of the images which he employs. However firmly the wicked man may believe that he is established, he must nevertheless pass away "like his own dung" (20: 7;) the air which he keeps back in his mouth, like favorite food, in order to enjoy the relish, turns into the poison of asps in his bowels; God himself will pluck from the belly of the wicked man all that he devoured; as he devoured all, so his house shall not be built up; once more shall his belly be filled, but—with food that, like fire, consumes him; heaven and earth rise up against him and combine to uncover his iniquity.

Hitherto Job had, from a certain feeling of reverence, refrained from the introduction of a particular lesson derived from experience, with which he could have easily impaired the force of the sentiment originally expressed by Eliphaz; he had once, in a moment of passionate excitement alluded to the lesson, but now, when his friends for the third time assail him, and that too, with unrestrained violence, he distinctly sets it forth. It is the following proposition: If it be asserted that great affliction is always the evidence of great iniquity, then, on the other hand, a high degree of earthly prosperity must be an infallible proof of exalted virtue. And yet Job can adduce well known instances in which persons who were confessedly degenerate and ungodly, enjoyed a very high degree of temporal prosperity. The contemplation of such facts startles even Job, and he shudders (21: 6) while he pronounces these incontestable truths. There are men, he declares, who spend their days in peace, enjoying their wealth, listening to the strains of music, courting sensual enjoyments, and at the same time, repeating the awful words: "Let God depart from us.—What is the Almighty God?" Neither can it be alleged with truth that the well-merited punishment speedily overtakes them in general; it avails as little to urge that their children at least pay the penalty, since such a consideration does not disturb the repose of the wicked. He adds that he well knows the real sentiments of his friends, and directs them to consult experienced travellers; these will confirm his assertions and demonstrate that hosts of men may be found in every land who renounce the true God, and nevertheless prosper in the world.

What can the three friends reply? They cannot undertake to solve this dark problem of the divine government of the world; hence they can no longer maintain the struggle with Job by repeating their original proposition that the sufferings of the individual strictly correspond to the degree of his guilt. It has not been sustained in the second series of discourses which terminates at this point (21: 36.)—Eliphaz is now driven to the expedient of charging Job openly and directly with the gravest transgressions, and to maintain that the divine judgments which had overtaken the latter, are to be thus explained; surely God would not so punish Job—he says—for leading a life of righteousness. "Was not thy wickedness great? Were not thine iniquities infinite? Thou didst oppress thy poor brethren, and refuse thy aid to the

destitute, the widow and the orphan; therefore sudden fear troubleth thee. Or, seest thou not the darkness and the flood that overwhelm thee? Thou resemblest wicked men of old time, who vainly thought that God did not look down upon the earth. Rememberest thou not that the judgment of the flood overtook those who said in a spirit of impious defiance to God: "Depart from us?" (ch. 22.) Eliphaz utters his charges with a violence that is increased by his own secret feeling of his injustice in heaping such bitter reproaches on a man whose character had hitherto been untarnished and pure; for his only authority is a theory already overthrown by Job, whose arguments he disingenuously evades. He recoils himself from the harsh judgment which he has pronounced, and begs Job to seek a reconciliation with God, closing with an animated description, resembling one in the first series of discourses, of the great blessedness which shall then be the portion of Job. Such language naturally produced no effect on Job, who had long since detected the real sentiments of his pretended comforters. He reasons with calm dignity, refrains from passionate exclamations, and, in the presence of God, repeats his declaration respecting his consciousness of innocence; he is firmly convinced that he could be fully sustained before the divine tribunal, if it were possible for him to approach the latter. While he passes by the unfounded reproaches which had just been repeated, and forbears from a special examination of them, he recurs to the well known prosperity of many wicked men; he insists the more positively on this circumstance, as Eliphaz, had dreaded to discuss it. He points to the varied calamities of successive generations of the primitive people who had occupied the country, but had been dispossessed by invaders who then ruled over them. He describes the dark courses of those who have apparently conspired against the divine light, and, under the cover of the night, perpetrate the most abominable crimes; such facts demonstrate the vanity of the theory of the three friends that iniquity never escapes the deserved chastisement. He concludes with the challenge: "If it be not so now, who will make me a liar, and make my speech nothing worth?" (24: 25.)

The friends are sorely embarrassed: they know not how to evade the force of the facts which Job has adduced a second time. They are ashamed to repeat once more the reproaches which they had so often made, for they can establish these by no new facts or considerations, and Job's

calm disregard of them had painfully impressed them with a sense of his truth and their ignorance and folly. Bildad (ch. 25,) with great feebleness resorts to the general proposition, with which Eliphaz had originally opened the discussion, and repeated at the commencement of the second series of discourses—that no mortal is just before God; he implies that Job should not have presumed to utter the language which his arrogance had dictated. His reply is really equivalent to a confession of the utter helplessness of himself and his two friends. Job at once perceives it, avails himself of it, and mockingly says to Bildad: “How hast thou helped him that is without power? How savest thou the arm that hath no strength?” (26: 2. Bildad had, besides, by his vain repetitions, again assumed to be the advocate of God, without ability for the task or any divine sanction, as Job had previously set forth very plainly. Once more he soars far above the three friends, and produces a magnificent description of the divine might and glory, which his three friends had attempted to employ as weapons against him (ch. 26.) The shadows that tremble in the deep, the lower world unveiled before the eyes of God, the earth floating over empty space, the waters gathered together in the clouds, the parting asunder of light and darkness, the vast power of God which had already at the beginning of the creation prostrated all the forces that resisted his appointed order—these are the impressive images which, in brief but emphatic terms, he presents to his friends. “And yet,” he adds with overwhelming force, “these are only the ends—the outgoings, as it were—of God’s ways; we merely hear them *whispered*. Who is it that can listen to the *thundering* of his mighty power?”

Job pauses (27: 1); have his friends aught to say in reply? They are speechless; the third, the most intemperate of them, does not venture to open his mouth in this closing series of discourses. Job avails himself, consequently, of his victory, in order to pour forth, without interruption from others, his inmost thoughts and feelings; he speaks with all that moderation and composure which he had won after a protracted and most painful struggle. He utters the following sentiments:—Never will he permit the vain suspicions of his friends to prevail over his consciousness of his innocence. If he had seemed to deny that God governed the world with righteousness, he never designed to assail so impiously the laws of God. In place of despis-

ing the divine government of the world, which crime God would surely punish, he had rather intended to warn his three friends themselves against the presumption of passing sentence on the ways of God, inasmuch as such a course would inevitably bring down a divine judgment on their own heads. In truth, here all must concede that a dark problem, a deep mystery, was presented; other secrets man can explore; he can penetrate into the depths of the earth, and there seize upon its treasures, but the divine wisdom he cannot find or fathom in the land of the living; he cannot purchase it with all his treasures. The lower world had also heard the fame thereof (28: 22;) but that wisdom was in the possession of God alone. He understood it—He had stamped the impress of it on the earth,—and He had said to man: “Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding” (28: 28.)

At this point the form of the dialogue passes over into that of a monologue. Job had, in his final reply to his friends, demonstrated with great calmness and dignity that they themselves had been guilty of arrogance when they accused him of presumption—they had implied that they were in possession of divine wisdom, and had presumed to sit in judgment on their afflicted friend. In his last discourse (ch. 29—ch. 31) he seems to take counsel with his own heart alone. He glances with sadness at the former period of his life, in which he had enjoyed the richest blessings of God, had been beneficent and kind to large numbers, and enjoyed the esteem of all. With these scenes he contrasts his present situation—the scorn and contempt of the meanest of the people of the land, his incessant and aggravated anguish of body and of mind, the hiding of the face of God, the alienation of his friends. The present affords a terrible contrast to the peace and prosperity of the past. He finally surveys his whole inner and external life, in its relations to the divine will and divine law. He had not only avoided evil, watched carefully over his thoughts and feelings, and, as a rich and powerful man, refrained from oppressing the feeble and helpless, but had also zealously endeavored to do good. He is, besides, conscious that he is free from other sins, such as his friends had suspected—defiance of God or man, reliance on his wealth, delight in revenge, a cowardly concealment of sins. While all these thoughts crowd upon his soul, the wish arises that he might be permitted to conduct his cause before God personally, and set forth his claims. If his adversary

(31: 32,) whom he does not name, but by whom he means the Almighty, would set forth his charge in writing, he (Job) would carry it as an ornament on his shoulder, and, like a prince, boldly meet the answer. He is willing, if he does not speak the whole truth, to endure the heaviest punishments of God. With this declaration he closes his discourses (31: 40.)

Let us momentarily glance at the course which the dialogue has taken. The original remarks of the three friends were unquestionably well founded. The latter were fully justified in vindicating the honor of God and setting forth the feebleness and sinfulness of man, as well as in firmly maintaining the principle that God governs the world in righteousness. But they gave a one-sided and mechanical character to this principle, and deduced from it inferences in reference to Job which could not be sustained. After having thus placed themselves in a false position, they were, in the progress of the conflict, continually compelled to retreat, and at length, even when they proceeded to open and direct accusations, they could not prevail. But, on the other hand, Job had allowed himself to be driven to the utterance of language which exposed him to the danger of becoming entirely alienated from God. However, his long continued fidelity to God does not suffer shipwreck in a single tempest; his candor and truth, which tolerate no concealments, but exhibit him both in his strength and in his weakness, ultimately received the spiritual reward of an increase of composure and strength. Hence, at first, when God appeared to deal as an enemy with him, he seems, in his turn, to speak of God with enmity and defiance. But even in the first series of discourses, better sentiments begin already to act, in the midst of his agony and despair; in the second series, his peace of mind and his hope of relief acquire new strength, and, at its close, he is already sufficiently assured to address his friends aggressively, after they have so far aroused him. They now attempt to evade his attack, and, at the commencement of the third series, make a final and desperate but unsuccessful effort to crush him; he, now, renews the attack, and soon comes forth from the struggle as the acknowledged conqueror. He then proceeds, by an appeal to the unfathomable wisdom of God which his friends had feebly and unwisely employed as a weapon against him, to attempt to solve or remove a contradiction in his own soul, of which he is fully aware. That contradiction or internal conflict is the

following:—On the one hand, he recognizes the law of divine justice, but cannot perceive that justice visibly maintained in the world; on the other hand, he feels himself impelled to hold fast to his faith that the ways of God will ultimately be gloriously vindicated. He concludes that man can find that hidden wisdom only by entire submission to the divine will—by the fear of God. Once more, as we have seen, he gives vent to his sorrows and most positively asserts his innocence. But he has not even yet perceived the real want which hinders the formation of happy and peaceful relations with God—he is not yet conscious that his language had been bold and irreverent. While he repels with reason the insinuations of his friends, and refuses to confess crimes which he never committed, he is not sufficiently conscious of the infirmities and the sinfulness which adhere to all men; the latter truth he repeatedly admits, but he does not apply this truth with that deep humility, which his friends might have justly demanded, if they had not unfortunately combined with their exhortations those special charges which Job well knew to be unfounded. He could indeed meet such false accusations by a reference to his pure and devout life; still, when he has silenced his friends, and even when he sincerely protests that he is innocent before God, he fails to recognize the truth that no man is justified in relying on his own virtue and righteousness, and that it is God alone, whose power and grace can sustain man. Job's longing after God, is unquestionably a holy principle, but even this longing is combined with an irreverent and unholy spirit of defiance; of this the evidence is found in his last discourse, in which he conceives of God as approaching him with a written accusation, and himself as fearlessly and boldly meeting every accusation as one against whom even God can make no complaint.

These considerations presented themselves to the mind of one of the spectators, who had witnessed the contest in perfect silence. Elihu surveys both parties with indignation—the three friends, for condemning Job without supporting their decision by evidence in any form—and Job, for supposing that because he is conscious of his innocence in reference to the accusations of his friends, he must necessarily be altogether righteous and pure in the eyes of God. He had listened with deep interest to both parties, but had been restrained, when he thought of his youth, from engaging without a summons in the conflict himself (32 : 6). Now, however, when not only the three friends are silent, but Job also

ceases to speak, the Spirit of God that is in him, impels him irresistibly to speak, without fearing or flattering men. "Behold, I am within as wine that was not opened, it bursts like new skins." He reminds Job in brief but forcible terms, that even if truth were on his side in other respects, he had surely erred herein, that, in his excitement, he had spoken irreverently of God. Why does he arraign God for not addressing him directly as man speaks to man? God communes with man not only in dreams and visions of the night, and thus teaches him to be humble—affliction itself is a language, teaching him who can understand it, to confess his sins and gratefully praise the grace of God. In this manner God speaks once, yea, twice (33: 14) to a man, not for the purpose of driving him to destruction, but of preserving him from it. He asks whether Job has aught to say in reply—if not, requests him to listen further to his words. Here Job becomes aware that he now has an opponent before him of a very different character from that of the other three—he feels the speaker's power and remains silent. Elihu then reminds him, further, that he had complained as if God had taken his right away, and caused him to lie against it (34: 6, =required him to confess himself guilty of offences of which he was really innocent;); he had, indeed, almost implied that it was of no avail even when man remained faithful to God. How could he entertain such thoughts, when all man's views of right and justice proceed from God himself, and when God had not only created the world, but continued to govern it with undeserved love. He, as the sovereign Judge, applies the same standard to the high and the lowly; to him man's most secret steps are revealed; he so controls the lot alike of the individual and of a nation, that truth and justice are ultimately vindicated. It is fitting for man, on the other hand, to confess his sins in humility, and to beseech God to reveal to him that which is hidden. Hence judicious men would unquestionably say that Job had not spoken wisely, and that a continuance of the present trial, which had been divinely sent, would be profitable to him. If it sometimes seems as if the righteous man derived no benefit from his fear of God, or, as if God did not listen to his supplications, the cause must always be traced to the unholy spirit and the secret pride of the suppliant. Job should strictly examine himself, and ascertain whether he had not so erred, even if he were free from the sins with which he had been charged.

Job continues to be silent, and Elihu proceeds again (36 : 1.) He has yet somewhat to say on God's behalf. His words are spoken in sincerity—it is not necessary that he should, like his predecessor, adopt a dishonest course. “Behold, God is mighty, and despiseth not any.” These words express the most exalted truth that he can pronounce—the union of divine omnipotence with tender condescending love. “He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous : but with kings are they on the throne ; yea, he doth establish them forever, and they are exalted.” If they be bound in fetters of misery, a salutary humiliation is designed ; the wicked alone are thereby provoked to wrath, and consequently perish by their own fault ; but the affliction of the humble leads to their deliverance. “Even so,” says Elihu to Job, “he would remove thee out of the strait into a broad place, where there is no straitness. (35 : 16). He now appends a solemn warning, and begs him not to long for the night that devours entire nations, evidently alluding to Job's repeated wish that death would deliver him. His words seem to resemble those of the three friends, who at one time opened cheerful prospects to Job, and then resorted to terms of warning and reproach. But the difference consists in the motives of Elihu, who does not refer to any special transgression, but is speaking generally, from the fulness of his heart. He again extols God, who is so mighty and exalted, and yet condescends to reveal himself in his works, as an incomparable teacher of feeble man. To praise and exalt Him, is the duty of all. Elihu describes the divine glory in the ascending vapor, in the falling rain, in the unfolding of the clouds, which can both bless and chastise men—such is the language of the Almighty Teacher! Elihu is led to select these images at the moment when, on glancing upward, he notices the approach of a thunder-storm ; it approaches rapidly. “Listen—listen to the noise of his voice, and the sound that goeth out of his mouth” (37 : 2.) With new life and animation he now proceeds to describe the power of God as revealed in nature, exhorts Job to lay all pride aside and bow in humility before his Maker. Does Job understand the wonders of nature? Can he explain the mode in which God arches the sky? Then let him not presume to dispute with God. All the glory of the world combined is unfit to be compared to the awful splendor which surrounds God ; nevertheless, he graciously condescends to those who fear him, and do not trust in their own wisdom. “The Almighty—we cannot find

him out; exalted in power, and in judgment, and in the fullness of justice—he doth not afflict. Men do therefore fear him; he respecteth not any that are wise of heart.” (37 : 24.)

Elihu utters these concluding words with a certain haste, as if a holy dread had seized him; he is silent—the tempest has come!—The thunder is hushed, and Jehovah’s voice, in majesty and power, addresses Job: “Who is he that darkeneth the decree by words without knowledge? Gird up now thy loins like a man; I will ask thee; teach thou me.” And now Jehovah unfolds his own grandeur; he speaks as first with divine irony, when he addresses the man who had forgotten his own insignificance, and dared to reproach Him; still, his words are only apparently severe; they reveal unspeakable love and condescension. He refers to the wonders exhibited at the creation of the heavens and the earth, when the morning-stars sung hymns of praise, when the proud waves were confined within their allotted space, and when the first morning rays illumined the earth. He speaks of all the secret forces in nature, and of that wisdom which is revealed alike in the laws that control the heavens, and in the gift of reason which man received. He exhibits his varied creations, the beasts which his hand fashioned variously, the order and beauty revealed in the administration of all things, the manifold exhibitions of power combined with goodness and with wisdom. He has granted Job’s wish—he stands before him. But Job cannot now find the words which, as he had repeatedly declared, he desired to employ in vindicating himself before God. If the words of Elihu had moved him, he is still more powerfully affected when Jehovah himself appears and speaks—he can only exclaim in fear and dread: “Behold I am vile; what shall I answer? I lay my hand upon my mouth” (40: 4.) His confession is not satisfactory—he has not yet acknowledged the guilt which he contracted by that earlier language of defiance. Again he is summoned: “Gird up, then, thy loins like a man; I will ask thee; teach thou me.” The man who even now does not appear to be conscious of the greatness of his guilt, deserves to hear the words: “Deck thyself, then, with pride and majesty, and array thyself with glory and splendor. Pour out the waves of thy rage; behold all that is exalted, and abase it.” But this feeble mortal, far from being able to reach the level of his God and Judge, cannot even, control those gigantic ani-

imals which God's creative power, in its divine fulness, had called into existence—Behemoth, at whose side, while he reposes, the smaller beasts fearlessly play—Leviathan, whose power exhibits such wonders, who is a stranger to fear, and is the king of the proudest beasts of prey.—At length Job is completely humbled—he humbly repeats the words which God had pronounced, and adds the confession of his guilt, expressed in the language of grateful praise. “Who is he that covers the decree without knowledge?—Therefore have I uttered that I understood not; things too wonderful for me, which I knew not.—Hear, I beseech thee, and I will speak; I will ask thee; teach thou me.—I heard of thee only by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth thee. Therefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.”

Here his trial ends; he has passed through it, even if he stumbled and had well nigh fallen. He is now cleansed, and raised to a nearer union with God. But to the three friends God declares that his wrath is kindled against them, “because ye have not spoken of me in uprightness as my servant Job hath.” They are commanded to offer up a burnt-offering, and Job is directed to pray that they may be forgiven. They obey the divine command—and now, when Job prays for them, not only without secret ill-will, but with sincere love, the Lord delivered him from all his afflictions. His kindred visit and comfort him. Jehovah blessed him so abundantly that “his latter end was more than his beginning;” he is again surrounded by sons and daughters, and the owner of enlarged possessions. “So Job died, being old and full of days.”

ARTICLE II.

MARTIN LUTHER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF JULIUS KÖSTLIN.

By GEORGE DIEHL, D. D., Frederick, Md.

MARTIN LUTHER was born on the 10th of November, 1483, at Eisleben, whither his father John, a miner, had removed from Möhra, his former residence. He was originally a peasant according to Luther's own account, as were also

the father of John and his grandfather. The name is evidently the same as Lothar, Chlothacker. (Kloostratos.*) His mother Margaret, whose maiden name was Lindeman, was a descendant of a family of Eisenach. The day of his birth was distinctly recorded and the year also 1483, and not 1484. His parents soon afterward removed to Mansfeld, where his father became a member of the town council.

In the training of the child, the parents were most strict and rigorous in their discipline, under which Martin tasted something of the terrors of the law. Thus he was brought up to a correct, moral life. His father's moral perception discerned the depraved character of the clergy of that day, suspecting their knavery and hypocrisy. His mother is praised by Melanchthon† for her modest deportment, piety and devotion—*pudicitia, timor Dei et invocatio*. Of his father, after his death, Luther said it was proper for him to mourn the loss of such a parent who had supported him by the sweat of his brow, and made him what he was:—*dignum est—lugere me talem parentem;—Pater misericordiae—me—per ejus sudores aluit et finxit qualis, qualis sum*.

The income from his father's labor was sufficient to enable him to support his son at a Latin School, first at Mansfeld, in 1497 at Magdeburg under the Franciscans, and from 1498 at Eisenach, where his mother's relatives were still living. Luther in the mean time with other poor scholars was under the necessity of crying before the doors of the citizens, *panem propter Deum*, and singing for his bread. At Eisenach there was an accomplished Grammarian, J. Trebonius. Luther already gave proofs of superior talents—*vis ingenii acerrima et imprimis ad eloquentiam idonea*‡ and was drawn by his capacities to a higher institution of learning. His parents allowed him to go to the University of Erfurt in 1501. His course of studies there led him into the dominant system of sharp dialectics. His scholastic studies were chiefly the writings of Johannes von Wesel, while the tendency to a Reformation in this renowned Erfurt student seemed to be entirely suspended. Luther became a Baccalaureus 1503 and a *Magister* 1505. In reliance upon his excellent talents, his father and friends hoped he would make his fortune in worldly posts of honor; and therefore decided that he should be a lawyer.

* Abel, die deutschen Personnamen.

† *Vita* Martin Luther, Great Reform. 1841-3.

‡ Melanchthon 4.

Of Luther's religious development at this time, nothing more is known than that he was imbued with a moral and religious bias which he doubtless brought with him from home; but he walked in the unevangelical way of salvation prescribed by the then Catholic Church, without being guided by any one to an acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures. Now we hear of fearful overpowering terrors with which his mind was agitated by continued reflections on the wrath of God. To this the sudden death [of a friend probably by murder* contributed. Inward anguish, from which he could find no relief, drove him to the sudden determination to enter upon a Monastic life. By the end of the year 1505, he became an Augustinian at Erfurt, unexpectedly to his friends, to the deep grief of his father, and without clear convictions of his own conscience, *magis raptus quam tractus*.† In 1507 he received ordination as a priest. With sincere and deep earnestness, Luther gave himself up to the deepest monastic humiliation. Not less diligently did he prosecute his theological studies. He nearly committed to memory the works of Gabriel von Biel, and of D' Ailly, carefully read those of Occam and Gerson, and at last the complete works of Augustine. But his mental conflicts and anguish, and his agonizing doubts with regard to his salvation, instead of diminishing, increased to the highest degree, as he went through his religious duties. Eagerly did he receive the encouraging advice of a simple-hearted old brother of the Convent, who directed him to the article on the forgiveness of sin and spoke much of faith; and yet farther was he assisted by the comforting instructions of Staupitz, the General of his Order. The evidences of grace as pointed out by the Church fathers, Bernhard and Augustine, became dear to him; but the most decisive was, that above all things he entered deeply into the study of the Holy Scriptures.

Dr. Staupitz having directed attention to the genius and learning of this modest monk, he was called by Frederick the Elector, in 1508, to the Chair of Philosophy in his new University at Wittenberg. He read Dialectics and on Philosophy according to Aristotle. In 1509 he became Baccalaureus *ad Biblia*, and 1512, Doctor of Theology. From a visit to Rome which he made in 1510 on business connected with the Convent he received impressions with regard to the corruption of the Romish Church, which afterward influenced his

* Jürgens & Meurer. † Letters 2. 47.

zeal against her ; but as yet these produced no breach with the Church to which he had fully given his faith. In 1516 he was appointed Vicar of his order for Misnia and Thuringia.

In the mean time, in most intimate connection with his inner life, there progressed that transformation of his views, convictions and efforts, to which, since 1517, he felt called from above. During the first years of his professorship he did not rise above the prevailing system of Aristotle. That he was thoroughly versed in the same is admitted and his earliest published sermons furnish clear proofs of it.* But soon afterward, as the wants of his mental state demanded, he transferred his fond devotion from Philosophy to Theology, which he regarded as the essence of all wisdom, *nucleum nucis, medullam ossium scrutatur*.† The germ of saving truth he sought for himself and his hearers in the sacred Scriptures, and especially in the Epistle to the Romans, and the Psalms. In his exposition of both these books,—for the first time the Gospel light shone forth once more. In his Scriptural teachings from the sacred desk, he was particularly concerned that the truth, which had been living food for his own soul, should prove the bread of life to his congregation in general ; and with this view he expounded the word in a practical, popular and most simple manner.‡ Of human books the works of Augustine continued to be most highly valued. Next to the Bible, his acquaintance with Tauler and the German Theology produced the deepest impressions on his mind.|| In this author, whose views took a stronger hold on his intellect and feelings than even Augustine, he recognized the highest human testimony to that truth which with profound labor and study he obtained from the word of God.§ Resting on the Bible and rejoicing in the agreement of his favorite authors with revealed truth, he entirely abandoned Aristotle and the Scholastic Theology, although he had not yet withdrawn from the Papal Church. He was glad when he saw his opinions predominant in the University.¶ He felt confident that while scholasticism

* Christmas 1515. Loescher Ref. Acts. 1. 231-241.

† Letters 1. 6.

‡ Comp. Sermons from 1515 to 1517. Loescher—Sermons on the Ten Commandments, and his Exposition of the Penitential Psalms—and explan. Lord's Prayer, 1517.

|| See Sermons, &c. § See Letters 1. 40. Loescher 1. 794.

¶ Letters 1. 57.

was sustained merely by logic, he had planted himself upon the everlasting word (*nulla forma syllogistica tenet in terminis divinis*, Loescher.) From his philosophical theses, in Luther's Heidelberg disputations 1518, it is evident that he cherished for Platonism at least much more respect than for Aristotelism.* Along with his mystical tendency in the sphere of religion he felt a deep sympathy with the progress of the age in general; and thus he sided with Reuchlin in opposition to the inquisitors of Cologne.†

His religious views, as he thought, were as little in opposition to the Church as during his convent life, where already he saw the sermons of Huss, and was surprised at the condemnation of so powerful a teacher of the Scriptures, without however doubting the righteousness of the verdict, he closes the book of the heretic. During his external connection with the Romish system, he had already obtained a complete and thorough knowledge of evangelical truth not only in the hitherto mystical sense, but according to the faith of the Reformation.‡ He had arisen from his inward conflicts into the sure basis of salvation—a faith in the unconditional grace of God. And in the statement of his views he adhered strictly to the formulas of Augustine: that by nature man seeks only the things of the flesh, (by which Luther understood not merely *sensualis concupiscentia*, but the whole character and conduct of unconverted man): and all his good works before he has faith, are sin. God must first by an act of grace make the tree good, before it can bring forth good fruit; and man can in no way prepare himself beforehand for the exercise of faith, *unica dispositio ad gratiam est aeterna Dei electio et praedestinatio*—On the side of man it is mere rebellion,|| and Luther excludes all self-boasting from the works of the regenerated,—*omnis justus vel in bene agendo peccat*. Toward the real obedience of the divine commandments man can merely do this,—*quidquid non fit, ignoscitur* (345). Luther's comprehension of the plan of salvation leads us next into the sphere of that mysticism. The personal salvation of the individual subject is based upon the mediation of Christ, in the condition of faith. And indeed faith in the sense of this mystical theory is identical with a pure, unselfish, entire, humble surrender of all that we have.

* Loescher 2. 45. † Letters 1. 9. Year 1512–13. Year 1514.

‡ Dieckhoff. Deutsche Zeitschrift 1852. 17.

|| Loescher 1. 329. Theses 1516—1517.

The genuine fear of God in believers is this which—*pure propter Deum timet Deum*.* The believer must surrender to God—*sese in purum nihilum resignare* (782)—his own will which as the source of sin comes from Satan†—must renounce, not indeed outwardly but inwardly all created things‡ —*omnia habere indifferentia*. That which God demands above all things, and through which alone we can obtain a participation in his divine goodness, is *humilitas* (790.) But the whole nature of faith is positively comprehended. In general it is: *Substantia rerum non apparentium, qua mens abstrahatur ab omnibus his quae videntur et quibus cupiditates irritantur; in ea quae non videntur projicitur.*||

In reference to Christ, faith is a complete surrender of all we have to the perfect union with the Savior himself. (761.) Luther differed from the theory of this mysticism in the experience of his whole inner life, which was not only evangelical but pre-eminently religious in his views of grace, having a deep consciousness of the nothingness of temporal things. His devotion to God included a renunciation of his own righteousness, a misgiving as to his own salvation except through the righteousness of Christ. Faith, as faith in the unseen, is really in opposition to a trust in one's own visible works of righteousness (289.) The *justitiarum*, the proud self-righteous are those against whom Luther preached most severely. And he found, as he saw, the deficiency of our own righteousness and the continued infirmities of the regenerated themselves. (249.) Thus faith turns to Christ alone. He alone obeyed the law and *impletionem suam nobis impertit*. Faith also looks to him as the crucified one and says, *es justitia mea, ego autem sum peccatum tuum; tu assumisti meum et dedisti mihi tuum*,§—thus, *sufficit Christus per fidem, ut sis justus*,¶ and indeed Christ must continue to be our righteousness during the whole life, in so far as ours even in a state of grace never can suffice. Hence it follows that we are really just *ex sola imputatione Dei*, in so far as he does not impute sin.** That we can say, *omnis sanctus peccator revera, justus vero per reputationem Dei miserentis* (335.) The mercy of God gives us an inward

* Loescher 1. 259. † Exp. Lord's prayer, 21. 188.

‡ Loescher 1. 785. || Loescher 1. 230. 758.

§ Letters 1. 17. Ap. 1518. ¶ Loescher 1. 761.

** 335. 288. Year 1516.

witness in the deep consciousness, "Thy sins are forgiven thee."* But Luther cautions us against supposing that the forgiveness of sin takes place only when there is this inward assurance.† Yet in Luther's opinion justifying faith and self-denial and self-crucifixion, as also hope, often flow into each other in many ways.‡

At first he applied the term *righteous* only to those to whom the quality of righteousness was restored,|| and thus taught a continuing *justificari*, and afterwards, the restoration of this quality—*sanctificatio, purgatio*—was comprehended without any perceptible difference of meaning in *justificatio* as the forgiveness of sin simply under *justificatio*. Yet we see how completely his teaching differs from Augustine and the mysticism. That assurance of faith in the grace of Christ, as it secures the pardon of sin and justifies the believer, is the source of holy impulses and joyful works of righteousness, as that faith which first turns to God alone. Man does not become just by works, but justification itself (in this comprehensive sense) produces good works (761. 778.) Faith in turning away from all visible things (that is from all that is not God) to God himself (245–250) leaves all other inclinations to be absorbed in this divine feeling.§ Out of a confiding faith springs a sweet love, which through faith produces all good works and overcomes all¶ and whilst Christ dwells in the heart the believer follows his instructive example and pattern. (955.) Whatever good works the believer now performs he does, not for his own righteousness, *nulla operatio confert justo aliquid justitiae, sed Deo per eam et hominibus servitur* (778.) Even secular works performed in this way, the employments of a prince or those of a common mechanic are as acceptable to God as prayer, fasting and vigils.** There will be imparted all that grace through the word, in which there is nothing else than Christ himself, the bread of life. This bread is given externally by means of the services of priests and teachers of the word; as also in the sacrament of the altar, internally through God's own teachings for God is always in his word.†† More precisely is it imparted through the Gospel after the Law has

* Exp. Pen. Ps. 37. 393. † Exp. Lord's Pr. 21. 211.

‡ Comp. Loescher 1. 759. 288. || 258. Year 1515.

§ 230. Opp. Exeg. 12. 5. ¶ Loescher 1. 230.

** 252. Year 1515. †† Expo. L. Pr. 203.

first done its work, that is, has brought us chastened and humbled to grace.* Then only the Gospel proclaims peace and pardon. This office of the Law, Luther includes in the idea of the Gospel, in that he comprehends in this idea the entire contents of the New Testament Scriptures; but only the proclamation of grace is *opus evangelii proprium*, that (as *latificat mandatum, magnificat peccatum*) much more an *opus evangelii alienum*.† Luther was not conscious that the predominant church views contradicted those truths which had become the central point of his faith and life, nor yet did he cease to recognize impressively such elements of the teachings of the Church as could not be permanently reconciled with that central point. He demanded in opposition to the reigning custom, that bishops should have respect to preaching as the first aim of their office;‡ and that sermons should be free from fictitious histories, false legends, human conjectures and human ordinances;|| and that they should preach not only (as alas was universally the case) on *mores et opera*, but especially on *fides et justitia*.§ Such Luther thought, should be the first object of a reforming effort, and the second should be measures against the inner demoralization of the clergy, in whose inner experience the world should be overcome.¶ But in all this, he regarded his own teachings as in harmony with the doctrines of the Church, as he only noticed their defects or short-comings in practice and not in doctrine. His own catholic views are yet strikingly manifest, for example, in his relation to the cultivation of holiness. He preached earnestly against that belief which seeks individual external helps through certain individual patrons, as if all might not accomplish all things and as if there were nothing higher to implore, and placed their real worth in this, that we should praise God through these. He defended the worship of the Saints, our intercessors with God, against the Picards.** Although Luther took offence at the life of priests and popes, there does not appear as yet the trace of a doubt with respect to the authority and plenary power of the external Church as such. Obedience to her, the infallible, is identical in his view with

* Pread. 123. Loescher 1. 762, 770. † Loescher. 785.

‡ Loescher 1. 757, 225.

|| Loescher 1. 225 Opp. Ex. F E. 12. 29. 197, 198.

§ Loescher 1. 778. ¶ Loescher 1. 229.

** Praed 28. 30. 40. 43. Loescher 1. 792.

obedience to Christ.* Of Peter's power of the keys, it is related, *nisi Christus omnem potestatem suam dedisset homini, nulla fuisset ecclesia perfecta.*† We do not see that Luther had as yet reflected more on the nature of this power. By virtue of his inward development, similarly with the German Mystics, he did not enter on such reflections at all, until driven to it by a struggle for that which was to him the most sacred. Nothing can be a clearer and more remarkable evidence than his entire want of a consciousness of his already begun opposition to the Church and also to his master Augustine and the Mystic Theology, that his spirit, out of which his views arose, was a positive, inwardly and unconsciously witnessing and impelling spirit, and not at all the spirit of negation, or of destruction, or merely of critical reflection. In his personal deportment and actions he exhibited strikingly the characteristic of one who having himself, in his own misery, truly experienced mercy, is charitable to the faults of others.‡ Nothing did he repel more strenuously than the praises of his friends.|| What he desired of friends was that they should intercede for his infirmities.§ When at length he had to come forth as champion for his faith, he commanded attention, because *mores congruerent cum oratione docentis videreturque oratio non in labris nasci sed in pectore*¶ Even the sagacity of the bitterest enemies could not detect any fault in the whole of his hitherto life. The sale of Indulgences which Tetzel the Dominican, with a commission from the Bishop of Mentz, was carrying on in the neighborhood of Wittenberg gave occasion to Luther's appearing as a champion not against the Church as he intended, but for her glory and according to her own real views and will. He began to warn his flock against the abuse of indulgences, in the confessional and from the pulpit, while his dogmatic opinion of the same consequent upon his central point of faith, although only gradually, (at first partially,) took shape in his own mind from seeing the dangerous tendency thereof. From the word "*μετανοια*" he perceived what a perversion it is to place repentance merely in *frigidas quasdam satisfactiones et laboriosissimam confessionem*. He himself relates, *haec mea cum sic ferveret meditatio, ecce subito coeperunt circum nos strepere—nova indulgentiarum classica.*** Now

* 12. 83. † Loescher 1. 280. ‡ Letters 1. 17. 18. 37-51.

|| Letters 1. 50. § Letters 1. 58. ¶ Mel. 6.

** Letters 1. 117.

it was necessary to point out what the appropriate *satisfactio* was which belongs to true repentance, and how indulgences are related to it. (575) Accordingly he taught, that these pertain to the temporal penances which the priests can impose, and that the arrears of guilt will be expiated in purgatory. The pope can only release *quoad poenitentiam a se injunctam vel injungibilem*; but into the kingdom of God, man cannot come out of purgatory merely by the remission of penance, but only by internal *contritio* and purification and increase of holiness through the aid of divine grace; and in this view the pope cannot release by virtue of his power of the keys, but only through the impartation of the intercession of the whole Church; but how far we may feel certain that such intercession will be granted by God, Luther ventured no decision, although he believed that we might allege for the answer to such intercession, the promise pertaining to Christian prayer, and with reference to this allow that indulgences might be profitable in so far as the recipients of the same would guard themselves against false security.* (574) Thus† he discriminated with distinctness in repentance (1) the internal in the heart and from the heart, (2) the external, often only feigned, consisting in *confessio et satisfactio*, with regard to which we must distinguish between public and private. Luther refers the indulgences to private *satisfactio*, and yet immediately announces the apprehension that this might operate against real internal repentance and lead to its neglect. He farther acknowledges that he finds only the public *satisfactio*, and nowhere the private confession and satisfaction, extending through the whole life, taught and prescribed. In addition to this, Luther sought to counteract the evil of indulgences, by letters, which he addressed to the *Magnates ecclesiae*,—especially to the Bishop of Brandenburg, and the Archbishop of Mentz. With his letter to the latter he sent the 95 theses, with which the controversy with Tetzel was to be undertaken. He nailed these to the Court Chapel at Wittenberg on the 31st of October, 1517. He did not as yet intend to make such an attack upon the hierarchy of Rome as would lead to a separation. In sending the theses to the Archbishop he intimated that he might publish a controversial treatise. At present he did not wish these theses to be regarded as well-

* Serm. X Trin. Loescher 1. 729.

† Serm. *prid. dedicat.* 1517. 1. 734.

established propositions, but merely as furnishing preliminary subjects of discussion. The substance of them he had already taught in his sermons; the command of Jesus to repent, requires that the whole life should be one of penitence, and is not to be understood as consisting in priestly confession and absolution. With the repentance of the heart there must be united the outward crucifixion of the flesh. And thus in connection with this the *poena* will continue, until the believer enters into the kingdom of heaven. With reference to actual repentance the pope can give no remission, but only in regard to the appointed penance; for the pope's indulgence does not secure reconciliation with God; still less can it remove the guilt of the smallest daily sin. The pope can only remit sin in the sense of declaring on the part of God the remission of sin which follows genuine repentance. Such popish forgiveness, viz, the announcement of the terms of pardon; is not to be despised. But even without the remission of the pope, the Christian can obtain complete forgiveness through genuine compunction, on the ground of Christ's merits, and the good works of saints. Without the aid of the pope, we can obtain the inner grace of the heart and the external crucifixion of the old man. The real treasure of the Church is the Gospel of the grace of God; and this (not indulgences) is the highest grace entrusted to the pope. In this view God requires each one whose sins he forgives, to be subject to the priest as his own representative. Little as Luther would release Christians from the power and authority of the Church, he places these in their true relation to the chief end, viz, the attainment of grace, immediately from God. Hence he desires to express only the real opinion of the pope, who was ignorant of the abuse carried on. He also allowed a "sermon on pardon and grace" to be published, in which, as in a former discourse, he admonished his hearers against the use of indulgences, and that patient endurance and well-doing were much more profitable. It might seem remarkable that Luther does not give prominence in this place to the signification of faith already set forth by him. No doubt he includes in the "inner penitence," compunction and conversion. With reference to indulgences he did not take into consideration faith as an element in real inward repentance so much as the relation of indulgence to the "*satisfactio*;" and for the reality of repentance he looked to the life proceeding from it. What Luther uttered from sincere, independent and irresistible impulse was soon re-echoed

through all Germany, far beyond his anticipations and efforts. In fourteen days the theses had circulated through nearly all Germany, for all the world was complaining of indulgences; and while all the bishops and doctors were silent and afraid to assail the evil, Luther was looked upon as a doctor who should come and who would lay his hand to the work. How little he had examined critically the character and movements of the surrounding visible Church (although inwardly moved) may be perceived from the fact that with artless confidence he ventured to expect the pope to favor his exertions. But it was a higher trust that from the beginning gave him confidence and strength amid all the opposition and persecution of his enemies. The next occasion for advancing in this great enterprise was afforded by a convent of his order at Heidelberg, where he held a disputation on the 26th of April, 1518, in the presence of a great concourse of people and theologians, among whom were Bucer, Brentz, and Schnoepf. Hence he drew up "resolutions" or "*probationes*" of his 95 theses, which he transmitted to the pope. He was driven still farther by the assaults of his adversaries, Tetzl, Prierias the Dominican, the popish *Magister palatii*, and John Eck, the Chancellor of Ingolstadt, the most important among them. He replied to the first in his sermon on indulgences; to Eck in the *Asterisci adv. abelisc. Eccii* and to Prierias in the *Respons. ad. Sylv. Prier. dial.* Hoogstraten who had advised the shortest way with heretics against him, was despatched with a brief *Scheda*. Luther saw himself branded as an unqualified heretic by all these. The efforts of the pope from the beginning aimed at the suppression of his doctrines as heretical, as did also the sentence pronounced on him by his appointed Judge. Luther was cited to Rome to answer to the charge. But Frederick, the Elector, was not willing to give up his esteemed Wittenberg Theologian without further security. And the pope valuing a good understanding with this exalted prince of the Empire more highly than the destruction of an insignificant monk, did not proceed to extremities. The Cardinal Cajetan was first sent as legate to Augsburg, Oct. 1518, to overcome him by a personal interview. There Luther appeared under a safe-conduct of the Emperor, without allowing himself to be frightened by warnings against the unfaithfulness of the foreigner. He presented himself as a most dutiful son of the Holy Romish Church, but stood forth fearless and bold against the plenary power of the papacy, unmoved by

threatening, planting himself on the word of God, and appealed "*a papa non bene informato ad melius informandum.*" The bull which was issued after this did not speak of him personally, but only against the dogma, disseminated "by some" concerning indulgences. Now Luther advanced to a decisive breach with the papacy by appealing, on the 28th of Nov. 1518, from the pope to a general Council. The course the controversy had taken, had in the meantime conducted Luther to a more full development of his entirely confined views; having been preached by him before, they now advanced to greater perspicuity, and with his opposition to the decisions of the Romish Church, they culminate in a full antagonism to the whole ecclesiastical system. Going back from the single point of contention concerning indulgences to the fundamental doctrine of the plan of salvation, generally the writings of Luther reiterate those fundamental propositions in reference to the sinfulness of all, even the best of human works. Justification by faith in Christ alone,—in reference to Christ, in so far as he through faith becomes ours, and as such works and teaches within us, and also fulfils within us the commandments of God, and makes those works of ours, though sinful in themselves, acceptable to God. Luminously does he now sum up his doctrine under the conception of the *justitia*; first a false *justitia* is the more legal one; secondly the true and proper *justitia* is twofold; (a) the *justitia* of Christ imparted in justification through faith: by virtue of which, the believer is in Christ viewed as righteous,—and there follows in him an *infusio*, viz, a communication* from Christ himself and his gifts; (b) the *justitia* of a righteous life, a consequence of that *just. Christi*, which cancels the actual transgressions as the *infusio* does original sin,—the latter subject to mutations, while the former is "substantial and eternal." And this doctrine of grace (though a result of the controversy concerning indulgences) is now established as *the* doctrine, in special reference to the keys and absolution—and so clearly established that our first attempts to comprehend the views that Luther so persistently held, render them perfectly perceptible and tangible. Prior to the man's enjoying absolution, the divine forgiveness takes place, for without it there cannot arise a desire to obtain the same; yet when God begins the work of justification—he first causes condemnation to be experienced—whereup-

* Loescher 2. 43-47. Heidel. Disp.

on in order that one may obtain peace, he directs him to the Church to seek it*—and although his own conscience be still restless, he should nevertheless confide in the judgment of another—that is, the priest; not indeed because of the power of the prelate or priest, but because of the word of Christ,† which cannot deceive. Hereby then is the transition from the Romish to the peculiarly Lutheran doctrine concerning absolution completed. This same absolution is to retain full objective force, that the alarmed conscience may rest in it. But the objectivity of absolution is no longer based upon a human judgment, but upon the word of Christ, in virtue of which it will take effect, even despite the levity and error of absolving priests (201—264) and furthermore it is not a human judgment which places the absolved person in possession of forgiveness, yet the actual impartation of this follows only in consequence of his faith. (198—263) Finally the pope,‡ entrusted with the keys, is not on that account to be revered like a tyrant, but to be viewed in the light of a servant and minister of Christians, given to them to be their consolation, and where he unjustly binds, i. e. refuses absolution, the believer is to fear no danger to himself. (265. 291.) The sermon on the sacrament of Penance expresses clearly and fully that, “the forgiveness of guilt does not rest in the power of any man, but only in the word of Christ and their own faith;” and with the same undoubting faith as this word is received from the mouth of the priest, should it also be received from the lips of a pious layman; for he also exercises, in this manner, the power to forgive sins; and from the priest it should be imparted where there has been confession and a desire of absolution, even where there is not the certainty of true sorrow and faith on the part of the confessing one. In this manner are we already conducted by Luther from the torturing process and judgment of auricular confession, to that ever, by him, commended confession, the principal benefit of which is the consoling absolution. In respect to the sacraments generally, Luther maintains the importance and necessity of faith, as the medium through which grace can be received, and without which they would tend more to our injury than edification. This was the principal point from which Cajetan sought in vain to remove him in Augsburg. In the attitude

* Compare 261—263. † John 20: 23.

‡ Resolution 7 theses. Loescher 1. 196.

assumed by Luther toward the power of the Church, and its external affairs generally, it appears that greatly as he desired to agree with the Church,* he would base his convictions upon no ecclesiastical authority whatever, but solely upon the Holy Scriptures. When it became necessary to maintain his views against the power and authority of the Church, he felt not the least hesitancy in defending his opinions, because of his conviction from the beginning, that notwithstanding his duty of humble submission to the pope, he dare not allow any papal sentence to contravene the teachings of God. Under the influence of these convictions the sphere of his unconditional subjection was narrowed down to the mere observance of external order, which he placed on a level with the duty of obedience to the civil authority as a divine institution. While on the one hand he aimed at limiting the prerogatives of the pope to the existing canons, and the decrees of the Councils called by him; on the other hand, he maintained, already against Prierias, that even a Council in which the Church is fully represented may err, and that the authors of the Holy Scriptures alone do not err. The question concerning the power of excommunication, must finally place his views of the relation between the Romish and any other human Church as well as the participation in salvation and the proper communion of believers, in the clearest light. Here he makes a broad distinction between the internal and spiritual communion of believers and the mere external and corporeal. From the former no creature except his own sins can exclude the Christian; and though the rod of excommunication should be received with reverence as a wholesome discipline, even when it is entrusted by the Church, our mother, to unworthy hands, and by them used in an unrighteous manner, because the person unrighteously excommunicated† might also be saved if he persevere in the truth, even under the operation of the ban. All this Luther had already openly proclaimed, even before he appealed to a Council. He could not therefore have made such an appeal, in the sense of intending to submit a conviction, resting upon the authority of the Scriptures, to the decision of a Council. He begins now to recognize in the pope himself the Antichrist, and he apprehends therefore with respect to the whole controversy and

* Loescher 2. 202. First Ed. 20. 182.

† Loescher 2. 290.—Loescher 2. 401. (390) Loescher 2. 376.

movement, that its initiation is not set on foot by himself, but by a higher and invisible power, of which he feels himself to be only the humble instrument. The desire of the pope to maintain friendly relations with the Elector, especially as the election of an Emperor was impending, led him to a last attempt to settle the dispute with Luther in a peaceable manner. The friendly expostulations of his chancellor K. von Miltitz, sent to the Elector, availed with Luther, at least so far, that he consented to remain silent, provided his enemies would do the same, and to write a humble letter to the pope expressing his reverence for the Romish Church.* But in this paper, while he acknowledged himself a believer in the worship of saints and in the doctrine of Purgatory, and even allowed the Indulgences,—he nevertheless boldly declared that he could not believe in the efficacy of Indulgences upon those in Purgatory;—that the commandments of God are higher than those of the Church;—and furthermore that the question concerning the power of the papal chair, had nothing to do whatever with the salvation of the soul.† That Christ had founded his Church, not upon external power or authority, nor upon temporal matters. Neither did Luther feel free to avoid a rekindling of the strife, when Eck, challenging his colleague Carlstadt to a disputation at Leipsic, directed his principle shafts against him, (Luther). The points which Luther was led to maintain during this disputation, were, in the main, not new. Yet before that time, they were not so clearly placed before the eyes of the world, and had therefore not created so deep a sensation. The direct design of Eck, at this time, while he sought to conduct the whole controversy to the deciding point concerning the papal primacy, was to place Luther formally before the world as an apostate from the Church of Rome. The chief proposition of Eck, at first was merely historical, viz: that the Romish Church, already before the time of Sylvester, held a supremacy over all others. But while Luther contested this proposition, by an appeal to the Scriptures, the Nicene Council and the history of the Church for 1100 years, he denied the *jus divinum* of the papal supremacy generally, little as he desired to dispute the rights of the present Primate. Luther now maintained that the papal supremacy like every earthly power was derived from God alone. Yea, he placed

* January, 1519.

† Letters l. 193. 239., l. 193. Instructions, etc. Feb. 1519 24-1.



the duty of subjection to him upon an equal footing with the duty of subjection to every divine chastisement; for example, submission to the power of the Turks, in case God should order it. Against the papists, he referred the declaration which is their chief argument* to all disciples in whose name Peter had spoken; the keys were not given to any single individual but to the Church which is called the communion of saints; and that the priests were only the servants of the Church. In the course of the disputation, he declares that the Church is a monarchy whose head is not a man, but Christ himself.† Faith in the Roman Church as exalted above others is not essential to salvation; and no flatterer of the pope can exclude from heaven the multitude of saints of the Greek Church, who never lived under the power of the pope. On the contrary, the proposition of Huss, or rather that of Augustine, has full force, *una est sancta universalis ecclesia, quae est praedestinatorum universitas*. Among the condemned propositions of Huss at Constance, there are some purely evangelical ones, like the one just mentioned.

To stop the movement, as Miltitz had hoped, after it had gained such publicity, could no longer be thought of; even though Luther should remain silent. His writings were most extensively circulated and read with an avidity, of which even our reading age can scarcely form a conception. Melanchthon stood by Luther at Wittenberg since 1518. From all quarters, young and old students came flocking to this place to gather and then again scatter abroad the seed of life. It was the simple word which had such efficacy. The wise Elector of Saxony, as prince of the country, did the best thing in his power, by simply letting it take its own course, without taking part in the strife. In Germany, next to the theologians, the nobility took the deepest interest and delight in this new and bold manner of preaching. The crisis of their order, in the development of the empire and the relative condition of their respective countries, contributed materially also to render them excitable in ecclesiastical movements; a circumstance which on the other hand, through the admixture of foreign elements

* Matt. 16.

† Compare Seidemann Leipsic Dis. 1843, Loescher 3. 123. Letters 1. 206. Loescher 3. 125, Leipsic Sermon 15. 396. 65. 269. Loescher 3. 333.

might endanger the Reformation itself.* Luther saw his writings in 1519 already passing beyond Germany into France, England, and Italy. Luther is described at this time, as a man of powerful frame, although spare through cares and profound studies; having as a public speaker great fluency and wealth of language at command, as well as richness of matter; in social life, friendly and cheerful. The contentions, into which he was drawn against his will, had added to his naturally vigorous mind and fearless boldness, a reckless and immeasurably severe impetuosity, which he felt it his duty to calm, but he did not always succeed as he had hoped.† The living fountain, whence his eloquence flowed, gave his sermons and writings their peculiar power and efficacy. His thoughts and style had liberated themselves from the scholastic form of the 95 theses; and they met in an incomparable manner the theological and practical wants of the time. To the year 1519 belong the smaller commentary on the Galatians and the works on the Psalms, and to the beginning of the year 1520, the comprehensive sermon on good works, the leading thoughts of which are carried through into a rich developement of the doctrine of grace. Luther already found himself in communication with foreign lands. Letters were sent to him from Italy, and also a messenger from the Bohemian Hussites, among whom his influence had been operating since 1518. In regard to the further development of his doctrinal system, it happened as he says, *velim, nolim, cogor in dies eruditior fieri, tot tantisque magistris‡ certatim me urgentibus et exercentibus*. With regard to his mystical contemplation of the true, all-embracing communion in the work of salvation, as this is enjoyed by the believer with Christ and his gifts and with the Church, he unfolds, in the sermon on the holy sacrament, the signification of the Lord's Supper;—also that the believer should cast all his conflicts and cares upon the Church and Christ;—and on his part should sympathize with and assume the sufferings of the Church as his own. Marks of such communion, that is, our transformation into the spiritual body—the communion of Christ and the saints,—Luther styles the transformation of the bread into the true

* Loescher 3. 360. 357. 371.

† Letters 1. 418—“*in publico versari semper indignatus sum;*” “*canem irritare non debuerunt.*”

‡ Letters Vol. 1. 491. Gindely II. 162. 1857. Jen. II. 259.

natural body of Christ, concerning which body he says nothing farther. But he says, Christ himself regarded his natural body much less than his spiritual body, viz: the communion of his saints. Luther was accustomed already, as later also, simply and briefly to say of the Holy Supper, in accordance with the words of the institution, that Christ had therein appointed the forgiveness of sins.* In his farther contest with Rome, his declaration, in the introduction to the sermon, was important, viz: that the reception of both kinds in the Supper should be restored by a Council; although he did not regard this as formally commanded by Christ, and therefore thought the Bohemian schism was not justifiable. He regarded the Romish doctrine of seven sacraments, as a *fabulatio*, in as much as there was wanting an† express divine command. Along side of the universal priesthood of believers, taught in the Scriptures, the priestly *ordo* had for him no significance; all that was peculiar in it appeared only ceremonial. Faith in Purgatory he pronounced unsafe. Of good works in the papal sense there need be no further thought as all works of faith are alike good. The external commandments of the Church are not binding, yet they may be useful to minors. The Lutheran doctrine of the Church resting only upon Christ offering himself to the believer, in the word and sacraments, was already fully set forth in the reply to an attack from the Franciscan, Alveld, at Leipsic. In opposition to the idea of an external Christendom with spiritual prerogatives and prelatical power, we have the only true and scriptural conception of the Church, composed of the congregation of believers, which has no need of Romish unity, but nevertheless has its visible characteristics, viz: Baptism, the Eucharist, and the Gospel.

The three principal productions of the year 1520 are of the highest importance as they cover the whole ground of the Reformation. The groundwork of a universal Reformation is contained in a writing addressed "To the Christian nobility of the German nation." For the first time Luther, depending upon his principles, commends to the Laity this work, required of God, though opposed by the pope and his clergy; for the laity are already priests, by virtue of their Baptism, although the exercise of the public functions of the priesthood would not be seemly as it should be confined to those who have been‡ set apart for the office. Luther pointed out

* 20. 230. † Sermon Sac. 57-25. 27-45.

‡ Letters 1. 367. 1. 369. Sermon on Good works. Papal Rome 27-85.

(addressing chiefly the civil authorities) not the dogmas assailed by himself, but those ecclesiastical abuses, many of which had before his time been the subjects of animadversion at their diets; and he extends his demand at the same time over the whole region of public morals, to the entire amelioration of the condition of society. He demands the reduction of the number of Cardinals, and the requirements of the papal Court, the abrogation of the Annates, &c., a recognition of the independence of the civil authority, and an exclusion of the arrogating of civil power by the pope, as for example, the assumption by him of the title of Sicilian King, the abrogation of the abuse practiced with the ban or excommunication, of the evils of pilgrimage, the scandal of the begging orders, and the many holidays, occasioning mischief and disorder. He further demanded an investigation of the nunneries, of begging, of luxury; the reformation of the universities; also liberty for the Clergy to contract marriage, a divine institution; a restoration of the Bohemians, with the admission that Huss, although heretical, was unrighteously burned. In reference to the Picards, he declares, that not the papal doctrine of transubstantiation, but only the real presence of the natural body of Christ in the natural bread should be the object of faith. Of transubstantiation he said, I have believed nothing because Wickliff first assailed the doctrine. It has been erroneously contended that Luther in his writings irregularly called upon the Christian Church, as a mixed multitude, to take measures for a reformation of the Church. He calls upon them* rather as a community subordinated to civil authority, and in the name of the people charges the civil power to use its authority to reform the Church. He abjures all external violence for the purpose of furthering the work. The principal points of controversy with regard to dogmas, are contained in *De captiv. Babylon, i. e.* the captivity under the pope; especially with regard to the sacraments; in reference to the Eucharist, against transubstantiation; against the mass; Baptism; justification in this sacrament only when faith is exercised; in opposition to the opinion, that those once fallen have lost the vessel and must lay hold of penance as a plank; against the fictitious value attached to vows; concerning repentance,—its nature discovered in the words of promise. Of sacraments, only three can be recognized, or more strictly only

* Loescher 2. 297. Comp. E. A. 20. 230. 247. Letters 5. 362.

two, viz: Baptism and the Holy Supper. In rejecting the sacrament of extreme unction, he appeals to the Sacred Scriptures. The fundamental doctrines of salvation and a holy life are finally set forth in a treatise, concerning the freedom of a Christian union with Christ, in which the believer becomes pious, just and happy by means of the word of faith. He describes the position of a Christian in this world, on the one hand free, as king and priest, exalted over all external things; on the other, giving himself up in love to serve his neighbors, and even in virtue of that same liberty, subjecting himself to external regulations when required by a tender regard to weaker brethren. At the request of Miltitz, Luther himself sent the above book to the pope, Oct. 1520, but instead of showing any disposition to yield, he now added to his former appeal to the Bible the declaration, *leges interpretandi verbum Dei non patior*, however assuring the pope that he had always wished him well. In August already it was rumored that Eck had arrived in Misnia with a bull of excommunication, which he really posted up in that place, on the 21st of Sept. Luther's letter to the pope, dated Sept. 6, could not restore peace. The bull was not to be executed for 120 days. This letter was Luther's last effort at peace. On the 12th of December he made the boldest declaration of war, by burning the bull and papal Decretals at Wittenberg. Luther's plan was to go forward with the conflict, as the truth required, relying entirely upon the power of God's word. Providence so overruled external circumstances that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were prevented from taking any violent measures against him. This appeared first in the relation sustained by the pope to the Elector Frederick, next in the political condition of the pope, and the disposition of the nobility of the Empire who had a number of ecclesiastical complaints in readiness. The Emperor dared not openly declare himself against the great opponent of the pope. And whenever he felt inclined to oppose the reformer, he was prevented by political considerations and difficulties. The extreme sentence of the Roman Church was passed upon Luther in the bull of excommunication, But the papal nuncio, Aleander, had to accede to the* wishes of the nobles that Luther should be cited before the Diet of Worms, with the guaranty of a safe-conduct. While this was under consideration Luther patiently

* Jen. II. 316. Letters 1. 497. 504. 510.

waited the result, ready to obey the summons of the Emperor, as a divine call. Meanwhile he was occupied in controversial writings against Emser who had attacked him as early as 1519, and again on account of his address to the Nobility, with a polemical treatise against the Dominican Ambrosius Catharinus, which is of importance on account of a new exposition of the idea of the Church as maintained against Alveld. His ardent personal wish would have been to be removed from all these conflicts and to devote himself to his studies. His comfort on his way to Worms was, that *Christ lives*. The disposition of the nobility of the Empire was certainly favorable to a Church reformer provided he would make the object of their wishes the main point, or at least accommodate his chief aim to the object. Many of the complaints against the secular encroachments of the Romish See corresponded with some passages in his address to the nobility. And the Diet was actually of opinion, that with regard to his attacks upon the external condition of the Church, he should be leniently dealt with, and that only in case of his continued obstinate opposition to the standard rules of faith would they consent to his proscription. But Luther would not entertain the idea for one moment, that for the sake of a coalition he should retract one step from what he always considered the vital question; and consequently he promptly and positively declined the invitation of Francis Von Sickingen to meet him and other learned men* in a previous consultation on the Ebernburg. It is true, when the Diet (April 17, 1521) proposed, as the first and last question, whether he would acknowledge his writings, and recant their contents, or persist in adhering to their doctrines, he requested time to consider. The next day he answered calmly and firmly, that he could recant neither those writings on Christian faith and practice, which were so simple and evangelical that even his opponents had to acknowledge it, nor those directed against the pope and the doctrines of the Romish Church, nor those written against private individuals, although the language used in these may sometimes be harsh. He said "Prove to me that I am in error and I am ready to recant." He was told, that since the Council of Constance had already condemned some of his doctrines, the matter at issue was not a dispute but simply a recantation on his side. Then he gave that *unstüssige und unbeüssige* answer, "*nisi convictus fuero*

* Enc. 3. 783. Letters 1. 564. 586. Ranke. Gesch. Zeit. Ref. II. 4.

testimoniis scripturarum aut ratione evidente;" ("nam neque Papae neque conciliis solis credo, cum constet eos errasse saepius et sibi ipsis contradixisse,") victus sum Scripturis a me adductis captaque est conscientia in verbis Dei, revocare neque possum neque volo quidquam, cum contra conscientiam agere neque tutum sit neque integrum. Here I stand, I cannot otherwise; God help me, Amen." Several fruitless attempts were yet made to secure a meeting of Luther and the Archbishop of Treves. He firmly adhered to a proposition condemned by the Council, concerning the Church, viz, *Ecclesia universalis,* quae est numerus praedestinatorum.*" When the Elector of Brandenburg asked him, whether it was true that he would not yield unless convinced by the Sacred Scriptures, he answered, Yes;—*vel rationibus clarissimis et evidentibus.* May 25th the excommunication was rigorously enforced against Luther, the necessary signatures of the members of the Diet having been in some way obtained.† Luther who left Worms on the 26th, was secretly conveyed, although not without his previous knowledge, to the Castle of Wartburg, by order of the Elector. There Luther lived under the title of Knight George.

Luther's residence at Wartburg conducts us to the second part of the work of Reformation, the time for building up, in contradistinction to tearing down which he had done during the first period. He now laid the foundation on which the structure was to be reared. Now arose another struggle, viz, with those who pretended to start from the same evangelical position with him, but who fell into another error, in attempting a new reform, either impossible or tending to injure his work. Remote from all external activity, his residence in his quiet "*ἔρημος*" or *Patmos* as he called it, was of great importance to Luther, in the culture of his spiritual character, and the development of his theological system. The translation of the Bible, commenced at Wartburg, was the principal work in laying the foundation for the noble structure of the reformation. The first part of his "Postilla" as well as several smaller writings were issued from Wartburg. The first steps toward bringing about ecclesiastical reforms had been taken without Luther's assistance. The right of marriage which he claimed for the clergy was practically

* E. A. 64. 367. Jena II. 414. E. A. 64. 374. 64. 382. 64. 383.

† Compare Ranke.

exercised by several of the priests of Saxony. His coadjutors (not only Carlstadt, but Melanchthon also) went so far as to assail the validity of monastic vows. Luther himself hesitated. He reminds them, that these vows are voluntary acts; rejects all insufficient proofs, but finds the decisive argument in the motive from which they proceed, viz, *animo salutis aut justitiæ quaerendæ per votum*. On this account they are to him *impia, sacrilega*. He expressed his views in a publication, in which the principal ground assumed, is the same, viz, that they are sins against the first commandment. The Augustinians at Wittenberg with the sanction of the University, commenced changes in worship, especially the abolition of the Mass. Luther admonished them to ascertain whether they were certainly right, and proposed that they should plant themselves more fully on the word of God. He wrote concerning the "abuse of the Mass;" that the living spiritual sacrifices of Christians are the true offerings, and the sacrifice of the Mass is idolatry. Early in December, 1521, the zeal for reform became tumultuous in Wittenberg. And at the end of the month, there came three men from Zwickau, who, as the pretended bearers and champions of the pure evangelical spirit, boasted higher and direct revelations, rejected infant baptism, since faith only could save, predicted the destruction of the whole community of the wicked, and proclaimed the founding of a new and holy generation. They manifested a disposition to rebel against established authorities. Carlstadt was seized with their spirit, and Melanchthon was greatly moved by the impression made upon him; at first and even afterwards he was vacillating in his counsel concerning them. Then Luther appeared upon the field and combatted powerfully these errors. He asserted that all Church members are priests, and that the arbitrary public teaching of an individual, in opposition to the Church, is an objectionable presumption. The chief burden of resisting these fanatics rested upon Luther. He affirmed the necessity of a regular call to the ministry. God never sent a man without calling him by men or through the testimony of the congregation of believers. Such proof he required of these men. As regards their rejection of infant baptism, he already maintains that the faith of others does not directly take the place of that of the children; but that such children may receive faith through the intercession of others; and that children ought to be baptized.* On this

* Letters l. 124. 128.

ground he contends, first, on account of the general ecclesiastical consensus, and then on the ground of the Savior's declaration, Matt. 19. The disorder and violence which threatened to grow out of well-meaning and useful reforms, induced him to publish instructions on the duty of obedience, on the condition of external order and the limits of government. Civil government which he desired to be separated from ecclesiastical authority and guardianship, he considered as not merely resting on the will of man, but as an institution based upon higher authority. From Wartburg he enlightened the mind of Melancthon, who was in doubt on this point, by comparing the right of the sword with the right of matrimony, based on Romans 13, and 1. Peter 3. Afterward, he published "a faithful admonition to all Christians to be on their guard against sedition." Rebellion is always an evil, however just the cause may be. Government ought to prohibit evil with moral suasion, and see to it, that nothing be done against the Gospel. When this justice is denied the individual there is nothing left but for him to submit, as to a spiritual discipline, to pray and to wield the armor of God's word. Finally in carrying forward a reform, nothing should be done against love; and Christians should rather cease from the attempt than give offense to the weak, or endeavor to produce faith by force.*

This was the light from Wartburg that illumined fundamental questions of the Reformation. Luther could not rest till he faced the new danger. In recent events he beheld the precursors of a great rebellion in German countries. He left his place of refuge and wrote to the Elector to have no concern for him: that the Elector was under no obligation to deliver him; and if taken he should leave the gate open; he knew himself under a higher protection. "Yea," he said, "I could protect your Highness rather than you could protect me." He arrived at Wittenberg in March of that year and at once began to preach on the Sunday Reminiscere, and delivered eight sermons on Love, Law and Order. The Zwickau prophets left the city after an interview with Luther, who found them stubborn, and in vain requested them to prove their mission by miracles. In Erfurt and Zwickau Luther was likewise active in preaching against sedition. The people of the former place induced him to make known

* Letters 1. 202. Comp. E. A. 28. 416. Letters 2. 23. E. A. 22. 43. Corp. Ref. 1. 465. Letters 2. 119. 6. 635. 2. 145.

his views as to the worship of saints. It is significant as to the progressive development of his spiritual life and doctrines, that he could not distinctly remember the time when he ceased to call upon saints. He maintained, that as faith in Christ Jesus, renders the invocation of saints superfluous, the latter must itself fall into disuse, and therefore need not be publicly opposed. The people should be pointed simply to Christ. Such changes in worship as seemed necessary, were gradually introduced, appealing at the same time to the government, which as a part of the Christian community, should coincide with the word of truth, and guard the flock of Christ.* Thus should the reform be carried into effect by the government which alone is competent to change external institutions. The next question was, what position should the government occupy in a new ecclesiastical arrangement? What should be confined to the proper organs of the Church? How far should the body of the Church-members, as a universal priesthood, take an active part in the transaction of public affairs? First, the abuses of the mass were abolished. Those who had hitherto been priests were exhorted either to return to preaching the Gospel, or give place to others. A new and comprehensive constitution was adopted for a congregation in the small town Leisnig, 1523. The Council and inhabitants resolved to use their Christian liberty in filling the pastoral office, in accordance with the Sacred Scriptures; that every one should exercise authority over his own household, and if indolence should be manifest, to bring the remiss ones into the right way with the assistance of the congregation and government; that to meet the wants of the ministry, the school and the poor, there should be a common treasury under the supervision of ten guardians, elected by the Council, the citizens and the farmers; that three annual meetings of the whole congregation be held, to take these matters into consideration.† Luther sanctioned this arrangement, while a similar plan, drawn up by Carlstadt for Wittenberg was at once rejected† because in it Carlstadt denounced images or pictures, and claimed the money used for the support of the Mechanic arts. The prohibition of his writings by George, Duke of Saxony, induced Luther to publish his "Treatise on Civil Government:

* E. A. 28. 202. Letters 1. 179.

† Seckend. Hist. Luth. 1. 237. E. A. 22. 105. Richter. E. Kirch. Ord.

to what extent obedience is due to it." Here again he gives prominence to the divine authority of the Civil government, and condemns all rebellion against the powers that be. If the authorities demand the giving up of Evangelical books, one should not obey the unrighteous demand, but suffer the penalty. On the other hand he reminds the government, that it has no right to dictate laws to the soul; its rights extend only to the body and property. While he condemns all attempts at compelling the conscience, he repeats what he had before said against the Papists with regard to Reformers. He met the objection, that the secular power intended merely to guard against the introduction of false doctrines, with the opinion that this should be left to the Bishop and the word of God. He afterwards changed his opinion as to the protection of Evangelical doctrines by external authority.

He watched with deepest interest, the introduction of a pure Gospel into other countries. He celebrated the death of the two martyrs in Brussels; and also that of Heinrich von Zütphen. He exhorted the brethren in Riga, Reval and Dorpat. To the Duke of Savoy, of whose love of true religion he had heard, he recommended the pure word of God, and hoped he might kindle a fire there, before which all France would be as a stubble-field. His relation to the Bohemians was especially important, among whom his friend, Paul Speratus of Iglau exercised considerable influence. The intercourse with these Bohemian brethren was commenced in consequence of questions regarding the Lord's Supper, which Speratus laid before Luther. These questions became important as it* was now to be decided whether Luther while rejecting transubstantiation, would strictly adhere to the real presence of the body, which he did, and hoped to find the brethren holding the same view. He left the services connected with the Sacrament optional. When the leader of these brethren, Senior Lucas sent messengers and letters to Luther, he (Luther) wrote for them the Tract, on "The adoration of the host," which was his first declaration against the denial of the real presence, and corporeal reception, although they to whom he wrote believed in a "real," i. e. "a spiritual," "sacramental" participation of the body of Christ who sitteth at the right hand of God. He added several other reflections, especially the inquiry, whether they did not think too much of works and too little of

* Letters II. 379. Letters 6. 33. 2. 208. 2. 217.

faith. Upon the whole, however, he expressed a very friendly feeling for them. More could have been done if the Utraquists had connected themselves more closely with Luther. In 1522 he wrote to the Bohemian Provincial Council, exhorting them to persevere in their resistance to Rome. The next year he sent a Tract "*De instituendis ministris*" to the Council and citizens of Prague by Gallus Cahera, who had spent several months at Wittenberg, and who was at once elected Administrator by the Utraquistic Council. This little book contains Luther's most important views on the privileges of the Church, and even of an individual congregation, viz, that in case the old ecclesiastical power, should refuse them the Gospel, they may on the ground of their universal Priesthood supply themselves with new preachers of the word.* After several cities shall thus have elected their own Bishops, or Elders, they may then elect their own Superiors and Superintendents until all Bohemians shall have a legitimate and evangelical Episcopacy. But soon after a great change took place in the position of the Bohemian Council. They with Cahera, as the leader sought reconciliation with the pope. We hear of no farther intercourse between them and Luther. * * * * * *

ARTICLE III.

PUBLIC WORSHIP.

By PROF. L. STERNBERG, A. M., Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.

THE religious exercises appropriate to and which constitute the Public Worship of God are *praise, prayer, and the reading and expounding of the Sacred Scriptures*, applying their principles to the hearts and consciences of the hearers. We propose in this paper, briefly to consider the *importance* of maintaining Public Worship, and to throw out some suggestions as to its mode with especial reference to the existing state of things, on this subject, in the Lutheran Church in this country.

* E. A. 28. 589. Letters 2. 430.

Every man exists as a separate intelligence, accountable to the God that made him, and hence the highest act of worship, fraught with the richest promised blessings, is that which is performed in the privacy of the closet, where the soul is alone with the Great Father of its being. He that sees the sincere worshipper thus in secret, will reward him openly. Nor should those repine who, under the ordination of Providence, are precluded from the privilege of public worship. Wherever the spirit exults in sacred praise, or bows in humble prayer, be it in the arid desert, or on the wide waste of waters; be it on the sick-bed, in the dungeon, or at the stake, there is a temple of worship, not built by hands, filled with the radiance of the divine Shekinah.

But men are not, like angels, created separately. Their being is derived through those that have gone before them. Hence their relations to each other are most intimate, and they are endowed with a social nature adapted to these relations. If angels in heaven raise their songs of praise in concert, though they have no connection with each other, save what results from their common relationship to God, we may well infer that, in addition to their private devotions, men would consult their social nature in their worship and unite in paying homage to their Maker. Indeed the Sacred Scriptures seem to take it for granted that men will understand their duty in this respect, without any very specific instructions and reiterated injunctions. As they tell us to "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy," so they enjoin upon us "Not to neglect the assembling of ourselves together" and pass on, as though on points so plain it were even superfluous to dilate.

Were the duty and importance of public worship not perfectly obvious in view of the social nature of man, the *example* of those, in all ages, whom it becomes us to imitate, should remove the last lingering doubt on this subject. In patriarchal times household worship was practiced. The head of the family was its priest. Nor was it designed that this should be superseded by any public service subsequently instituted. In these last days no less than in patriarchal times the family is recognized as a religious body, a church in the house, as is evinced by the family baptisms, administered by apostles and evangelists.

The first religious services of a more public nature, instituted among the Jews were those of the tabernacle during their wanderings in the wilderness. Then followed, in the reign

of Solomon, those of the temple. And yet the pious felt the need of something more. Hence, after the Babylonish captivity, synagogue worship was instituted. Throughout the land synagogues were erected in city and village, in which the people assembled on the Sabbath to listen to the reading of the law and the expositions and exhortations of those, who might have the gifts to teach.

The first Christians gradually abandoned the temple worship as unsuitable to the new order of things and adopted that of the synagogue with such modifications as circumstances seemed to require; though there is no evidence that a set form of conducting divine service was at first introduced and universally observed. The Apostle's allusion to custom, as existing in the Church, does not imply thus much. The persecutions which the primitive Christian suffered, the legal disabilities under which they labored, the paucity of their numbers in most places, and their extreme poverty prevented the erection of churches for their accommodation for two centuries. But though they possessed no churches, in which to assemble for public worship, yet such was their sense of its importance that they met to discharge this solemn duty on the first day of the week, the Christian Sabbath, in private houses, in open fields, in solitary deserts, and in sheltering caves.

In the third century several of the Roman Emperors permitted the Christians to erect churches for their use. So zealously did they avail themselves of this privilege that, at the commencement of the fourth century, upwards of forty churches had been built in the city of Rome. At this time the Emperor Dioclesian ordered all the churches in his empire to be razed. This however did not prevent the followers of Christ from engaging in the public worship of God. Under Constantine the demolished churches were rebuilt and such, as had been closed, were re-opened. The emperor Justinian, in the sixth century, made the building of churches the great business of his life. He erected the magnificent church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, at an expense of \$5,000,000. Such was its splendor that, at its dedication (a practice introduced by Constantine) he exclaimed, "I have surpassed thee, O Solomon!"

During the persecutions of the Puritans in England and of the Covenanters in Scotland, those that had been driven from their churches met for the worship of God wherever and whenever they might hope that the blood-hounds of royal tyranny and priestly hate were not on their trail. And many

died a martyr's death because the public worship of God was dearer to them than life. Nor, when we have seen thousands meet to perform their devotions and to hear the word of the Lord under the open canopy of heaven, amid the frosts and snows of winter; when some are wandering in banishment and others are languishing in dungeons for participating in such services, men of whom the world is not worthy, can we conclude that our own age sets a lower estimate upon the public worship of God than did those that have gone before.

No man of the least discernment can fail to perceive the great *temporal advantages*, connected with the faithful observance of Public Worship. Compared with these the cost of maintaining it is trifling. Indeed were the expenses connected with it even increased fourfold, no community could afford to dispense with it. No other agency is so efficient in inculcating those principles and in forming those habits which constitute the only firm basis of free institutions and a stable government, which produce general thrift, insure public order, and secure the benedictions of a beneficent Providence. Public worship improves the morals of a community, promotes good neighborhood, maintains order and affection in families, cultivates the intellect, subdues the passions, enlarges the views, expands the heart, polishes the manners and refines the taste. Where it is neglected, men gradually lose the amenities of social life and sink down into stupid ignorance, reckless dissipation and shameless vice. A God-worshipping people may be persecuted, but they cannot be destroyed; they may be down-trodden, but they cannot be crushed; they may be scattered to the four winds, but wherever they touch the soil they will strike root and put forth a vigorous growth.

But Public Worship is fraught with benefits far greater than these—benefits of a *spiritual nature* to be enjoyed not merely during our brief sojourn on earth, but that will attend us throughout eternity. The exercises of public worship are the divinely appointed means of grace and salvation. "Faith cometh by hearing." By "the foolishness of preaching" God has determined to save them that believe. Christ has promised to be peculiarly present with his people when they meet together for his worship. There it is that he makes them sit down by companies and feeds them with the bread of life. It is true we may encounter sanctifying and saving influences whithersoever we go, but they abound in

the sanctuary. There is no place where the lame will more likely be enabled to walk and to leap for joy than when found sitting at "the beautiful gate of the temple." To be "in the spirit on the Lord's day" and thus to visit God's earthly courts is to gain the vestibule of heaven's great temple and obtain ravishing glimpses of the transcendent glories, revealed within. Few that have "washed their robes and made them white with the blood of the Lamb" would now swell the blood-washed throng in heaven, had they not mingled with the assemblies of the saints on earth.

There is, indeed, no peculiar sanctity in a consecrated temple. The sea-side, or the mountain top is as near heaven. The sanctity is in the congregation of devout worshippers, among whom the divine spirit manifests his presence in exerting his sanctifying and saving power. To sit among them is to sit where Jesus is wont to pass and where many a blind Bartimeus has had his eyes opened. No man may therefore innocently, or safely neglect the public worship of God. His relations to his Maker and to the Church cannot be such as to absolve him from this duty. He cannot reach a point of nearness to God, or of departure from Him where it ceases to be an unspeakable privilege of which he will not fail to avail himself if he have any proper appreciation of the value of his soul. What is due, in this regard, to his own soul is equally due to the souls of those committed to his charge—to all in any manner under his control. Especially should parents see that their children attend upon the services of God's house. The habit, early formed, will prove to them of greater benefit in after life than an inheritance of broad acres or productive stocks.

It is obvious that the *mode* of conducting Public Worship is a matter of some importance though the fact that no particular form is prescribed in the New Testament leaves us to infer that its essential benefits can be secured under a variety of outward forms provided only that the word of God be faithfully preached and that the sacraments be duly administered. There were doubtless slight diversities in the form of service in the churches, founded by the apostles; and in the same church it may not have been considered important to maintain strict uniformity in this respect under all circumstances and on all occasions. These diversities have, however, in these latter days grown into broad and characteristic differences. While slight variations in the form of religious services may not interfere with their efficiency, it is clear that

they must be confined within certain limits, beyond which the inappropriateness of the outward form will prevent the means of grace from being attended with saving power.

As already observed the primitive Christians modeled their religious services after the synagogue worship. They conducted them in the simplest manner without a liturgy and clerical vestments. They consisted in the singing of Psalms, prayer, reading the Scriptures, preaching and exhortation. Indeed a more formal service would have interfered materially with the free exercise of those gifts, *χαρίσματα*, with which they were so richly endowed. But gradually the idea of a Christian priesthood and a temple service similar, in some respects, to that existing under the former dispensation began to pervade the Church. Hence splendid temples were erected, well-adapted to the performance of pompous ceremonies, but ill suited, as audience chambers, in which to hear the word of God preached. To such an extent had an imposing ritual frozen the very life-blood of the Church—so tortuous and obstructed a channel did it afford for the warm aspirations of a renovated Christianity—so thoroughly was it pervaded in its spirit by the false doctrines of the papacy that, when the Reformation burst upon the world, like the sun from behind a mass of threatening clouds, the Reformers with one accord determined to effect important changes in the ritual of the Worship. Luther consented to retain those customs which were not sinful or associated with error in doctrine. Zwingle and Calvin strove to re-introduce that perfect simplicity in the form of worship, which characterized the services of the primitive Christians.

While it cannot be wrong to worship God in the simple forms of the early Church, yet there may in this respect be development and growth, adapting the services of the Church more fully, it may be, to particular ages and countries. The same spirit exhibits great diversities of outward manifestation. As already intimated the New Testament does not prescribe any particular form of public worship. There is therefore room for such inquiries as these, What form of divine service is best adapted to the end for which Public Worship has been instituted? What form is best adapted to any particular age or country? In how far is uniformity important and its attainment in the Lutheran Church in this country practicable?

Here, at the outset, we may be met by the broad assertion that the Lutheran Church has a definite and fixed form

of public worship, from which none of her children are at liberty to depart and to which all should at once return. The fact, however, that diversities, in this respect, have existed among Lutherans from the time of the Reformation and that the Reformers themselves distinctly taught that unity in outward forms is not essential to the unity of the Church is fatal to any such assumption. There is indeed such a thing as historical development. We may not lightly snap the cords that bind us to the past. Tradition has its claims, but if these are under all circumstances imperative, then the establishment of the free government, under which we live, was a grievous wrong. When we reflect that the development of the Church after the apostolic age, through priestly pride and ambition, was in the direction of a pompous ceremonial, an excessive ritualism ; and that, at the Reformation, in view of established custom and in consideration of human infirmity, much was retained, that would probably not have been established *de novo*, we must conclude that modification in the forms of Public Worship are admissible, especially when they bring us nearer to primitive simplicity. Such modifications our Church in this Country has undergone. They may be reprobated as the result of a weak yielding to the undue influence of surrounding denominations. They are rather the legitimate out-growth of the age, in which we live ; of the free institutions under which the Church finds full scope to develop herself ; and more than all, of the increased spirituality, under precious revival influences, that has pervaded our Zion. Under the modifying power of our republican simplicity even legal forms, so fixed, so precise, so cumbersome are becoming simplified. Lawyers have laid aside their gowns and wigs. In our cities, the centers of wealth and fashion, and characterized by great formality in social intercourse, the fixed imposing ritual of the Episcopal Church doubtless possesses great attractions for many, but it must be evident that, with machinery so unwieldy, it can never operate with success in rural districts. To the Lutheran Church in this highly favored land God has given more especially the country to cultivate. Let her not stand in the midst of this rich field a fossilized monument of antiquity. Let her address herself to the great work before her, rather than expend her energies in consolidating herself, as an exclusive, illiberal sect. A large infusion of sectarian bigotry supplanting the liberal principles, that have hitherto characterized her, may enable her to hold those that may remain

within her pale, as with a death grasp, but it will not enable her to enter in and possess the land; to gather in her scattered children; and to make the "desert rejoice and blossom as the rose." A true and ardent church love is not awakened by mere outward rites and ceremonies, but by the consciousness that the Church in her economy and ministrations fully meets our spiritual wants. The affection of living members for a living church, in which they have had their spiritual birth and have been fed with the sincere milk of the word, is imperishable. Distance cannot impair; time cannot change it. On behalf of the Church our love sacrifices are counted as nothing. We esteem it a privilege to wear out in her service.

The present, though it may have a development peculiar to itself, is yet the child of the past. Its relations to the immediate past are more intimate than to more remote antiquity. When, in this aspect, we inquire into the character of the Lutheran Church in this country in respect to forms of Worship, remembering that the past within our own recollection, as well as that beyond it, is history, that we are daily enacting history, we must come to the conclusion that she is moderately liturgical. The use of Liturgical forms, indeed, is not and never can be made obligatory upon her ministers. Yet these, as contained in the Hymn Book of the New York Synod, or in that of the General Synod, have heretofore commended themselves to general acceptance. It is to be apprehended that the recommendation of Liturgical forms much more extended, involving a marked change in the mode of conducting Worship, will but create greater diversity in our Sabbath services than are found at present to exist, as it is manifest that they would not be generally introduced.

Nor should what are technically called "altar services" ever be allowed to encroach upon those of the pulpit. The chief part of Public Worship is the preaching of the gospel. To this place it is exalted by the Saviour and his apostles. The great duty of the ministry is to preach Christ and him crucified. The apostle Paul tells us that Christ sent him "not to baptize but to preach the Gospel." The Reformation restored preaching to its prominent place in the services of the sanctuary. The "dim religious light" diffused through a splendid Gothic temple; the swelling notes of the organ, rolling along the fretted ceiling; and the pompous ceremonial enacted by robed priests at the altar may awaken feel-

ings of the deepest reverence and devotion in one whose nature is highly æsthetic, but they may be the evanescent emotions of an unsanctified, unsubdued heart. True devotion flows from a heart that has been struck, as was the rock by Moses' rod, and has been broken by the hammer of the divine word.

If it be objected, that preaching is not Worship, so neither is the reading of a Scripture lesson, nor prayer in this restricted sense of the term. Only adoration and praise could come under the designation. But this is a Jewish conception, as expressed in the temple service, according to which the worshipper performs an act grateful to God. The broader Christian idea of Worship is that we appear in the presence of our God and Saviour not to propitiate his favor, of which we are already assured by the death of Christ, but to secure his blessing, not merely to praise and adore him, but chiefly to seek our own edification in the use of the appointed means of grace. That is the most acceptable Worship of God which tends best to fit us for his service in the manifold activities of the Christian life. If these views are correct, it is manifestly an abuse to occupy so much of the time of Public Worship with Liturgical and other service, that the wearied hearers, at last, become impatient under a sermon of ten or fifteen minutes and retire without any distinct impression of the truths it may have been intended to convey. They may, however, imagine that, though unedified themselves, they have been doing God a service, on account of which He will deal gently with them.

ARTICLE IV.

PHILIP JACOB SPENER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. A. THOLUCK.*

By PROF. F. A. MUHLENBERG, A. M., Gettysburg, Pa.

THOUGH it might be an error of judgment, to place Luther as the Reformer of the *doctrines*, in contrast with Spener as

* It is proper to state, that the Translator omitted some paragraphs contained in the original Article, as well as all the foot-notes, and the references to the authorities.

the Reformer of the *life* of the Church—a position indeed which Spener himself, the most prudent among the prudent, was the furthest from claiming—yet we will not say too much, by designating him as the purest and most upright, among the distinguished characters of the Lutheran Church, and one of the most favored instruments of God in the Seventeenth century.

He was born in the year 1635, in the town of Rappoltweiler, in the earldom of Rappoltstein, in Upper Alsace, where his father was first, private tutor to the count, and subsequently a member of his council. His father, however, as well as the family of his mother came from Strasburg, and as Spener himself preferred to acknowledge his indebtedness to that city for his education, he usually considered himself a *Strasburger*. He is justly regarded as belonging to that class, who have preserved, unimpaired from childhood, their baptismal grace; and, by uninterrupted internal development, continually made deeper progress in the life of faith. Even as a boy, serious, quiet, and diffident, he could furnish only this, in proof of his having also been “bad” in his youth, that on one occasion during his twelfth year, he had allowed himself to be tempted to attend a dance. Reared in the midst of pious examples in his own family, he acknowledges that he was under special obligations to a widowed countess of Rappoltstein, his god-mother, for the life and growth of his piety. The serious impressions made on his mind by her death-bed, awakened, in the boy of thirteen years, “the desire to depart with her from this world, and correspondent efforts, for a season, to extort his own dissolution from God, by means of prayer.” In addition to these, he derived spiritual nourishment, as was generally the case with the pious at that time, from Arndt’s *True Christianity*, by which he acknowledges “that he was preserved from the wisdom of the schools.” Many religious books of the Reformed Church likewise, especially those of the English Church, as Southom’s “*Golden Jewel*,” Baile’s *Praxis Pietatis*,” Dyke’s “*Self-Deception*,” were read at that time on the Rhine, both by Lutherans and Reformed, and he acknowledges that he was much indebted, in his youth, both to these and also the writings of Baxter. His special instruction in religion and his preparatory training for the University he received from a man, whom in his spirit we may regard as one of the pioneers of the age of Spener, his subsequent brother-in-law, Joachim Stoll, from 1645 chaplain to

the count of Rappoltstein. "To him under God am I indebted," says Spener, "for the first sparks of genuine Christianity, and proper motives in study; for encouragement and suitable advice, with reference to the improvement of the public discourses of God's house, for he taught me to confine myself closely to the text, and thence to learn the doctrines of the Christian religion." To the catechization of this excellent man, he ascribes a powerful and lasting impression on his mind. In opposition to the homiletical errors of the time, that individual insisted on this, that the sermons, instead of displaying the arts of Rhetoric, should plainly exhibit fundamental truths; that polemics should be left to the scholars of the University; and that it should be the main object to introduce the word of God into the houses and the hearts of men. His practical good sense was also manifested, among other things, by the method he proposed, to furnish the congregation with the word of God, when the price of Bibles was exceedingly high, viz, by the publication of separate portions of the Sacred Scriptures, as for instance, the Psalms and Gospels.

Thus privately trained, the pious youth removes to the University of Strasburg in the year 1651, in his sixteenth year, where he boarded and lodged with his uncle, Mr. Rebhan. He lived in Strasburg as student, in a quiet and retired manner, attentive only to his studies. When he was charged in Saxony with having been always of an eccentric and obstinate disposition, he replied: "As far as singularity is concerned, I hope no one can say to my discredit, that I was unwilling to participate in the usual, though at Strasburg less practiced, disorderly life of students, that I was there only for the purpose of study. Therefore I had nothing to do with dancing, fencing, drinking, etiquette, dress or quarrels; in which I hope still more to have been in the possession of my senses." His theological teachers, besides Dorsche, who left Strasburg in 1653, were Dannhauer, John Schmid, Sebastian Schmid. Spener was in the habit of speaking of the first of these, a practical zealous theologian of the strictest Lutheran school, as his *Præceptor*, with gratitude for his careful instruction in the doctrines of the pure Lutheran faith; of the last, as the most distinguished exegete of his day; of John Schmid, however, that eminently worthy and Christian man, as his "Father in Christ." Besides these theological teachers, he became interested in the study of history, through the agency of the then universally renowned

Böcler, which he prosecuted subsequently to a greater extent, in his works upon heraldry. From 1654–1656, he had the direction of the sons of his subsequent ruler Count Palatine Christian II. of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, during which period, as he says, he lived more *in exoticis* than *in theologicis*.

In accordance with the custom of that period, a *peregrinatio academica* concluded the course of studies, and with the intention of visiting France, Spener betook himself about the year 1659 to Basel, where he devoted himself to the study of the Hebrew, under the younger Buxtorf, the oracle at that time for the Hebrew. As he had been advised by his instructors to remain in Geneva, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the French language, he went thither from Basel, and remained there a whole year, having been prevented from prosecuting his journey into France, by a protracted sickness. His residence in Geneva was of service to the young Lutheran theologian, not less for the enlargement of his theological horizon, than also for still higher and more varied Christian edification. In one of the letters written by him from this place, he speaks with admiration of the constitution of the Genevan Church, so free from the trammels of the papal hierarchy, as well as of the piety and culture of the Reformed pastors; and he was made acquainted by his host, the former Waldensian pastor Leger, with the early history of the Reformed church, and thus made to feel a more active and Christian interest in its welfare. He himself expresses this opinion, that the church influences there are such as very easily to mislead one who is not firmly attached to the Confession of his own Church. Spener had frequent opportunities also of hearing Labadie preach, for he was staying at that time in Geneva, and he manifested subsequently the interest this zealous preacher of apostolical Christianity had awakened in him, by editing in a German translation his *manual de priere*.

After his return from Geneva in 1661, other German Universities were to be visited, and Spener undertook a journey to Würtemberg, as companion to the young Count of Rappoltstein, during which, occupying a period of five months, he was partly at the Court of Stuttgart, partly at Tübingen, in the latter place staying with the Christian theologian *Raith*, with whom he had a friendly interchange of views with reference to the trying circumstances of the Evangelical church. Our pious, prudent and well-educated young

man of twenty-seven years, secured the affections of all in Württemberg, both at the Court and at the University, so that the Duke even then thought of giving him an appointment as Professor in Württemberg, when he was recalled in 1663 to Strasburg to take charge of a parish. This appointment indeed occasioned difficulty after his return ; however one of the two sinecure pastorships was assigned to him, in which he had sufficient leisure to devote himself as Magister to historical and philosophical Lectures, but as these were wont to be occupied by Professors or expectants of a Professorship, he was compelled to obtain the degree of a Doctor.

However soon afterwards he received a call to Frankfort on the Mayn, as pastor and Senior. Even on the occasion of this first change of situation, he followed the custom, prevalent among the pious clergymen of that century, not to make a decision, merely in accordance with his own views of duty, but to request the advice of the civil rulers to whom he was subject, as well as the theological Faculty. The thought which awakened anxious concern in the mind of this prudent young man was this, that he was going to assume the presidency, at the age of only 31 years, of a number of older clergymen. After having his doubts satisfied on this point, by his own superiors, he entered upon his new office. Entertaining, as he did, the serious views of the church and her official duties, which he had brought with him from his native Strasburg, which was distinguished even during the wars, by strict churchly discipline and order, his task in the imperial city, which had already in part become secularized, and was also suffering from the neglect due to the wars and their effects, must have appeared to him almost hopeless. To be a Lutheran Christian and a member of the church, without occupying a personal relation with the pastor in his official capacity, by means of confession and the sacrament appeared to him an intolerable thought. In his representations to the Senate, he describes it as an unheard of condition, that there were not only persons found in the parish, who absented themselves altogether from the sacrament, but also many *who were even altogether unknown to him by name*. We do not learn, that he had among his associates, zealous co-workers in his plans, yet he mentions among them a former pupil of the enthusiastic Grossgebauer in Rostock, Emmel ; and besides gives *this* testimony in behalf of the rest, that none opposed his efforts against a merely nominal Christianity,

“though he often could have wished to see greater similarity of feeling and unity of the Spirit.” Vexatious constraints upon his activity were found, however, in the Church polity of Frankfort. The individuality of the churches was much more limited, at that time, in the imperial cities, than in the larger monarchical churches of the country. Whilst in the latter, by the consent of the civil authorities, the ecclesiastical regulations are made by the ministers, united in consistories, who, with their eminent secular President at the head, are able to give effective expression to their views, in opposition to any plans of the King, which may be dangerous to the Church; the Ministerium in the imperial cities is only allowed to advise and petition, whilst the ecclesiastical power is vested in the civil authorities and, in addition to this, some of this number attend the meetings of the ministerial body, as School-Inspectors. Therefore we find Spener frequently complaining, that in spite of repeated representations to the authorities, the ecclesiastical abuses still continued; that he would make many changes in the mode of catechization, if his hands were not tied; that whilst in the neighboring town of Bockenheim, the Reformed Church had the right of sending pastors and elders, before the communion, from house to house, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the character and conduct of the communicants, this was not allowed in Frankfort by the Civil power; and that whilst in other places the rulers gave permission, at least, to the pastors to receive the visits, at their own houses, of those anxious to converse with them, “we are here in the greatest confusion, and have no power to introduce any improvements.”

The first means employed by him, to restore Christian life to the congregations intrusted to him, was to give new vigor to the *public catechetical instruction*, which, it is true, was still in use, but carelessly and mechanically performed. As in other places, the Seniors and Pastors, for the purpose of relieving each other, had regarded it beneath their dignity, and had given the employment to the deacons or School-masters. Soon after his arrival, however, Spener took the lead in giving this his entire attention. The abuses which he found existing then and which he was obliged to discountenance were, the excessive *memoriter* exercises, and the unmeaning repetitions. He limited the portion committed to memory to Luther's Small Catechism, and made the accurate comprehension of what they learned, the principal thing. For the use of Instructors, he published in 1677 his

“Simple Explanation of Christian Doctrine,” and in 1683 the “*Tabulæ Catecheticæ*,” in 108 particulars. Next in order after this, he endeavored to give to the *preaching* a more extended influence, than could be expected from the repeated use of the gospel pericopes, set apart for the morning service. The plan which he adopted for this purpose was this; he either explained a part of the Catechism, or subsequently connected passages of the Epistle found in it, and with the theme contained in the gospel pericope, also explained another text of Scripture, not found in the usual morning lesson. His design in this arrangement, was to make the congregation thoroughly acquainted with the entire contents of the Holy Scriptures; whereas the chief object of the catechetical and homiletical practice of the preceding period, had been the *accurate knowledge of pure doctrine*. Spener would have gladly seen introduced a more *thorough preparation of the candidates for a first communion*, connected with a public confirmation; heretofore, as in other places, they were confined to sending the children, before the celebration of the sacrament, to the house of the pastor, to receive a *memoriter* examination at his hands. One of the pastors in the country, who had removed to the neighborhood of Frankfort from Hesse-Darmstadt, had introduced into his congregation, the method of confirmation practised in the Church of his native land, and Spener was also successful in introducing it into the few country congregations of Frankfort, but not into those in the city. As already observed, he was equally unsuccessful in the legal introduction of the visitation of the communicants at their houses. With his earnest views of the Church and her official authority, the exercise of *church-discipline* appeared to him a necessary requisite of a well-regulated Church, but this also needed individuals in the congregation to render assistance. The Church in Strasburg had such helps for the ministry in its lay-assistants; the Lutheran Church in Hesse also had the same kind of co-laborers, and in the country congregations of Frankfort also, there was an association of lay-elders, for the administration of ecclesiastical discipline. Such an institution was still needed in the *city*. Their church discipline consisted in this, that there was a secular judicatory of morals composed of some of the members of the council, who reported cases of gross violation of duty to the Ministerium, for the infliction of ecclesiastical punishment. The Ministerium could take an active part in this only as prosecutor, and numerous com-

plaints of Spener in reference to the transgressions of certain bodies and individuals, are still found among the records of the Frankfort Church.

The sermons of Spener, in consequence of the intelligent and thoughtful habits of the man, were not adapted to excite feeling or violent emotions; yet he produced such significant results. It is true they were only dry, didactic expositions, yet they displayed from his own experience, and the most profound acquaintance with the Scriptures, that which the congregation seldom heard at that time, the second part of the reciprocal duty: "I did this for you; *what are you doing for me?*" and by an individual who in his entire life gave proof of having preached that first to himself, which he was preaching to his people. His influence extended beyond the limits of Frankfort. The neighboring princely families of the Wetterau, particularly those of Selms-Laubach, the foreign ambassadors to the diet, and the visitors to the fairs from abroad, were among his auditors. Even in his polemical discourses, when he gave his testimony against the prevailing form of Christianity there was an absence of every thing personal, every thing aggressive, and consequently every thing calculated to excite opposition: notwithstanding this, however, a discourse which he preached in 1669, upon the false and unsatisfactory righteousness of the Pharisees, occasioned a separation, "for some set themselves so much in opposition to the truth, that they refused altogether to listen to him, whilst others, on the contrary, affected with salutary fear, became convinced of their self-deception, and were awakened to serious repentance." The succeeding year gave occasion to a union of all those most seriously inclined. Some of the most zealous adherents of Spener, among whom were the attorney John James Schütz and the teacher of the Gymnasium Diefenbach, had complained of the corrupting influence of the prevalent modes of social entertainment. Spener, therefore, "in order that it might not excite any suspicion," determined to hold social meetings of a religious character, in his own study. The design was to furnish opportunities for conversation upon religious subjects, based upon such works as these: *Lütkeinan's* Foretaste of the Divine Goodness, *Baile's* Praxis Pietatis, *Hunnius'* Epitome of the Essential Truths of the Christian Religion; and subsequently, the Evangelists were read, and the sermon of the preceding Sunday repeated. In the beginning, few of the higher classes participated, soon however

their number increased to upwards of a hundred, among whom were also women and girls. In the course of a few years others began to hold similar meetings in their own houses, where some irregularities occurred. In the year 1682, Spener at length obtained the permission from the authorities, which he had so long desired, to transfer these meetings, in consequence of their having become so well-attended, to the Church, and their character was consequently changed; the unlearned no longer ventured to take part in the speaking, and the conversational meeting, as it was intended to be, now became a Bible class in the Church.

Spener was permitted to continue all these efforts, without being assailed or interfered with, until the middle of his seventieth year, an extraordinary phenomenon really in an age, so given to fault-finding. But the principles, which he laid down, for the regulation of his conduct, both toward the authorities and his colleagues, which were published, as a preface to Blankenberg's Funeral Discourse in his "Fragments of a Lifetime," manifest such a degree of foresight, caution, and prudence, and his reputation for orthodoxy was so well established, that we can more readily understand, why, even in an age like that one, no obstacles were placed in his way. The most violent opposers of pious theologians were wont to spring up from their own colleagues. Spener however can glory as follows: "In the reverend body, the Frankfort Ministerium, during the twenty years I have presided over it, the God of peace has so taken care of us, that our union as colleagues has never been disturbed by any public rupture." But he never made any of his colleagues feel their official dependence, nor his intellectual superiority; when there were extraordinary labors to be performed, in consequence of vacancies, he as Senior cheerfully performed his share, and he undertook nothing, not even the publication of a theological essay, without laying it before his colleagues, to ascertain their opinion. His theological belief also did not present any tangible point of attack for his severest censors, for in his dogmatical views, he still held with undeviating stringency to the narrow basis of his favorite Dannhauer. In his sermon of 1667 on Matt. VII. 15, "Upon the False Prophets," he expresses himself, with the spirit of the keenest polemic, against the Reformed, who were endeavoring at that time, to secure the free exercise of their religion at Frankfort.

After such proofs of his zeal for "pure Lutheran doctrine,"

Spener ventured to come forth in 1675, with his little volume, which, though unpretending in its contents and small in compass, was yet an act of faith, and one of the most influential publications of the Church Literature of that whole century, viz, the "*Pia Desideria*," printed first as a preface to Arndt's Sermons, then separately, and in 1678 in the Latin language. Beginning with the Lamentations of Jeremiah: "Oh that my head were waters," the author bewails with a soul full of emotion, the sad state of the Evangelical Church and proposes *six* remedies for its correction; 1, *The more extensive diffusion of the word of God*, and private meetings for the purpose of making the people more thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures; 2, *The introduction and diligent use of the Spiritual priesthood*, the co-operation of the laity with the clergy in the edification of others and especially their own households, and by union in prayer; 3, *The earnest exhortation, that the knowledge of Christianity is not sufficient*, that the diligent practice of it must be super-added; 4, *Proper conduct towards errorists and unbelievers*, polemics conducted with Christian charity, with the hearty desire not only to convince but also to improve the opposer; 5, *A mode of theological study*, in which theologians are seriously reminded, *that success depends no less upon a godly life, than diligence and study*; 6, *Another method of preaching*, in which the prominent lesson would be, that Christianity consists in the inner or new man, the soul of which is faith, and its evidences, the fruits of the life. Though the complaints and charges of the author are expressed in this pamphlet strongly and pointedly, yet he takes good care to sustain himself by the ecclesiastical authorities, both of the period before and during which he lived, among which the testimony of his highly honored patron, the distinguished theologian Calovius, is not wanting. Besides, the manuscript before publication was laid before the Frankfort Ministerium for their approval, and many changes were made at their suggestion, so that the author was sustained by the authority of the whole Ministerium of the imperial city. It is incorrect to regard these *Pia Desideria* as a solitary voice in the wilderness; they are rather the tenor to many sounds of different elevation and depth, which vibrated in unison with or after it, and Spener was only one of the most distinguished among the many flowers, which the living spirit of faith had brought forth in nearly all parts of Germany, since the middle of that century. A new phase of spiritual

things had been produced by the events preceding it, by the sufferings occasioned by the wars and the sad state of the Church more seriously felt during their progress; and thus a new piety had been brought out, erected upon the basis of Christian practice. Spener himself gives utterance to this feeling in a remarkable expression about the year 1677: "I myself also have observed with joy that in many places students are holding up their heads. Such spiritual movements, as they have been simultaneously seen by many, are an indubitable evidence of the divine agency, and seem to show, that *the period is nigh, when God will have compassion on his Church*. I know that this state of things exists not only in our own Church, but that there are also many found in the Reformed Church who are earnestly engaged in the work of the Lord, and that even in the thick darkness of the Roman Church, many are laboring with earnest zeal for an improvement of their condition. *Certe jam ab aliquo tempore videbar mihi, notare aliquid analogon ei seculo, cum reformatio divina magni nostri Lutheri cœlitus instaret.*" In how many hearts, these cheerful and confident words found an echo at that time, the valuable extracts from upwards of ninety letters show, which were received from the most distinguished theologians of all parts of Germany in reference to their views of the condition of the Church, and which were published by Spener in reply to the Tract: "The Disorderly Pietists." They are the plainest proof, that Spener only gave expression to that, which was then the feeling of many hearts. Even Calovius expresses himself favorably, and indeed friendly relations subsisted between him and Spener, until the year 1681, after which time, the chaplain to the Court at Darmstadt, Mentzer caused even Calovius to regard the views of Spener with suspicion. In Strasburg a more unfavorable judgment was expressed; no where, says Spener himself, did he find *rigidiores censores*, than in his native city.

More unfavorable for the reputation of Spener were the *collegia pietatis*. In themselves, no objections could be made to them, so far as orthodoxy was concerned. The Smalcald Articles had expressly declared, that the gospel was to be extended also, *per mutuum colloquium et consolationem fratrum*. In the year 1631, a plan for the establishment of a Fraternity of mutual friends, had been presented to the Faculty of Wittenberg for their consideration, and had not been disapproved of by them. In other places likewise, the

tendency to association had given rise to meetings of those entertaining similar views, as for example at Lübeck. Calovius even, speaks approvingly of such meetings of the laity, for the purpose of *promoting a better acquaintance with the Scriptures*. But the abuses, connected with the extension and multiplication of them, such as the spirit of exclusiveness, personal peculiarities, and the inclination to separate from the communion of the Church and from public worship, after a few years' continuance, caused them to be regarded with bitter suspicion and violently spoken against. They were charged with leading to the establishment of a new religion, to a separation from the Church in imitation of Labadie, to the fanaticism of the Quakers; and the name of Pietists was derived from these *collegia pietatis*. The most influential among the opposers of Spener in this neighborhood, in consequence of these movements, was his former friend Mentzer, first chaplain to the Court of Darmstadt. John Winckler, subsequently pastor at Hamburg, but associate chaplain with him at that time, an earnest Christian, was forced by the wishes of certain awakened persons, to introduce in the year 1675, such meetings at Darmstadt, with the zealous co-operation of a councillor of the exchequer Kriegsmann, whose excellent work *Symphonesis Christianorum*, furnishes a beautiful testimony to his disposition. In consequence of the growth, in his immediate neighborhood, of this exclusive and in his view too active piety, Mentzer and also his nephew pastor L. Hanneken in Giessen, allowed themselves to be prejudiced against Spener, and used their influence, wherever possible, against him. Other opponents also appeared, whose attacks were replied to by Spener. Besides this, Spener opposed most earnestly the schismatic inclinations of his followers, of which he was not the cause, though, as he says, they were the means of taking away *the best* from him. He did this by means of a pamphlet with the title: "Complaints about the Low State of Christianity," and was successful by this publication, in bringing back nearly all those who had been misled. Still the Spirit of schism continued to maintain itself, in that neighborhood, until the most recent period. From the fact, that Spener did not introduce his devotional meetings, into his subsequent fields of labor, it might be supposed, that he disapproved of them in later life. But this is not the fact. It is true, that in his account of his life, he acknowledges, "that for many reasons, he had not reaped the advantages from them, which

he expected." But as a proof, that he did not doubt of their beneficial effects, when in the year 1700, under his successor Arcularius at Frankfort, the devotional meetings were forbidden, he thus writes to Francke: "In Frankfort, two weeks ago, Christians were deprived of the privilege of holding, on pain of severe punishment, those meetings established for their edification, which have been continued, not without blessings and many good results, for thirty years; for the Ministerium denounced them from the pulpit, from Advent onwards, until they extorted a decree for their suppression from the magistrates. I am afraid that the unfortunate city has thus driven away from it much benefit."

Thus Spener had been extending his beneficial influence in Frankfort for twenty years, and his reputation had spread through the whole of Germany, when unexpectedly he received a call, to occupy, we may say, the highest ecclesiastical position then in Germany. In 1686, he received a call, as first chaplain and member of the Superior Consistory in Dresden. The fame of Saxony, as the cradle of the Reformation, its two theological Faculties in Leipsic and Wittenberg, and the powerful official influence, exerted by the first chaplain upon the Electoral Prince, gave to this position a very great significance. It appears from the correspondence of Carpzov with Spener, preserved in the archives of the Halle Orphan House, in reference to this call, that it was due to the personal preference of the Electoral Prince, George the III., who had conceived a strong affection for Spener, in consequence of Spener's upright conduct towards him, on the occasion of a communion in Frankfort.

Spener, still partial to the mode of resignation, observed by him when called to Frankfort, requested in the first place, the decision of the magistrate of Frankfort, and when this individual hesitated, he placed the matter in the hands of his well-tried theological friends, *Scriver* in Quedlinberg, *Seipp* in Pyrmont, *Spizel* in Augsburg, *Winckler* in Hamburg and *Korthold* in Kiel. These friends, without a dissenting voice, had given their verdict in favor of his accepting the call, and then the man of God prepared to comply. Amid the most painful regrets of his friends, he left the scene of his twenty years' labor, the 20th of July, 1686.

The new sphere of labor, into which Spener entered, presented a more extended prospect for good, than the former one; but it was so limited by the circumstances, that its extent could not then be clearly seen. Although the power of

the Ministerium as a spiritual body at Frankfort was limited, yet the influence of the Senior depended upon the weight of his personal character; but in Dresden Spener was the only spoke in the bureaucratic motive-power. The Superior Consistory was composed of two temporal and two spiritual members; the first chaplain had but one vote, frequently also the authority of the President determined the result, and ecclesiastical matters of a mixed character were handed over to the privy councillor, for final presentation to the Prince. The general influence of the chaplain, was determined by the extent of his personal influence, as pastor, over the Prince. It was difficult to exert much influence over the warlike George the Third, for he was most always in the field; and therefore seldom and only for a short time in his capital. Spener experienced this, a few months after his entrance upon his duties. "It makes me heartily sorry," Spener writes, "that the Prince is so seldom in Dresden, not more than four times, during the nine weeks that I have been here, and then only a few days. Usually he came on Saturday and was off again on Monday." And there was still more painful experience for him in the future.

The first hostile movement originated at Leipsic. We are not to suppose that the theologians of the close of this century were the same combatants as those at its commencement, warriors stern in objective dogmas, and clad in iron-mail. A greater interest of the subject in objective truth was now prevalent; the promotion of practical piety was already regarded by many as a matter, which ought to interest the heart of the theologian, no less than purity of doctrine, and thus the Leipsic theologians, especially Olearius, Carpzov and Alberti were regarded as men who ought to be concerned for piety, and besides this, much more for themselves. This much at least can be said, that the devotion and self-denial, manifested by Spener, for the kingdom of God, was a mirror of condemnation, in which they saw and could be ashamed of their own lukewarmness and insincerity. Of them it might be said, as Spener says of those associated with himself at Dresden: "*How can they love Him sincerely, who does not approve and love that in which they delight?*" In what light they regarded the zeal manifested by Spener, for the cause of God, may be seen from the following characteristic narrative. The Mr. Winckler, who has been already mentioned, and had in the mean while been removed to one of the very large parishes of Hamburg, had re-

requested an opinion from the Faculty of Leipsic upon this question: "Whether a pastor, who in consequence of the size of his parish, was neither acquainted with the condition of his people, nor able to give them the pastoral care they needed, could be a *verus* and *legitimus pastor*, and whether under such circumstances, he should not resign his office. His parish contained 30,000 souls, and he could exert an influence upon them, only by his sermons, and a catechetical exercise every four weeks; of 10,000 children able to attend school, there were only, at the highest, 3,000 in attendance." The answer of the Faculty was to this effect: "The proposer of the query says, there are upwards of 30,000 persons in his parish. This is indeed a large number; but the prophet Jonah had in his parish at Niniveh more than 120,000 souls, Jon. IV. 11. Who can believe, that Jonah could be concerned *in specie* and *in individuo* for each one of his hearers." Besides, their Saxon pride had been very much wounded, by the calling of a theologian of another state, to the highest spiritual position, which Carpzov had strong hopes of obtaining for himself. His animosity was increased, when at the instance of Spener, a reproof was sent from the Superior Consistory to the Faculty, and an exhortation to greater industry, in the explanation of the Sacred Scriptures. Years had passed by, during which they held no exegetical exercise. The discoveries made by Spener, in his examination of the candidates, appear almost incredible. In February 1687, he thus writes to Rechenberg: "I observe with pain, that among the candidates for examination, there are only a few who possess even a moderate knowledge of the New Testament, (to say nothing of the Old). *Immo plerique Græca non intelligunt. Hujus tamen lingua, in scholis et gymnasiis, cognitionem jam comparasse debebant.*" Some of the Magistri had commenced in Leipsic in 1686, to promote a knowledge of the Scriptures in the original languages, by means of a *collegium philobiblicum*, and were favored and aided by the Faculty itself. When however several of them, as Francke, Anton, and Schade entered into a closer union with Spener, and commenced, subsequently to the year 1689, to hold *collegia biblica*, for the edification of themselves and others, in the German language, in which also laymen, participated Carpzov began to preach against the "Pietists," and introduced this party name from Frankfort also into Saxony. Alberti also, previously a friend of Spener, began to engage in polemical discussions. This ill-feeling was greatly in-

creased by the satirical Journal of Thomasius, a relative of Rechenberg the son-in-law of Spener, and also connected with Spener, which appeared in 1688, the title of which was: "Playful and Serious Thoughts, Freely Expressed," in which the clergy, particularly Carpzov and the Professors Extr. Alberti and Pfeifer were mercilessly criticized. Spener was of course regarded as connected with it, though he repeatedly implores Rechenberg in his letters, to warn and restrain Thomasius. As a consequence, not only the *collegia biblica*, but also the *philobiblica*, as the nurseries of the former, were suppressed; and Francke, brought to trial, chooses to the great grief of Spener, Thomasius as defender.

In the mean while, another storm was preparing for Spener. In the discharge of his official duties in Dresden, as at Frankfort, he had from the beginning been much interested in the work of catechization. A general order for the introduction of this again into Saxony, had been adopted, before the arrival of Spener, but had not been carried into execution. By the verbal permission of the Prince, he began the work in his own house, "and it was attended by those in high and low stations, and even those of rank in large numbers," though haughty theologians were heard to say in derision, *the Prince desired to have a Superior chaplain for himself, and had obtained instead, a schoolmaster*. When this place became too small, the Princess threw open her own chapel. This lady, who was a Danish Princess, with her household in general, were among his greatest admirers. An unfortunate conflict with the Prince, however, is said to have made it impossible for him to maintain his position at Dresden. Apart from this, the interest of the Prince in him had soon by degrees decreased, and Spener complains, that his visits to the Church became less frequent. Then that took place, of which Spener gives an account in a letter to Rechenberg, March 14, 1689. "As our whole city is full of the offence, given by me to the Prince, and rumor may convey the intelligence of it to you also, that you may know the particulars of it, I thought it right to give you a full account of it. You remember I was called by the Prince, not only to preach in his chapel, but also to be his spiritual adviser. Conscious of the duties belonging to the office, I have from the commencement, as often as he desired to go to the communion, requested and obtained permission to visit him, and made use of the opportunity to bring before his mind, in this private manner, all those religious truths which he needed for self-examina-

tion; and to remind him of his duty. Intending to do the same thing, on the last occasion, I was refused admission, and have given up all hopes of obtaining another personal interview. I was obliged, therefore, to seek some other method of accomplishing the desired end, if I did not wish to do violence to my conscience. The recent fast-day gave me the opportunity, I desired for this purpose, and I determined on this day to have a private interview with him, when he came into the city, to exhort him to the necessary repentance; and if I failed in this, to send him a letter of similar import. Before, however, this day came, the Prince had already gone to Moritzburg. This resolution I carried into effect, and I had formed it after careful reflection and repeated prayer, and prepared a tolerably lengthy, candid but prudent letter to the Prince, in which I gave an account of his life, and called his attention to those features of it, which were in opposition to the will of God, and presented also motives, to induce him, with the divine aid, to make a change. I did not, however, communicate my intention to any one, because I believed it to be proper in a case of the kind, when the conscience of the Prince was concerned, and when I appeared as spiritual adviser. I sent this letter to him sealed, accompanied with another, in which I requested, that, as to my knowledge, the most of his letters were read beforehand, he would retain the endorsed one for himself, and read it at his leisure. After reading the letter, he became influenced with passion, perhaps through the insinuations of those around him, gave utterance to threats and violent language, and spoke of connecting himself with the Catholic Church. On the following day, he wrote me a long letter in reply, with mine enclosed, and whilst he thanked me for my concern with reference to himself, he attempted to offer excuses for himself, and closed with threats of vengeance against those who had reported the facts to me, concerning himself. On the same day, he wrote to the ladies v. Shellen-dorf and v. Nitzsch, and forbade them the Court, and if I remember rightly, attendance upon my catechetical lectures, as though they had given me the information contained in my letter, though they were altogether innocent, particularly the former, for I had seen her but once, and had never conversed with her. The Prince, however, still holds the same opinion, and has not removed the punishment. After some days, I wrote to him again, informing him of something which he desired to know, and testified to the innocence of

these females in the matter. This letter, however, he returned to me the next day, with the seal unbroken, through privy counsellor Knoch, perhaps through fear of its containing something of an unpleasant nature. What occurred subsequently, I do not know, except that they said, his passion had somewhat abated, though in the heat of it he had vowed, never to attend my preaching again, and that he would remain faithful to the vow. I asked our *Præses Consistorii*, when by special command he was conversing with me about this, whether the Prince thought of dismissing me, and told him, I would not only give my consent to it, but recognize it as a great kindness, believing that God would grant me, somewhere, a greater number of hearers than I now had, and at the same time, a still more advantageous use of my gifts." He replied: "The Prince thought of my dismissal, but could not grant it, because in consequence of it, the eyes of all Germany might be drawn to himself."

What was the nature of the representations, which Spener made in his character of spiritual adviser to the Prince, has remained concealed under the veil of secrecy, yet we may come to a conclusion from some hints in his letters to Rechenberg. "That you have heard of the illness of the Prince," says he, April 1689, "has not come to my knowledge, but if he continues to live as he has done, the physicians say he will die suddenly." In September of the same year, this apprehension was fulfilled, the Prince dies in the 45th year of his age, during one of his campaigns, in Tübingen; *visceribus internis pridem corruptis*, is added by Spener. George the third, was, as Gerber from his own experience assures us, an impulsive but easily pacified character, and therefore his passion in this instance might readily have subsided, but as there was no want of persons at Court to urge him on, his dislike of Spener increased still more, and the latter individual himself says in 1690, "The Prince wrote to the President of the Privy Council, that they must speedily bring about his removal: *so little could he endure the sight of me, much less hear my discourses, that he would be compelled to change his own residence.*" At the head of the Privy Council, at that time, was the pious von Gersdorf, at whose instance, many remonstrances were made, but they were firmly rejected by the Prince. Efforts were then made to induce Spener to a voluntary resignation, but he steadfastly refused to do this; though he should be obliged to walk daily upon thorns, he would not leave the post intrusted to him by God,

by his own decision. An offer, it is true, had been made to him from Berlin, but he had returned the answer, that the two courts should settle the matter between themselves. They could not believe in Berlin, that the Prince would consent to his removal, the vacant Provostship therefore had been given to another. As this individual died a year afterwards and the post again became vacant, the order was given by the Privy Council to the Saxon Ambassador in Berlin, to request the Brandenburg Court itself to ask for the release of Spener. With joyful feelings he writes to his dear Rechenberg, April 7, 1691, that the hour of his deliverance had struck, and a call from Brandenburg as Consistorial Councillor and Provost of St. Nicholas been presented.

Scarcely had the opposers of Spener become aware of his having lost the favor of the Prince, when the pent up hatred broke out on all sides. His ministerial colleague in the Superior Consistory, Samuel Benedict Carpzov, the brother of the Carpzov at Leipsic who was his enemy, now also suffered himself to be influenced against him by his brother. The pious Charles of Freisia no longer presided over the Consistory, through whom the call had been sent to Spener. He died a few days after the arrival of Spener in Dresden, 29th of July, 1688; after the year 1687, v. Knoch filled the office, a man who enjoyed the highest confidence of the Prince, and to say the least, was not favorable to Spener. Scarcely had the removal of Spener been concluded upon, when the envious Leipsic Carpzov took a stand against Pietism, in a series of Easter discourses, published by the authority of the University. By his aid also, the vulgar and abusive tract, "*Imago Pietismi*," was published by a pastor in Halle named Roth. These papers were the means of opening up all the flood-gates of hatred heretofore closed.

As we have mentioned above, the call to Berlin did not come directly from the Brandenburg Elector. No special sympathy with the advocates of an earnest Christianity, could be expected from the pomp and honor-loving Frederick the Third. His second wife, Sophia Charlotte of Hanover is well known for her scepticism in religion, and we can see from Spener's letters to Francke, that he had no access to the Electoral Prince, and subsequent to the year 1701, to the King, whilst the Queen was absolutely hostile to him in her feelings. The President of the Consistory after 1695, Chancellor v. Fuchs, represented the tolerant principles of

the house of Brandenburg, without manifesting any special regard for Pietism. The position of the first President v. Dankelmann, whose influence until 1697 was almost unlimited, was the same. In the Consistory, consisting at that time of the two Lutheran Provosts and a Reformed theologian, Spener had at least a highly esteemed, if not a more closely connected colleague, the Provost of Cologne on the Spree, an earnest student of the Bible, holding the views of Sandhagen. The only suitable support he found, was a member of the King's Privy Council, Mr. von Schweinitz, who was united with him, in the bonds of Christian friendship, *vir pietate, nulli secundus*, as he is designated by Spener, whose wife also was the sister of his Dresden friend von Gersdorf. Yet notwithstanding all this his situation in Berlin was much more pleasant, than the one he had left in Saxony. He was serving a government, which had made the promotion of tolerance its ruling principle: all bigotry, especially towards the Reformed Church, was forbidden to the clergy. There was, therefore, in general, a disposition to direct their attention more to practical subjects. The number of his hearers was far greater also, than in the small chapel of the court at Dresden. A few months after his arrival likewise, Schade, one of his own friends in Leipsic also received an appointment, and he was able through his friend v. Schweinitz to obtain much from the higher officers and from v. Fuchs himself, who although not specially favorable to Pietism, that he might not render the Prince suspected of being the head of a theological party, was still more disinclined to favor the more intolerant orthodox party. As at Frankfort and Dresden, Spener commenced his catechization here also, preached twice during the week, and formed a *collegium philobiblicum* of the candidates of theology, some of whom, as at Frankfort and Dresden, he constantly lodged and boarded at his own house. Whilst by his direct personal agency in preaching and writing he effected much, his indirect influence through others was also great, for he thus in the appointment to vacancies, secured positions for a large number of men of similar views and such as had endured persecution, and was especially prominent in giving to the Faculty at Halle, that theological trio, which made it the nursery of Pietistic Theology—Breithaupt, Francke, Anton. Joachim Lange also, was nominated by his exertions, after satisfying the scruples of von Fuchs, as Adjunct to the

Theological Faculty and Freylinghausen, as pastoral assistant to Francke.

The prevalent and, relatively speaking, unavoidable practice of private confession and absolution, had pained the hearts of many of the most excellent servants of the Lutheran Church, long before the time of Spener—that which distressed them was to give absolution, in the name of the Lord, from all their sins, to so many individuals, with whose spiritual condition they could not become acquainted. The small sum of money usually given for confession, in the eyes of the uneducated multitude, gave to this absolution still more, the appearance of a payment for their sins, and to confession, that of a mere *opus operatum*. In Frankfort, it is true, nothing was paid, and indeed where it was part of the salary, Spener did not wish to have it done away; in reference to the other abuse, he felt the more concerned, because in the Church in Alsace, the practice of private confession did not exist, and he did not see how the evil could be removed in large cities, without an increase of the clergy, or the aid of lay elders. His colleague Schade having the same convictions with himself, was not able to continue a practice any longer, which so plainly did violence to his conscience. Vexed with the abuse, regardless of consequences, he brought his complaint before the congregation. A tract of his, which appeared in 1697, closes with the words: “Let him who wishes, praise the *confessional*, the *throne of Satan*, the *lake of fire*.” He expressed himself also in the same way in a sermon, and at the next administration of the sacrament, he ventured, in violation of the duties of his office as Lutheran preacher, after prayer and confession of sins, to pronounce a general absolution of the assembled communicants, without the preparatory private confession. These occurrences occasioned a commotion in the whole Lutheran Church in Berlin, especially as a great number of citizens unhesitatingly declared before a special commission appointed by the Prince, that they would no longer make use of any private confession. It was only through the most active exertions of Spener, that the officers allowed him the privilege of continuing in his office, without the administration of private confession. Schade himself was called away from the scene of his earthly labors in 1698, and an edict followed, allowing those, who had any scruples in reference to private confession, a dispensation from it. We can readily understand how it is, when the beloved man complains to Francke, that his

severest trials and anxieties were occasioned not by his *enemies*, but his *friends*.

Whilst Spener was thus obliged to use every exertion in Berlin, to remove from his friends the consequences of their excesses, which he himself deeply deplored, the most violent attacks of his enemies from every direction were made upon him, as the first occasion of the fanatical sects every where appearing. Neither was it the old method of disputation, as carried on by Calovius; the libels of Mayer, Schelling, Carp-zov, Ulrich Calixtus and numberless others did not contain thorough theological discussions upon objective truth; but personalities, bandying of words and slanders of the most repulsive character had taken their place. The Tract issued by the Faculty of Wittenberg in 1695, entitled: "Christian Lutheranism in plain and truthful statements, from the Word of God and the Symbolical Books of the Church, contrasted with the errors of Dr. Spener's writings," caps the climax of all the libels published by individuals. Spener is charged with not less than 283 errors. Prepared however by Deutschmann, the Senior of the Wittenberg Faculty, whose intellectual powers were on the decline, this Tract was so manifestly a passionate and unreliable piece of bungling, that even the prudent Spener thus expresses himself in reference to it. "The labor of these men, in the Providence of God, had such ill success, that the Faculty degraded itself, by means of it, before the whole Church, to such a degree, that some of my friends congratulated me that God had given my enemies over into my hands." With what charitable feelings, each temperately written Tract was treated by the peace-loving man, one may see in his "Complete Vindication of his Innocence," written in 1696, in reply to Alberti. In this he expresses his pleasure, that the Leipsic theologian above mentioned, in his paper against him, had reduced, without the use of violent language, the points in dispute to a few, so that Spener also very briefly explains, how they could easily come to a proper understanding. We are indeed amazed at the industry of this man of many labors, for he devotes a separate Tract to the refutation of the charges of each respectable opponent. He himself complains that much time, which he could employ to better advantage, was spent upon these disputes. Yet he who did not reply, in those days, to an opponent, was regarded as *confessus* and *convictus*; and if an individual himself was unwilling to engage the less assailants, he was at least obliged to send some of his friends

as armor-bearers against them, as indeed Spener frequently did. In every respect, however, these polemical Tracts are a striking testimony to the sincerity and humility of the man; their principal fault is, that they present the points in dispute with too great minuteness of detail, instead of giving them in a general way. Among his apologetic writings, that one is the most deserving of particular notice, which he prepared in reply to the Wittenbergers, "Entire Conformity with the Augsburg Confession," and also that one in answer to the pamphlet, which was prepared with Carpzov's co-operation, called, "The Mischief described." The latter of these, which appeared in 1693, and was dedicated to the Elector of Saxony, contains an instructive, historical description of the whole Pietistic controversy. The article which he prepared, at the request of the Elector, in reference to the pamphlet above mentioned, and the so-called Pietistic sect in Saxony, is so satisfactory in its character, that his opposers were unable to bring forward any satisfactory proof for their charges.

Spener did not live to see the triumph of the views, represented by him at the Court of Berlin, and in the city itself. This was completed in the year 1708, upon the third marriage of the King, with Sophia Louisa of Mecklenburg. Under the direction of her chaplain *Porst*, meetings for prayer were held even at the Court, at which the King was, several times, present and did not remain unaffected; and among the citizens and clergy also, new associations for edification were formed.

After Spener had completed his dogmatic work, "The Eternal Divinity of Christ," this beloved teacher, who had pointed out the way of Salvation to so many, entered into the joy of his Lord, Feb. 5, 1705. His profitable dying instructions and peaceful end, have been described by v. Canstein, an eye-witness. His former assistant Blankenberg became his successor.

A few words as to his family. His wife belonged to the respectable family of Ehrhardt of Strasburg. They lived together in the most complete harmony of spirit: of the eleven children, who were the fruit of this union, eight were alive, at the time of his death. He lived to derive satisfaction only from a few. John Jacob, appointed Professor at Halle in 1691, according to the testimony of the father, by bodily affliction was made spiritually whole, and died 1692. His son William Louis, the theologian, gave him the great-

est hope and the truest pleasure, though he died in the twenty-first year of his age. Another son, Jacob Charles, first theologian, then jurist, fell into a deep melancholy, which disqualified him for the discharge of the duties of his office. The youngest son, Ernest Gottfried, also at first a theologian, was lead astray and lived a wicked life, forsook after the death of his father, the study of theology, and died in the twenty-sixth year of his age, as judge, after the blessing of the Father had restored him, before his death to his God.

It remains for us, to examine Spener's character in its *churchly* and *practical Christian aspects*, and *the amount and extent of his influence upon the Evangelical Church*.

In theological culture and the accuracy of his theological knowledge, Spener is behind none of his contemporaries. His sermons, as well as his polemical writings, give satisfactory evidence of profound exegetical study and exegetical talent; and we mention in this connection his excellent little work, "The Improper Use of the Words of the Scripture, by Men of the World." In *systematic* theology, he rivals the most gifted of his contemporaries, without indeed departing from that formal mode of discussion, which in the treatment of questions of a dogmatic character, had taken the place of the speculation and mysticism of the middle ages. So thoroughly had he made himself acquainted, with this formal, logical dexterity, which the methods of study of that age cultivated, that the beautiful perspicuity of his dogmatical and practical expositions furnish real intellectual gratification. What instructive and profitable discourses, for every practical clergyman, are his theological considerations, in consequence of their perspicuity and their satisfactory Scripture proofs. His knowledge, or at least his subsequent *interest*, seems however not to have gone beyond the limits of theological science, for there do not seem to be any fruits of his historical and classical studies. Although we would hardly suppose it to be the case, we find united, in equal strength, a large, warm heart, and distinguished prudence; though a total want of imaginative power. The very fact, that in his historical studies he made choice of Genealogy and Heraldry as his favorites, will be sufficient proof of this. Even amid the accumulated theological labors of his later life, he found leisure for this study of his youth, and published as late as the year 1690, the stirring heraldic work, "*Insignium Theoria*." How much his taste for grace-

ful composition and rhetorical culture decreased, he himself acknowledges with regret. His sermons and all his writings are marked by almost intolerable length. It was not given him, according to his own admission, to speak and write "with agreeable brevity." He had made attempts, according to the custom of his day, in the composition of Latin verses, but without any special talent; of his nine German Sacred Songs, one is worthy of distinction, his Funeral Hymn. As to his *ecclesiastical* position, his stand-point was, sincere and entire subjection to the Confession of his Church. He however desired, to give the widest extension possible to the limits assigned by the theologians to the Confessions. In fact among Spener's statements, none can be found, which cannot be sustained by the authority of one or more orthodox theologians; and he himself does not fail to furnish, wherever he can, such unsuspected authorities as Gerhard, Meissner, Meyfart v. Andreae, and others. Though in the advanced age to which he belonged, he uses language with less reserve, and reveals to a greater extent the prevalent abuses. The uncharitable polemical spirit, the perverted modes of study, the trust in *opus operatum*, the abuse of the Confessional, the partial instructions in reference to faith and justification by it—all these distorted views of the Lutheran Church had also been earnestly discussed by most of those who preceded him, as I have shown in my, "Life-sketches of the Lutheran Church." What distinguishes him however from his predecessors, is the much greater indulgence he extends to those, who, in combating these errors, by exceeding the proper limits, had fallen into erroneous opinions. The more strongly marked subjectivity of the piety of the age, and the views of Calixtus, which had to a considerable extent entered into its consciousness, in reference to the difference between religion and theology, had led him to the conviction, that *there may exist an inconsistent relation between error in doctrine, and the truth and purity of Christian life*; that genuine discipleship is not incompatible, with errors even in reference to some of the important articles of faith. This also is the foundation of a judgment, subsequently expressed by him, in reference to the Reformed Church, that her errors "consist more in theory than in practice." When a Christian finds, by intimate intercourse with an individual, that it is manifestly the principal aim of his life to serve God, and that he confides in nothing else, than in the grace of God in Jesus Christ, even though such a one may

belong to an erring congregation, and himself entertain some errors, he may still be regarded as a child of God. Now inasmuch as Spener does not deny, *that such a departure from the truth involves in itself a defect in the religious life*, he could correctly appeal, as he does, to what the Preface to the Form. Concord says, of the errors of *simplices* and whole Churches, for what is added of *pertinacia* as a ground of exclusion has in general only a relative character. And though Löscher may not be wrong, when he regards it as the chief fault of the departed man, that he did not reprove his friends with sufficient earnestness, for those things which he himself regarded as errors; yet he cannot be convicted of any departure, in principle, from the faith of his Church. Besides every thing, which emanated from his pen, was so well thought out, and so carefully guarded, that even his opponents, with all their eagerness to find fault, acknowledged how difficult he had made it for them. "One of my opponents," says he, "complained on a certain occasion, that when he had found something, by which he thought he could convict me, and prove my sympathy with heterodoxy, he always met with something, by considering it accurately with its connections, which prevented a successful attack." The only, at least, apparent heterodoxy was his *Chiliasm*. Among the old Lutherans he found no support at all, it was Reformed theology alone, which, by means of its greater exegetical accuracy, had given currency to Chiliastic hopes, yet he defended himself against this charge, by saying that he did not belong to those Chiliasts, who reject the 17th Article of the Augsburg Confession. Still easier was it, to defend his expectation of a universal conversion of the Jews, against the attacks of Pfeifer. Many of the oldest Lutheran theologians, Hutter, Hunnius and Baldwin had occupied a position on this subject, antagonistic to that of Luther.

As far as the personal religion of the man is concerned, we have designated him, as the purest of all the prominent characters of the Evangelical Church. All the particulars, both of his public and private life, are known to us, by the exertions of his enemies as well as his friends, through his numberless writings, and his extensive, partly unpublished correspondence, which disclose to our view the most secret chambers of his heart; but it would be difficult to say, from what direction a charge could be brought against his moral character. Whilst gentleness, humility and love can be mentioned, as the fundamental features of his religious char-

acter, there were also found united with them, when it was necessary, energy and manliness, though always clothed in the garb of prudence. The strongest proof of this is found in his conduct towards the Elector, which gained his respect, in spite of his violent anger; for not a single improper word found its way into the letters, sent by the enraged Prince to Spener, after his conscience had received such a severe check; and his letter of dismissal breathes only good wishes. He did not put himself on a level with such insolent opponents, as Mayer, and Schelwig; but though destitute of all claims to respectful treatment, he conducts himself towards them with composure and dignity. Seldom will we find, when the entire course of a man's life is before us, so complete a correspondence with the most secret purposes of the heart, as we discover in the letters of Spener to his relations and his most intimate friends. Perfect integrity and truthfulness is conspicuous in all his actions. His chief anxiety was "*to commit no sin*;" and Spener's example gives a distinguished proof, how far a Christian can be successful in this, by watchfulness and prayer. He walked in the fear of the Lord, and in persevering prayer, with which he united voluntary fasting. Yet we cannot overlook the fact, how far the beautiful harmony of his Christian life, was aided by the natural elements of his character. To what an extent Spener was, by nature, free from violent emotions, can be very readily seen from his own assertion, that none of the attacks of his enemies *had occasioned him even one sleepless night*. He speaks of himself as naturally timid and diffident, and if this natural defect, causes his Christian energy to appear in a more favorable light, we can more readily understand why it was more easy for him to be gentle. He is not willing to receive the praise awarded to him, for the moderation and mildness, which he continually maintained in his polemical writings, for he says: "I do not regard this moderation as a peculiar virtue, for it is partly natural inclination, partly a habit formed from childhood, in consequence of which it was very difficult for me to use strong expressions, even in matters of importance;" in which remarks he refers to the moderate language he had used against the Catholic Breving, for which he had been suspected rather than praised.

That which was recognized in the case of the Reformers, that the agency of each distinguished individual, was more *with the age than upon it*, has not been acknowledged in

Church History with reference to Spener. It is still customary, to represent the change of the theological views which took place in the second half of the 17th century, as well as Pietism, as it arose in the Halle period, as the fruit of the activity of Spener. In speaking of the *Pia Desideria*, we have already shown, how little this was the case. So little was Spener compelled, on his first appearance, to speak in his own defence, that from the very beginning, he was continually hailed with acclamation, by a great party, as their spokesman. As the portraiture of the Lutheran and the Reformed theologians of the 2nd half of the Seventeenth century, in the 2nd volume of my "Academical Life," shows, the Protestant theology of this period changes its ground from Dogmatism to that of personal piety. Even outside of the German Church, we find Mysticism and Quietism appearing in the French Catholic, and Cocceianism very much allied to Pietism, in the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. *The most influential centre* for the progressive change was doubtless Spener, not merely for the reason usually given, in consequence of his high ecclesiastical position in Dresden and Berlin, but much more *through the respect which his own elevated Christian character, and the moderation of his theological views inspired.* The second half of the seventeenth century would scarcely have tolerated the acerbity of the subsequent Franckean Pietism. Only such a personal character, as that of Spener, was adapted to make the transition to a more subjective piety. Besides this, he had gained the confidence of a number of German Princes and influential statesmen. His connection with the ducal family of Würtemberg, and the nobility of the Wetterau has already been mentioned; he stood so high also, in the estimation of Duke Ernest, during his residence in Frankfort, that he requested him to give an expression of opinion to him during the Calixtine controversies; the pious Gustavus Adolphus of Mecklenburg consulted him with reference to the contemplated reformatations in his land; the pious Ulrica Eleanora of Sweden, wife of the orthodox Charles the XI., corresponded with him as to calling the aged Scribe from Magdeburg; and how much the Saxon Princes favored him has already been mentioned. He was a bond of union for all Lutheran theologians, who had not declined to the furthest extreme of bigotry. Decided, on the one side, in favor of pure Lutheran doctrine, and cheerfully extending his recognition, wherever he saw only the

weakest fruits of the Spirit ; charitable, on the other, towards individual deviations in doctrine when found in connection with sincere and ardent faith, he formed the mean between two opposite extremes, one of which was occupied by the Dannhauers and Caloviuses, the other by the Arndts and Petersens, correcting equally the illiberality of the one, and the excesses of the other. All those who were influenced by the new practical spirit of the age in Germany, endeavored to have personal, and if that was not possible, epistolary intercourse with him. During one year he answered 622 letters, whilst 300 still remained unanswered ; and how comprehensive some of them were may be seen from his "Thoughts." The almost universal practice which the students in the Academies had of traveling, at that time, furnished him with opportunities for scattering the seeds of truth. He exerted a greater influence through a number of candidates, whom he was in the habit of taking into his house, when he lived in Frankfort, Dresden and Berlin, as boarders ; in accordance with the custom not only of the teachers in the University, but also of prominent clergymen. Of far-reaching influence was his varied literary activity, for the labors of which he managed to find time, although nearly the whole of it was taken up in attending meetings of the Consistory, from 8 o'clock in the morning, with a short intermission for his meals, until 7 in the evening. The catalogue of his publications by Canstein, embraces no less than 7 in Folio, 63 volumes quarto, published during his life-time, 7 in octavo and 46 in duodecimo ; besides these, numberless prefaces to books, prepared by his friends, especially those to important old practical books, with which he had made the Christian public acquainted. How carefully he redeemed the time for those varied labors, may be seen from the fact, that he withdrew himself almost entirely from all entertainments and social intercourse, and had visited his garden in Berlin only twice in nine years. The tendency of theology, was quite different in the greater part of Germany at his death than it had been at his appearance on the stage ; still the majority of the ecclesiastical bodies and perhaps the half of the theological Faculties were his opposers. Still many of those entertaining similar views with himself had attained high theological honors, especially in the Universities of Halle and Giessen ; soon also a goodly company of spiritual pupils grew up for him at Jena and Königsberg, with whom the Lutheran piety of Spener passes over into Pietism.

ARTICLE V.

OUR GENERAL SYNOD.

THE Twentieth Convention* of the General Synod met, according to appointment, in the city of Lancaster, Penn., May 1st, 1862, and was opened with a discourse by Rev. Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, President of the former Convention, from the words, "And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment; that ye may approve things that are excellent; that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ; being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God." After an appropriate introduction, the following points were presented and earnestly enforced: The importance of our discerning and maintaining the doctrines of the Gospel; the sentiments of love and Christian affection, which an accurate discernment of Gospel truth may be expected to cherish; and the acts and deeds, resulting from these affections to the glory and the praise of God. The members of Synod were urged to cast aside all doubts and misgivings, and to address themselves to the high and holy responsibilities, which the exigencies of the Church and of the State imposed upon them; to go forward in God's name,; to adopt the motto, chosen by holy men of former times, "Nothing is to be despaired of, if Jesus lead the way;" and to feel assured, that He would bring about such results, through their instrumentality, that their own deep wonder at them would be lost in the rising voice of thanksgiving; for they would see, that after all, they were not their own works, but the works that are by Jesus Christ to the glory and the praise of God. The discourse was able and suggestive, marked by decision of views, and kindness of tone. It was received with general satisfaction and a copy, requested for publication.

The General Synod is, at the present time, composed of twenty-seven District Synods from all of which, except the

* *Officers.*—B. Kurtz, D. D. LL. D., Maryland, *President*; Prof. M. L. Stoever, Pennsylvania, *Secretary*; A. F. Ockershausen, Esq., New York, *Treasurer*.

Synods of Virginia, Western Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas, delegates were present. It was stated in Convention, that a communication had been received from the delegate appointed by the Synod of Texas, who was now absent from the country in Germany, and that he was desirous that the Synod should know, that "whatever traitors and rebels in his State had done, the Synod of Texas had remained loyal to the Government and the Constitution of our Country." The opinion was also expressed, that in the Confederate States there were many of the brethren, whose sympathies were still with us, and who, so soon as the Government established its authority over this territory, would gladly co-operate with us in our efforts to build up the interests of the Church. Delegates from the Synods of Maryland and Kentucky were in attendance, and also one from Nashville, Tenn., who is in connection with the Synod of Southern Illinois. The Synod of New Jersey made application for admission, and, having complied with the Constitutional requirements, was cordially received. One hundred and twenty (seventy-one clerical and forty-nine lay-members,) answered to their names when the roll was called, only seventeen less than were present, at the last Convention, when all the Southern States were represented. There were likewise in attendance seventy clergymen, as well as prominent laymen from different sections of the Church, not delegated to the body, together with thirteen ministers from other branches of the Christian Church, who, by their presence and attention, from day to day, evinced their interest in the proceedings of the Convention.

The sessions of the Synod were well attended, the congregations at the public services, large and attentive, the pecuniary collections for benevolent purposes, prompt and liberal and the kindness of the families, whose hospitalities the Synod enjoyed, most generous and grateful. The deliberations of the Convention were harmonious and pleasant, conducted with freedom and earnestness, and even when a diversity of opinion existed, there was always a spirit of forbearance and love manifested. There was in the Convention a large amount of the talent and experience of the Church, all interests were represented, and the discussions marked by more than ordinary ability. During the sessions various subjects claimed the attention of Synod. The different benevolent Societies of the Church also celebrated their anniversaries, and transacted a large amount of important busi-

ness. Much valuable information was communicated and a new impulse imparted to all these objects, so closely connected with the progress of our Zion and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

Revisal and Codification of the Rules and By-Laws of Synod.

The Report of the Committee, to whom this subject was entrusted at the last Convention, engaged the early attention of Synod. The Minutes of all the Conventions from 1820 down to the present time had been carefully examined by the Committee and the standing resolutions, collected and arranged under their appropriate head. The By-Laws were also revised and others added, so as to secure greater efficiency in conducting the business of the Synod. The rule, proposed by the Committee in reference to visiting brethren, elicited an animated debate. It was finally decided that all ministers, not elected as delegates, be tendered seats on the floor of Synod, but that they be not permitted to participate in the discussions, unless invited by a special vote of the body. Hitherto the time of Synod has often been unnecessarily consumed by the advisory members to the exclusion of those who had been regularly elected, as the representatives to the Convention. By the adoption of this rule an important point has been gained, the dignity of the body preserved and its usefulness increased. It was, also, determined that the different Societies, represented in the General Synod, should hold their regular business meetings on the afternoons of the sessions of the Convention, in the order of their organization, and that the business of these Societies should be regarded as a part of the business of the Convention. The anniversaries are to be held on the evenings of the days, designated for the transaction of business. These changes will, no doubt, be found important improvements.

Ecclesiastical Correspondence.

Rev. Philip Schaff, D. D., appeared, as a delegate from the Synod of the German Reformed Church, and Rev. Joseph Kummer, from the Provincial Synod of the Northern District of the Church of the United Brethren in North America, with the Christian salutations of the bodies they represented. Both of them delivered addresses and referred to the pleasant relations, existing between their respective

constituents and the Lutheran Church. They also presented interesting statements relative to the condition and prospects of their own Churches, and assured the Synod of the sympathy of their brethren with us in the work, in which we are engaged. They were heard with profound attention, and the President appropriately responded, cordially reciprocating, on behalf of Synod, the friendly sentiments and fraternal regard, which had been expressed, and begging the delegates to carry back with them to the Synods, they represented, our kind greetings and good feeling.

A communication was received from the delegate, appointed by the Evangelical Church Union of the West, regretting his inability to be present at the meeting and expressing the hope that the correspondence and pleasant relations between the two bodies may continue to be maintained. From the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church there was no delegate present. His absence, it was said, was occasioned by the postponement of our Convention, and not on account of a want of interest in the correspondence.

The following delegates were appointed to represent our Church in the various bodies, with which we are in correspondence: To the Synod of the German Reformed Church, S. S. Schmucker, D.D., *Primarius*, and Rev. D. Steck, *Alternate*; To the Provincial Synod of the Northern District of the Church of the United Brethren in North America, Rev. C. F. Welden, *Primarius*, and Rev. B. M. Schmucker, *Alternate*; To the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, W. H. Harrison, D. D., *Primarius*, and S. Sprecher, D. D., *Alternate*; To the Evangelical Church Union of the West, S. W. Harkey, D. D., *Primarius*, and Rev. C. Kuhl, *Alternate*. There was also a Committee on *Foreign Correspondence* appointed, consisting of S. S. Schmucker, D. D., G. B. Miller, D. D., C. P. Krauth, D. D., S. W. Harkey, D. D. and Rev. G. F. Krotel, whose duty it is to correspond with some of the principal Divines of the Lutheran Church in the different countries in Europe for the purpose of receiving and giving correct information concerning the State of our Church throughout the world, and the information thus obtained, is to be embodied by them in a report to the Synod. S. S. Schmucker, D. D., C. P. Krauth, D. D. and Prof. M. L. Stoeber were, likewise, appointed a Committee to take into consideration the condition of the German population in North America and report, at the next Convention, some plan of co-operation among them.

Narrative on the State of the Church.

The Report of Rev. B. Sadtler on the State of the Church gratefully records the fact that the Synods and churches have enjoyed many tokens of the Divine favor since the last meeting of the General Synod. The calamitous condition of the Country is referred to as a fiery trial both to the Church and State, but the hope is cherished, that the trial will issue in a purer nation and a holier, more spiritual and consecrated Church. A present loss may prove to be a permanent and blessed gain. The reports from the District Synods, represented in the Convention, reveal the following facts: (1) The immediate effect of the unhappy strife, into which the country has been forced to enter for its preservation, has somewhat checked the increase in membership in comparison with other periods. This is a natural result, not only on account of the general distraction of the public mind, but because many of the young men are in the army. (2) Whilst there has been a diminution in the membership, the means of grace have been faithfully employed. Attendance upon the sanctuary and the ordinances has been regular, except in some congregations near the borders, where the surrounding circumstances have interfered. Our time-honored custom of instructing the young, preparatory to Confirmation, has been gaining in the affections of the Church. Pastoral visitation is held in higher esteem, as a means of usefulness, and the result is that, by the use of these means of spiritual effort, many churches have enjoyed seasons of special revival, and many more have been brought to a point of consistent piety and healthful development, not hitherto attained. (3) The Sabbath School cause has advanced within our bounds; Schools have multiplied and their influence has extended. (4) The spirit of benevolence has not declined, although in many charges a different direction has been given to the contributions of the Church. The times have called for liberal gifts in connection with the wants of our army. Sewing circles have been engaged in preparing hospital garments and stores. Regiments have also been furnished with copies of the Sacred volume, books and tracts, and in various other ways have channels been opened for the benefactions of the Church. Taking into account all the sums, contributed and expended, there has been an increase rather than a diminution in the liberality of our people. (5) Our Institutions of learning have passed through various experiences.

Some of them have been little affected by the State of the Country and have been engaged in their usual routine of duty, cultivating the mind and heart and diffusing the rich blessings of intelligence and piety throughout the land. Others have been called to pass through severe trials, but the hope is indulged, that under brighter political skies their career of usefulness will be resumed. The Committee recognize much in the state of our churches to encourage us and to awaken fervent praises. To the Great Head of the Church we can look with the full confidence, that He will sanctify our reverses and use us, as humble instruments for the promotion of His glory.

Resolutions on the State of the Country.

At an early session of the Synod a Committee, consisting of one from each District Synod represented, was appointed to prepare a minute, expressive of the views of the body with regard to our duty as Christians and citizens, in the present crisis of our beloved Country. The Committee, through Rev. Dr. Passavant, subsequently submitted a report which, after a spirited and deeply interesting discussion, was adopted by an overwhelming majority. We give the resolutions in full for historical reference.

WHEREAS, Our beloved Country, after having long been favored with a degree of political and religious freedom, security and prosperity, unexampled in the history of the world, now finds itself involved in a bloody war to suppress an armed rebellion against its lawfully constituted Government; *and whereas*, the word of God, which is the sole rule of our faith and practice, requires loyal subjection to "the powers that be," because they are ordained of God, to be a terror to evil doers, and a praise to those who do well, and at the same time declares, that they who "resist the power" shall receive to themselves condemnation; *and whereas*, we, the representatives of the Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States, connected with the General Synod, assembled in Lancaster, Pa., recognize it as our duty to give public expression to our convictions of truth on this subject, and in every proper way to co-operate with our fellow-citizens in sustaining the great interests of law and authority, of liberty and righteousness, be it therefore

1. *Resolved*, That it is the deliberate judgment of this Synod, that the Rebellion against the Constitutional Gov-

ernment of this land is most wicked in its inception, unjustifiable in its cause, unnatural in its character, inhuman in its prosecution, oppressive in its aims, and destructive in its results to the highest interests of morality and religion.

2. *Resolved*, That, in the suppression of this Rebellion and in the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union by the sword, we recognize an unavoidable necessity and a sacred duty, which the Government owes to the nation and to the world, and that, therefore, we call upon all our people to lift up holy hands in prayer to the God of battles, without personal wrath against the evil doers on the one hand, and without doubting the righteousness of our cause on the other, that He would give wisdom to the President and his counsellors, and success to the army and navy, that our beloved land may speedily be delivered from treason and anarchy.

3. *Resolved*, That while we recognize this unhappy war as a righteous judgment of God, visited upon us, because of the individual and national sins, of which we have been guilty, we nevertheless regard this Rebellion as more immediately the natural result of the continuance and spread of domestic slavery in our land, and therefore hail with unmingled joy the proposition of our Chief Magistrate, which has received the sanction of Congress, to extend aid from the General Government to any State, in which slavery exists, which shall deem fit to initiate a system of constitutional emancipation.

4. *Resolved*, That we deeply sympathize with all loyal citizens and Christian patriots in the rebellious portions of our country, and we cordially invite their co-operation, in offering united supplications at a Throne of Grace, that God would restore peace to our distracted country, re-establish fraternal relations between all the States, and make our land, in all time to come, the asylum of the oppressed, and the permanent abode of liberty and religion.

5. *Resolved*, That our devout thanks are due to Almighty God for the success which has crowned our arms, and while we praise and magnify his name for the help and succor he has graciously afforded our land and naval forces, in enabling them to overcome our enemies, we regard these tokens of his divine favor, as cheering indications of the final triumph of our cause.

The action of the General Synod in the frank, fearless and unqualified expression of its views on the present national

struggle, and its cordial support, of the efforts now making to suppress the rebellion, is a deliverance, wise and noble, worthy of the occasion and of the first-born Church of the Reformation. The loyalty of the Church, through its representatives, has been expressed in the most unequivocal and decided manner. The discussion on the subject was able, conducted in a kind, serious and Christian spirit, and participated in by Drs. Passavant, Harkey, Sprecher, Stork, Hay, Hon. H. H. Van Dyke, Rev. W. G. Harter, Prof. Sternberg, Rev. T. T. Titus, J. J. Cochran, Esq., Prof. Eggers, Rev. B. M. Schmucker, Hon. C. Kugler, Rev. J. R. Focht, and others. Various substitutes and amendments were proposed, but they were all rejected. There was very little difference of opinion in the Convention on the Report of the Committee, except in reference to the adoption of the third Resolution, opposition to which was urged on the ground of expediency.

It was argued, on the one hand, that it did not become ecclesiastical bodies to make declarations on political questions. Although we may believe that the proposition of the President is the most practicable measure, the wisest that could be adopted, it was inexpedient for the Synod to express an opinion in relation to the subject. We had a right to declare against slavery, but the wisdom of attempting, in our ecclesiastical capacity, to choose a way in which to put an end to the institution was doubted, as on that question the best of men entertained a diversity of views, and the Church had no right to give an expression of opinion. It would be said that we had taken sides on a party measure. It was a subject on which Congress differed, and one which was purely legislative. The discussion and decision of such questions did not come within the legitimate province of Synod. With as much propriety Congress might determine the platform or doctrinal basis of Synod, whether it should be in accordance with the Augsburg Confession or in conformity to some other Creed. The line of demarcation should be clearly and distinctly drawn between questions relating to the stability of the Government and the Union, and measures of mere expediency, which Congress alone has the power to decide. The introduction of the subject was to be deprecated. It was in contradiction to the whole character of the Lutheran Church and would violate the moral and religious sense of our constituents. Not that the Church was not loyal; our people had sent their sons and contributed their means to the aid of the Government; they would stand by

it to the last extremity in the exercise of its authority, in its efforts to crush the Rebellion and preserve the Union, but the slavery question and its disposition was a different matter. Its agitation in our ecclesiastical Convention would do no good. It would create strife and separate brethren. It would sunder different sections of the Church more widely than ever. It was hoped that the prediction, once uttered, would not be verified, "That the Synod, at first a lamb, would finally show the lion's teeth and claws to tyrannize over the District Synods." Our Church had not been divided on the subject, or its harmony interrupted as other Christian denominations, because we had carefully excluded the discussion of the question from our Synodical meetings. We should, therefore, proceed with extreme caution. It was our duty to conciliate rather than alienate our brethren, professing the same faith, adopting the same doctrines and practices with ourselves. In all our efforts to crush the Rebellion we should never lose sight of the idea of a reconstruction, both of the Church and the Union, on a purer and better principle. We should look forward to the time, when these erring brethren would repent and again unite with us. There were loyal men, in the Border, and even in the Cotton States, who would regard the measure proposed as most unfortunate, fraught with disastrous results. Some also opposed the resolution on the ground, that it was a virtual endorsement of slavery, that it recognized the slave as chattel by saying that the owner must be compensated, in order that the negroe might go free. All admitted that Slavery was the cause of these national difficulties, and differed only as to the propriety of Synod expressing an opinion in reference to any political measure, that had been proposed for the removal of the difficulty. It was suggested that we should only express the hope that God would through the War bring the nation to realize its duty and see what is the proper remedy; that He would, in his own good time, bring about the emancipation of the slave; that we should not anticipate Him in the work, but attend to our appropriate sphere, and it would not be long before the great evil, which had occasioned the Rebellion, would be remedied.

On the other hand, it was argued that there was a misapprehension of the design and spirit of the resolution. The President and Congress, as well as the citizens of the United States, must recognize the legality of the relation between master and slave. To those, who maintained what are called

extreme views, the idea of property in men is abhorrent, yet we must acknowledge the legal relation. Henry Clay once said, "*That* is property, which the law makes property." The primitive Christians, whilst they regarded the system of Slavery with the greatest detestation, freely devoted their means to the purchase of their brethren from bondage; many were impoverished by their contributions in this direction; they gave millions of money for the purpose of emancipation. It was asserted that the ground, taken by the resolution, was the true one, on which the Church and the Synod ought to stand, and that it was peculiarly appropriate, when we remembered that we would be called upon to contribute towards the carrying out of the object of the measure. It becomes our duty to lead the way and prepare our people for this great movement. To us it may be a sacrifice of money and of feeling, but we should be willing to make sacrifices for so great and noble an end. But in doing so, we do not sacrifice Christian principle or assert that the slaveholder has any claim upon the property, which he has no right to hold. When we assist an unfortunate brother with means to redeem by purchase his wife and children from bondage, we do not by the act recognize the right of possession in man. The Government is now giving that principle, upon which we have often acted, an enlarged sphere. It was not to be forgotten, too, that many men in the South hold slaves unwillingly, whose worldly means were all bound up in that species of property. Let us then go so far, as to say while the evil of Slavery is great, we in the North have likewise sinned and are willing to share with our brethren, if they desire it, the loss resulting from emancipation; so far as we have light, we should be disposed generously to bear with them part of the burden. By adopting the resolution we might do much in making and sustaining public opinion, in upholding the Government in the important work in which it was engaged. We represented a part of the people, the German element, over whom we could exercise an influence. The recognition by the Synod of the principle, recommended by the Chief Magistrate, will not make us politicians. We ought to express an opinion on the religious aspect and interests of the question, the emancipation of those from bondage for whom Christ died. The Great Reformer of the XVIth Century, whose name we bore, never hesitated boldly to utter his sentiments on the state of the country, fearlessly to rebuke or to approve the acts of the Government. In reply to the assertion that we, as a Church,

had never been divided on this question of Slavery, the reason was obvious. We had hitherto done nothing. We had been asleep and were just now waking up to the great truths before us, and to our high and responsible duties. Often before this, the brethren had felt that they ought to speak, but were deterred by precedent from doing so, and now without provocation these Synods had turned their back and left us. Some of their number, those very men who were responsible for this action, will never be listened to by the loyal people of the South, even the slaveholding portion. The Lutheran Church had always been loyal to the great interests of humanity, and now the time had come for her to speak, to present the great facts, to bring them out with proper distinctness, and to declare before God and the world, that if any of the States will inaugurate a system of emancipation, we will gladly assist them in the work. The delegate from Nashville asserted, that a change in public sentiment had taken place in the South on the question of Slavery—that the people in the section, whence he came, felt that these troubles were caused by Slavery; that they were for the Union, and, if he had been a secessionist, he could not have remained Pastor of his congregation. In reference to the Synod not expressing an opinion on the subject of Slavery, a Church was not worth calling a Church, if it could not fearlessly express its whole opinion on this subject. In these times it was the imperative duty of the Church to tell the world what it believes and the sooner the South finds out what it has to do and the sooner the work, which this resolution proposes, is begun the sooner will they commence operations for themselves, and a new era dawn on the Church there.

A Committee, consisting of Prof. Sternberg, Drs. Lintner, Pohlman and Stork, and Hon. H. H. Van Dyke, was appointed to present to the President of the United States a copy of the Resolutions adopted, with the assurance that our fervent prayers would ascend to the God of nations, that he may enjoy the Divine guidance and support in the trying and responsible position, to which Providence had called him.*

* We give a notice of the interview of the Committee with the Executive of the Union, copied from the *National Intelligencer*. It may prove of some interest in future :

“We learn that a Committee of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States were yesterday introduced to the President by the Secretary of State, and communicated the Resolutions of that body. These gentlemen were received with the cordiality characteristic of the Chief Magistrate. Professor Sternberg, of

Resolutions were also adopted, expressive of the Synod's decided disapprobation of those District Synods and minis-

Hartwick Seminary, New York, the Chairman of the Committee, in presenting the resolutions, addressed the President as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:—We have the honor, as a Committee of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States, to present to your Excellency a copy of the preamble and resolutions in reference to the state of the country, adopted by that body at its late session in the city of Lancaster, Pa. We are further charged to assure you that our fervent prayers shall ascend to the God of nations, that divine guidance and support may be vouchsafed to you in the trying and responsible position to which a benignant Providence has called you. With your permission the Rev. Dr. Pohlman, of Albany, N. Y., will briefly express to you the sentiments which animated the Committee and the Church, they represent, in view of the present crisis in our national affairs.

The Rev. Dr. Pohlman, of Albany, N. Y., in his speech, alluded to the fact that the late session of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church, at Lancaster, was the first that had been held since the troubles in our country commenced; that the General Synod represents twenty-seven District Synods, scattered over the Middle, Western and Southern States, from twenty-two of which delegates were in attendance; that from the States in rebellion no delegates were present, except one from Tennessee, who had, in praying for the President, avoided arrest only in consequence of the fact, that he conducted divine service in the German language, the vernacular of many in the Lutheran Church. He further expressed his deep conviction that we were greatly indebted for the degree of success that has crowned the efforts of the Government in quelling the Rebellion to the prayers of Christians, and concluded by invoking the divine benediction to rest on the President and on our beloved country.

The President replied to the Committee as follows:

GENTLEMEN:—I welcome here the representatives of the Evangelical Lutherans of the United States. I accept with gratitude their assurances of the sympathy and support of that enlightened, influential and loyal class of my fellow citizens in an important crisis, which involves, in my judgment, not only the civil and religious liberties of our own dear land, but in a large degree the civil and religious liberties of mankind in many countries and through many ages. You well know, gentlemen, and the world knows, how reluctantly I accepted this issue of battle forced upon me, on my advent to this place, by the internal enemies of our country. You all know, the world knows the forces and the resources the public agents, brought into employment to sustain a government, against which there has been brought not one complaint of real injury committed against society, at home or abroad. You all may recollect that in taking up the sword thus forced into our hands, this Government appealed to the prayers of the pious and the good, and declared that it placed its whole dependence upon the favor of God. I now humbly and reverently, in your presence, reiterate the acknowledgment of that dependence, not doubting that, if it shall please the Divine Being who determines the destinies of nations, that this shall remain a united people, they will, humbly seeking the divine guidance, make their prolonged national existence a source of new benefits to themselves and their successors, and to all classes and conditions of mankind."

ters, heretofore connected with us, in the open and active co-operation which they have given to treason and insurrection; also of its deep sympathy with our people in the Southern States, who, in the maintenance of the proper Christian loyalty, have been compelled to suffer persecution and wrong, and its hope of their speedy deliverance and restoration to our Christian and ecclesiastical fellowship.

The African Mission.

This Mission is located in the territory of Liberia on the St. Paul's river, thirty miles inland from Monrovia, the capital of the country, and has been conducted with intelligence, economy and success. The Missionaries have under their care and training a family of thirty-eight Congo children, who were liberated at Monrovia from captured slaves, brought into port. They are clothed and fed by the Mission and are required to work a certain portion of each day. The instructions in the School are in English. A number of the children already read; they have made very encouraging progress and seem readily to adopt habits of civilization. Rev. M. Officer is the Superintendent of this Mission, to whose unremitting zeal and efficient efforts its past success, under God, is due. Rev. H. Heigerd and his wife have been associated with him in the work. The Synod listened with much gratification to the highly encouraging Report of the Committee, presented by Rev. Dr. Harrison, and passed a resolution, earnestly inviting the attention of our people to this Mission, in the present peculiar juncture of our National affairs. It was determined to reinforce the Mission this fall, and at the request of the Committee who, from the beginning, have had charge of the Mission, its management has been transferred to the Executive Committee of our Foreign Missionary Society.

Pastors' Fund.

The Trustees of this Fund are now permanently organized with the prospects of a useful career. Since the last meeting of the General Synod an act of incorporation has been secured in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, contributions have been received into the Treasury from various sources, and appropriations made, at various times, for the relief of disabled ministers, their widows and orphans. The District Synods are urged to appropriate

an annual amount to this beneficent object, so that the Fund may steadily increase and the interest alone be used in answer to applications from all parts of the Church. The present Trustees are Rev. B. Keller, Isaac Sulger, Rev. E. W. Hutter, L. L. Houpt, Rev. G. F. Krotel and W. M. Heyl.

Liturgy.

At the commencement of the session, a copy of the Pennsylvania Synod's English Liturgy was presented for examination, which was referred to a Committee, who subsequently made a Report, highly commending the work for its many excellencies, but suggesting, in consequence of differences of opinion, that the same be not urged on the General Synod for adoption. The subject elicited an interesting discussion, in which Rev. G. F. Krotel, Dr. Schmucker, Rev. M. Valentine, Dr. Stork, Rev. B. M. Schmucker, and others participated, and was finally disposed of by the appointment of a Committee, consisting of one from each delegation, represented in the Convention, with instructions to propose a Liturgy for the use of our Churches, at the next Convention of the General Synod. The gentlemen composing the Committee are J. G. Morris, D. D., S. S. Schmucker, D. D., G. A. Lintner, D. D., H. N. Pohlman, D. D., S. Yingling, M. Valentine, W. H. Harrison, D. D., S. Sprecher, D. D., J. Crouse, Prof. B. C. Suesserott, J. A. Kunkelman, G. F. Krotel, S. W. Harkey, D. D., W. A. Passavant, D. D., B. Pope, W. G. Harter, D. H. Focht, H. Wells, Prof. H. Eggers, Prof. A. M. Geiger, B. Kurtz, D. D., and J. H. Barclay.

Hymn Book.

The Synod resolved to adhere to the rule, already established, according to which the control and management of the publication of the Hymn Book and other books of the General Synod and the power to contract for the publication of the several editions of the same, on terms most advantageous to the Synod, are entrusted to the Hymn Book Committee. The Committee, selected by the Convention for the ensuing two years, is composed of Isaac Sulger, J. J. Cochran, Dr. D. Luther, H. B. Ashmead and Martin Buehler. The propriety of taking, at this meeting, the incipient steps towards presenting to the churches a Hymn Book, worthy of the high Hymnological character and position of the Lutheran Church, having been suggested, it was resolved that, at the present

time, it is inexpedient to make any change in the General Synod's Hymn Book. A Committee, consisting of S. S. Schmucker, D. D., C. W. Schaeffer, D. D. and Rev. D. H. Focht, was appointed to examine carefully into the character and merits of the German Hymn Book, compiled by a Joint Committee of several District Synods, with the view of the General Synod recommending its use to the churches and of securing a proper portion of the net profits, resulting from the sale of the Book.

Sunday School Herald.

Rev. M. Valentine presented a Report from the Committee on the memorial of the Board of Publication, earnestly commending the *Sunday School Herald* to the patronage of the whole Church, and asking all our ministers and Sabbath Schools to make renewed and more vigorous efforts to extend its circulation. The excellent character and attractive appearance of the paper, in the judgment of Synod, render it worthy of the general and cordial support of our people.

Carmina Ecclesiae.

Professor Sternberg, from the Committee to whom this work was submitted for examination, reported favorably. It was represented as containing a larger amount of the choicest Church music and particularly of pieces, adapted to the wants of the Lutheran Church, than any similar book. The publisher was authorized to use the *imprimatur* of the General Synod, and for the privilege he proposes to pay a *bonus* to Synod.

Lutheran Synod in Canada.

Dr. Schaeffer gave notice that he would, at the next meeting of the General Synod, propose a change in the Constitution so as to read in the First and Second Articles "*and adjacent countries,*" immediately after the words "*United States.*" The design of this proposition is to allow the Synod, recently organized in Canada, the opportunity of making application for admission into the General Synod. In the meantime, in accordance with the suggestion made by Rev. D. Garver, as Chairman of a Committee on a communication relating to the subject, it was proposed that a correspondence and interchange of delegates be maintained,

From recent statistics it appears that the Lutheran population has increased from 12,107 in 1852, to 25,156 in 1862, thus more than doubling itself in ten years. Of this number there are 857 in Lower Canada and 24,229 in Upper Canada. In Upper Canada they form nearly two per cent. of the whole population. The increase is mainly from Foreign emigration and this is rapidly increasing from year to year. What an interesting field of labor this is, and what strong claims does it present for Missionary effort !

Death of Rev. G. J. Kempe.

Rev. Dr. Miller, from the Committee appointed to prepare a minute on the death of this brother who had been chosen a delegate to this body from the New York Ministerium, reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That while we feel deeply the loss, sustained in the afflictive Providence by the family and congregation of our deceased brother Kempe, as well as by the Lutheran Church at large, of which he was an exemplary and esteemed minister, we would humbly acquiesce in the appointments of our Lord, who knows the best time to call His servants to their rest.

Resolved, That we would express our heartfelt sympathy with the bereaved family, fervently praying, that He who has inflicted this wound would mercifully support them under it, and be their all sufficient good and their present help in every time of need.

Parent Education Society

held its regular meeting and transacted its usual business. In the Report of the Corresponding Secretary interesting facts were presented, connected with the subject of Beneficiary Education. It was stated, that there are in the various Institutions of learning and religion in the Church about six hundred young men, hopefully pious, the major part of whom are in the various stages of preparation for the Gospel ministry. Of these nearly three hundred are aided by the contributions of the Church. The annual accessions to the ministry are estimated at not less than fifty. The Report suggests additional checks and cautions for the purpose of preventing mistakes in the selection of proper subjects to be aided by the funds of the Church. If a young

man were required to sustain himself for a time, until he had made some progress in study, it would furnish additional security against self-deception and a guarantee of his sincerity. Besides, no one should be received upon the funds of the Church who, in addition to undoubted evidences of personal piety, is not well acquainted with the doctrines and usages of the Church and does not cordially approve them. Greater care must be exercised in this matter. No one should be received on these sacred funds, before his character is formed or his principles determined. A Committee, consisting of Dr. Schmucker, Dr. Baugher, C. A. Morris and J. J. Cochran, was appointed to revise the Constitution of the Society and to procure an act of incorporation. At the anniversary celebration appropriate addresses were delivered by Drs. Diehl, Harkey and Kurtz.

Foreign Missionary Society.

The Report of the Executive Committee refers to the death of Dr. Baker, the late President of the Society, whose deep interest was always manifested in the cause of Missions; also to that of Dr. Eichelberger, one of the Vice-Presidents, and of Rev. William E. Snyder, our late Missionary at Guntoor, who fell with his armor on in the strength of his manhood and the vigor of usefulness. The Report also gives a detailed account of our Missionary operations in India. The Mission is represented, as having been visited with many tokens of the Divine favor, since the last meeting of the Society. The Schools are prosperous and increasing in size and number. There are frequent applications for Baptism and several young natives are preparing for the ministry. There are connected with the Mission eight congregations, eight Missionaries, (four of them ordained ministers, Rev. F. A. Heise, Rev. C. W. Gronning, Rev. Adam Long and Rev. E. Unangst,) two Catechists and two Colporters. Prospects for increased usefulness are presented and we are urged to take possession of the field. Some fifteen or twenty additional stations, under the most favorable influences, could be established, if the Mission were re-enforced. Are there not in the Church young men, who will respond to the Macedonian cry, "*Come over and help us?*" A memorial, on behalf of the Pittsburg Synod, was read by Rev. D. Garver, in regard to the importance of our Church establishing a Mission in China. The subject elicited an interesting and

earnest discussion, in which Drs. Pohlman, Miller, Stork, Hay, Passavant, Sternberg and others took part. Rev. Robert Neumann, who, for five years, labored as a Missionary among the Chinese, presented many encouraging facts relative to the work in that portion of the Pagan world and Rev. A. H. Myers, of California, made some interesting statements with regard to the condition and wants of the forty thousand Chinese in that region of our country. The Society with great unanimity adopted a resolution, expressive of its belief that the Lord in his Providence is directing our Church in this country to this important and promising field of labor, and our duty to obey the Divine call. The Executive Committee were instructed to arrange the preliminaries for a Mission among the Chinese, to seek out suitable laborers, and by loud and repeated calls to awaken the Church to a realizing sense of her obligations to Christ and his cause. In the evening the anniversary exercises were held, and interesting addresses delivered by Revs. J. Z. Senderling, J. L. Schock, W. A. Passavant and C. F. Heyer.

Home Missionary Society.

An effort was made at the meeting of this Society to introduce such changes, as will enlist the whole Church in the work and give increased efficiency to home evangelization. The Executive Committee were instructed to appoint several travelling Missionaries to labor in the Far West, and the different Missionary Societies of the District Synods, earnestly requested to become auxiliary to the Home Missionary Society of the General Synod. The Report of the Corresponding Secretary shows that forty-eight Missionaries in feeble and destitute places, principally in the more Western States, have received aid from the Society since the last report; thirty-one of these are now self-sustaining. At night the anniversary was celebrated, and earnest addresses delivered by Drs. Kurtz and Stork, and Revs. J. G. Butler and A. H. Myers.

Church Extension Society.

This Society with Charles A. Morris, who has presided over its interests from the organization, in the Chair, transacted its regular business. From the Report of the Executive Committee, it appears that the entire fund amounts to nearly twelve thousand dollars. Of this sum nearly ten

thousand dollars have been loaned to assist congregations in the erection of houses of worship. Notwithstanding many discouragements, the Society has been the instrument of much good in extending important aid to destitute congregations, and with the proper assistance may be made, in a still greater degree, useful.

Publication Society.

This Society, which was organized in 1855, has now become a permanent Institution of the Church and promises a useful career. The report of the Corresponding Secretary presents a detailed account of the origin and gradual growth of the Society and of its present operations. Rev. B. Keller, the venerable Agent, who has been so indefatigable and successful in his labors, has received subscriptions, amounting to nearly seventeen thousand dollars. Of this sum between fifteen and sixteen thousand dollars have been paid into the Treasury. A three-story brick edifice has been purchased, as a Depository. The Books and Tracts, issued by the Board, have been favorably received, and others are in progress of publication. A Sunday School paper is monthly issued, and the enterprise is meeting with encouraging success. Rev. F. W. Conrad delivered on the occasion of the Society's anniversary an able and effective address on the claims of this Institution upon the sympathies and patronage of the whole Church.

Historical Society.

Some interesting statements in reference to the condition and wants of the Society were presented by the President, Dr. Schmucker, and the regular discourse, according to previous appointment, was delivered by Professor Stoeber, on the Patriarchal Fathers of the Lutheran Church in this country from Halle. The various Reports were read by the Corresponding Secretary, Professor Muhlenberg, from which it appears that the Society is making progress in the direction for which it was established. Dr. Morris was selected, as Principal, and Dr. Stork, as Alternate, to deliver the biennial discourse, at the next Convention of the General Synod.

Adjournment of Synod.

The Synod, after voting thanks to the Lutheran congregations and other Christian friends of Lancaster for their kind

hospitality, to the several Railroad Companies for the favors extended to the members, to the brethren who reported the proceedings of the body for the press, and to the officers of the Synod for their faithful services, adjourned to meet again in York, Pa., on the First Thursday of May, 1864. The President delivered a parting address, and the Synod closed its sessions with the usual devotional exercises. The members separated with good feeling and with the regret that the relations, which had, for several consecutive days, so pleasantly existed, were to be terminated.

ARTICLE VI.

THE CRUSADES.

By G. A. LINTNER, D. D., Schoharie, N. Y.

HISTORY presents a dark picture of the state of society during the middle ages, and yet there is perhaps no period distinguished for more important changes, especially when we consider their influence in opening the way for the subsequent improvements in the condition of the human race. After the dissolution of the Roman Empire in the sixth century, it was divided into a number of separate Provinces, which laid the foundation of the modern kingdoms of Europe. The dissevered parts of the Empire were distributed among the nations who had conquered them. The *Saxons* took possession of *Britain*, *Gaul* was occupied by the *Franks*, *Spain* by the *Moors*, *Germany* by the *Goths*, *Switzerland* by the *Helvetii*, and *Italy* after having been ravaged by successive hordes of barbarians, ultimately fell into the hands of the *Lombards*. These invaders subverted the political institutions of the Roman Empire, and introduced another form of government, called the *Feudal System*. Under this system, the kingdoms were divided into smaller principalities, which were governed by *Barons*, or *Noblemen*, who exercised absolute authority over their several districts. The inhabitants of the baronial districts were at the entire disposal of the lords, who governed them. They held their subjects by

the same tenure, which entitled them to their lands, and in case of war, or private feud, in which their landlords might be engaged, the tenants were obliged to render them such military service, as they might require. The nobility were subject to the king, and upon his requisition, they were bound to furnish him with a number of their dependants, to assist him in his military operations. The Feudal System was more of a military establishment, than a civil compact for the government of a rude and turbulent people. It was chiefly designed to aid the nobility in the wars, in which they were almost continually engaged against each other. These nobles, whose estates lay contiguous to each other, frequently came into collision, and then these petty feuds were most generally decided by bloody combats between the tenants. The barons lived in castles strongly fortified, to resist the attacks of their enemies. During the time when the Feudal System prevailed in England, it is estimated, that there were 1,000 such castles in that kingdom alone. The aristocracy lived in splendor, they rolled in wealth and luxury, while the common people, the cultivators of the soil, the peasantry, as they were called, were treated as slaves. They had no laws to protect them against the oppressions and violence of their rulers. They were considered as mere appendages to the soil, and transferred from one proprietor to another, as interest and policy might dictate. Under this system, all the protection and security, which the Roman Government had afforded its citizens, vanished. Literature and the arts declined. Ignorance and barbarism prevailed among the lower orders, and even among the higher classes of society, there were but few noted for education and refinement. The morals of the people partook so much of the prevailing character and tendencies of the age, that the restraints against vice, and inducements for virtuous conduct were nearly extinguished, and there was nothing left to stimulate men to honorable action, but the ambition to cultivate those sterner qualities, which are applauded among fierce and warlike nations. Christianity had degenerated into a mere form, and although it was still regarded by the multitude with superstitious reverence, it had lost its power on their hearts and lives. Power was substituted for right. Violence was the ruling spirit of the times, and a returning barbarism prevailed over the refinements of civilized society.

Such was the condition of Europe in the eleventh century, the darkest period in the history of the world. It was during this period, while the Feudal System was in full operation, that events occurred, which produced a radical and entire change in the system, and restored to society that order and government, of which it had been so long deprived. Among those events, none exerted so important an influence, as those holy wars, which were carried on by Christian nations against the Turks and Infidels with but little intermission for the space of 175 years. We propose in this article to speak of the *origin* and *progress* of these wars, and point out some of the most important *changes*, which they produced in the moral and political condition of the world.

The Crusades were a violent and extravagant attempt to subdue the enemies of Christianity by the sword; an attempt, so utterly inconsistent with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel, that we find it difficult to conceive, how Christians of any age could be induced to engage in such an enterprise. And yet there was something in the character of the Crusades, that was congenial to the spirit of the times. They grew out of the superstitious veneration for shrines and relics, which at that dark period, almost universally pervaded the religious mind. They were military expeditions, organized by the civil and ecclesiastical powers of Europe for the conquest of Palestine, and the expulsion of Infidels from the Holy Land. Palestine was wrested from the hands of Christians about the close of the seventh Century by the Saracens, a warlike people, who originally inhabited Arabia, and spread their conquests through many of the neighboring nations. They were subsequently conquered by the Turks, who gained possession of Jerusalem, and the sacred places, to which thousands of Christians from Europe, were accustomed to resort in their yearly pilgrimages to the Holy Land. The Turks were Mohammedans, and used their power in depriving the pilgrims of the privileges, which they had formerly enjoyed under their Christian rulers. They treated their Christian subjects with contempt, shut them out from their temples of worship, and in many places subjected them to harassing and cruel persecutions.

In the reign of *Charlemagne*, during the ninth century, Jerusalem was recovered from the Infidels, and there was a temporary suspension of the persecutions, which Christians had suffered from these Mohammedan rulers. But it was only a short relief. The Turks soon regained their power,

and with it resumed those restrictions and persecutions, by which Christians had been formerly harassed. The Pilgrims on their return from the Holy Land, gave exaggerated and grevous accounts of the treatment they had received from their persecutors, which excited general sympathy for the sufferers, and a spirit of indignation against their oppressors. To expel these Infidels from the Holy Land and City, which they had wrested from the primitive Christians, was represented as an object, demanding the united efforts of Christendom. To accomplish this object, an appeal was made to the superstitious and fanatical spirit of the age. Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, Mount Calvary and the Garden of Gethsemane, those sacred spots, where the Saviour had lived, suffered, and died, and now desecrated by his enemies, were held up to the excited imagination of the superstitious multitude to stimulate their zeal in the holy cause.

Peter the Hermit, an itinerant French Priest, whose zeal, in the language of a distinguished historian, "made up for his lack of knowledge," was the prime mover in the great enterprize. Pretending to have received a special commission from Heaven, he ran from place to place, with a crucifix in his hands, calling upon the people to take up arms in the holy war. By his enthusiastic ardor and fiery zeal, he raised a commotion, which spread like wild fire over the continent of Europe. *Urban II.*, who then occupied the Papal chair gave his sanction to the project and supported it with all his authority and influence. He convened a Council at *Placentia*, a city in Italy, in the year 1095, to recommend the plan, and urge its faithful execution upon the rulers and people under his spiritual jurisdiction. This Council, which consisted of 4,000 ecclesiastics, and 30,000 laymen, met in the open air, because there was no building sufficient to contain them. The assembly acceded to the proposal, and gave it all the force of a recommendation from the high civil and ecclesiastical functionaries, of which it was composed.

But even this was found insufficient to raise the energies of the people for the successful prosecution of the war. It was deemed necessary to call another Council, which convened the same year at *Clermont*, a French town, and which was attended by the Pope, and a vast concourse of princes, and nobles, and people from all parts of Europe. At this Council, the multitude became so excited by the exhorta-

tions of the Hermit, and other speakers, that they cried out with one accord, and as if moved by a supernatural impulse, "Let us march; it is the will of God, it is the will of God."

This enthusiastic exclamation became the watchword, with which thousands rallied round the standard of the Cross, and went forth to battle. Persons of all ranks, pursuits, and occupations in life, were carried away with the general excitement. Princes, nobles, bishops, ministers, soldiers and peasants, marched together, to swell the lists of combatants, an army of 800,000 men was raised for the first Crusade in 1096. This formidable host was marshalled under Christian banners for the extermination of Infidels; and they were all ready to conquer or die in the attempt. They were prepared for the holy enterprize by a solemn and religious consecration. Each officer and soldier wore on his shoulder a badge of the Cross, green red and white, to distinguish the corps into which the army was divided, and from this circumstance is derived the name *Crusades*, given to all these expeditions in this holy war.

The enterprize was at first successful, though it was attended with heavy losses and sacrifices. It is estimated, that 300,000 men perished in the first expedition which was led on by *Godfrey of Bouillon* and the *Hermit*. The army reached Palestine, Jerusalem was taken and *Godfrey*, the leader of the Christian hosts, was declared King of Jerusalem. The banner of the Cross waved on Mount Zion. The Holy Land was rescued out of the hands of Infidels and a Christian government established in the cities and provinces, consecrated by the blood and sufferings of the Redeemer.

But notwithstanding the success which attended this expedition, the Crusades proved an entire failure in the end. History furnishes us with the details of at least eight successive Crusades, which kept Europe in almost a constant state of commotion for nearly two centuries. Numerous and powerful armies succeeded each other in the holy wars. Large bodies of recruits had to be furnished, and immense sums of money raised to sustain them in distant lands, far from home, surrounded by warlike nations, who massacred them as fast as they could be sent. Historians inform us, that no less than 2,000,000 of the population of Europe were sacrificed during the wars of the Crusades, and still before the expiration of the thirteenth

century, the Crusaders were driven out from their possessions and conquests in the East which they had gained by the sacrifice of so many lives, and at such an enormous expense. After the Christian monarchs of Europe had exhausted all their powers and resources in this unprofitable contest, they were obliged to abandon it in despair. Their military expeditions, some of which were headed by themselves, were scattered and destroyed. *Frederick* the Emperor of Germany, *Louis* king of France, and *Mary* Queen of Hungary, died in the field; and the gallant *Richard*, king of England, returned to wear out his life in captivity, and meet an early death; 60,000 Crusaders, including 40 Earls, and 500 Barons, were massacred by the Turks in one City, and the walls of another were covered with Christian heads as a trophy of the bloody triumph of their barbarous enemies. Such a disastrous termination of the Crusades seems strange, when we look at the preparations that were made for them and the power and resources that were employed in their prosecution; but the result is not surprising, when we consider the *character* of the enterprise, and the *manner* in which it was conducted.

The Crusades, as already remarked, commenced in a dark age, an age, characterized by the most deplorable ignorance and superstition. There were men in that age, elevated to the highest places of dignity both in the Church and State, princes, noblemen, and bishops, who could not sign their names to the papers and documents, which in the performance of their official duties, it became necessary for them to subscribe. They affixed the sign of the Cross, instead of writing their names. Hence originated the custom of illiterate persons making their mark in the form of a cross to obligations or contracts, in order to give them legal effect. It is a custom derived from the dark ages, the times of the Crusades, when the Cross was used as a sacred emblem, to bind men to the due performance of their engagements and promises.

So universal and profound was the ignorance of the people, that they placed implicit confidence in the clergy, who controlled them in all their secular and ecclesiastical affairs. The priests exercised this power over the people, by operating on their superstitious feelings. They invented fables, marvellous stories, and fictitious miracles, to work on their fears and prejudices, and when they wished to engage them in any project, however irreligious and impious, they presented it in

a religious aspect. They used their spiritual influence in driving the people into every measure which they proposed, and when they found it necessary, they could add the language of authority to that of persuasion, they could join anathemas to entreaties, and follow up the thunders of the Church with the terrors of the sword. The civil powers were controlled by the ecclesiastical authorities. Kings were governed by popes and bishops, and this unnatural supremacy of the ecclesiastical over the civil powers, upheld and supported by the ignorance and superstition of the people, gave rise to the Crusades.

Louis, the king of France, during a fit of sickness supposed that he heard a voice commanding him to shed the blood of Infidels, and he was so operated upon by his superstitious feelings, that he made a vow to engage in the Crusades. *Tyrrel*, a French Knight, who unintentionally killed *William*, the king of England, in a hunting excursion, by an arrow which had glanced against a tree, fled from the ground, and hastened to France to join the Crusade, that he might render some satisfaction for this act. *Stephen*, the Earl of *Blois*, who was engaged in the holy wars, in a letter to his wife, speaks of the Crusades, as the chosen army of Christ, as the servants of the Most High, marching under his immediate protection and led by His hand. He represents the Turks and Infidels as accursed, sacrilegious, reprobates, devoted by heaven to destruction, and he felt confident that the souls of Christian soldiers, who were killed in the holy wars, would immediately ascend to the joys of Paradise. These instances of superstitious and extravagant devotion, which prevailed at the time of the Crusades, show the *character* of the enterprize. They indicate the spirit of the times, and enable us to form some idea of the rush of enthusiasm, which brought together such immense multitudes to carry out the schemes of their spiritual rulers.

It was supposed by many who entered the Crusades, that the *Day of Judgment was near*, and that Christ was about to *reappear* in the Holy Land, to admit his followers into his Heavenly kingdom. This strange delusion had seized so strangely on the minds of Christians, that thousands forsook their possessions, abandoned their friends, and volunteered their services in the army of the Crusaders, that they might be found among the number of happy pilgrims, whom the King of Zion would acknowledge and receive, on his second

appearance in Jerusalem. In this expectation, however, they were sadly disappointed. Instead of the joy of meeting their Lord, and entering into His glory, they had the mortification of falling into the hands of his enemies, by whom most of them were barbarously murdered.

Others were induced to enlist in the holy wars, by *the extraordinary privileges and immunities held out to them*. The pope promised a full pardon and indulgence to those, who assumed the badge of the Cross, for all offences which they had committed, or might still commit. The Crusaders were exempted, by a papal decree, from the payment of all debts and all legal prosecutions, while engaged in the war. Their persons and property were placed under the protection of the Holy Catholic Church, and all persons were forbidden in any way, to molest or injure them, on pain of excommunication. The leaders in these expeditions resorted to every expedient to swell the number of their followers. They appealed to the military spirit of the age, to the spirit of avarice, the passions for plunder, and the love of conquest. The effect was, the prison doors were opened, the jails were emptied, and convicts and criminals, flocked to the standard of the Cross, that they might escape the punishment which justice demanded for their crimes. The very dregs of society were drawn into the holy enterprize, an enterprize, which was considered so meritorious that it entitled the most disreputable and debased criminals to the highest honors. If they succeeded, they had the promise of a rich reward in the spoils that might fall into their hands, and the glory which they would derive from the conquest of their enemies. If they perished, they were assured, that as the servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, they would secure the crown of martyrdom.

These strong inducements held out to operate on the superstitious and mercenary feelings of the multitude, and it is not at all surprising, that thousands and hundreds of thousands were ready to precipitate themselves into these disastrous wars, without considering the consequences.

Another consideration showing the character of the Crusades, is, that they were *instigated and encouraged by the Roman Pontiffs and the Catholic clergy, to add to the wealth and power of the Papal See*. This fact has been questioned by some, who have endeavored to show, that the pope was not the originator of the first Crusade, and that the clergy generally had been opposed to it, as an impolitic and hazard-

ous undertaking; still it does appear from history, that they were the earliest and the most zealous supporters of a project, from which they expected to reap many advantages. Neither were they disappointed in these expectations. The Crusades brought immense treasures into the Church, which could not have been obtained in any other way. Among the Crusaders were knights, bishops, abbots, monks and priests, who possessed immense wealth. Before they assumed the Cross, and girded on the sword, they made their wills, and disposed of their property for the benefit of the Church, and priests, to whose prayers and supplications they committed themselves. They seemed to think, that they could secure the favor of heaven, by leaving their property to churches and monasteries after their decease. In this way, immense sums of money flowed into the coffers of the Romish See. We have examples of these donations and bequests, preserved in ancient Records to show, how the religious enthusiasm, which occasioned these wars, was made subservient to the selfish purposes of a corrupt and profligate priesthood. By such means the Romish Church has enriched herself. She has gained most of her wealth and power by deception and fraud, and the money which she has thus drawn from the pockets of her people, she has used in her bloody Crusades against civil and religious liberty.

When we look into the origin and character of the holy wars, with all their professed zeal for religion, we can discover but little of the true spirit of enlightened Christianity. And we see still less of this spirit in the *manner* they were conducted. The forces, employed in these military expeditions to the Holy Land, were collected from various countries and provinces, differing in their languages, dispositions and habits. They met together in bands, without that union, order, and arrangement, which are necessary in all military expeditions. Each corps had its separate commander, and many of the leaders were as inexperienced in war, and regardless of military discipline, as the multitude that followed them. The officers and soldiers were alike unprepared for the practical duties, and successful prosecution of the great enterprize in which they had engaged. They were thrown together in a promiscuous assemblage of desperate adventurers, without the requisite wisdom and government, to direct them in their movements. Many of them were brave, fearless, and eager for the conflict, but they had not calculated on the reverses and losses, which they

might meet in so perilous a contest. They had not provided themselves with the necessary means of subsistence for such an immense army. It is even said, that they depended on miracles, for the supply of their wants, during their march to the Holy Land. The consequence was, they plundered the inhabitants of the district through which they passed, and so excessive were the robberies and depredations which they committed on the way, that in many places, the people rose up and massacred most of them, before they reached their destination. A Roman Catholic historian (*Father Maimbourgh*) who justifies the war, and eulogizes those engaged in it, still admits, that some portions of the army "committed the most abominable enormities in the countries through which they passed, and that there was no kind of insolence, injustice and barbarity, of which they were not guilty."

The cruelties, committed by these holy warriors, marshalled under the banner of the Cross, are a standing reproach to Christianity. In *Bavaria* they massacred 12,000 Jews, and persecuted them in a similar manner in other parts of Germany. When they took Jerusalem they murdered the garrison, and the inhabitants who had not embraced the Christian faith. They covered the streets of the city with heaps of the slain, and drenched them in blood, after their enemies had ceased to resist, and having done all this, they laid aside their weapons, dripping with the blood of their slaughtered victims, and marched bare-footed to the Holy Sepulchre, to return thanks, and sing anthems of praise to the Prince of Peace. How must those devout worshippers have appeared in the eyes of Him, who hath said, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice."

The Crusaders had doubtless received many provocations to excite their indignation against the enemies and persecutors of their religion, but all the injuries and provocations they had ever suffered, could not justify the ferocious and barbarous spirit which they evinced in that war. Their only object seemed to be, to shed the blood of infidels, and if possible exterminate the race. In their furious zeal for religion, they lost all feeling and regard for humanity. Like their adversaries the Mohammedans, they spread their religion with fire and sword. They were even more intolerant and cruel than their Infidel antagonists, who after they had vanquished the Crusaders, suffered many of them to remain unmolested in the countries, which they had invaded. It is

supposed by many, that the *Druzees*, a savage, warlike race, inhabiting Mount Lebanon, have descended from some of the Crusaders, who remained in Palestine, subject to the Turkish government, after the holy wars. If this be so, we have still some of the effects of the Crusades visible in our day; and from these remnants brought down to us, however much they may have degenerated, we may form some idea of their original character.

After all the *evils* caused by the Crusades, it must be admitted, that they were followed by some *good results*. Although they cannot be justified on any principle of reason, or religion, and caused many injuries and crimes, still in the overruling Providence of God, they were the means of effecting important changes, which ultimately proved beneficial to society. While we see much evil in their *immediate effects*, we can also discover many benefits in their *remote consequences*. Such is the power and wisdom of the Great Creator, and the wonderful government of His Providence, that He can bring light out of darkness, and order out of confusion. Of this great truth the Crusades exhibit a remarkable illustration. They were commenced, as we have already observed, in the darkest period of the history of Europe. Under the policy of the Feudal System, the people had been reduced to a most degraded state of ignorance and vassalage. All the knowledge and refinement, which the Romans had introduced, by cultivating a taste for literature, and the arts, had disappeared. There were no books for diffusing knowledge among the people. A few works, written in manuscript, were so expensive, that not one in a thousand could purchase them. There were but few institutions for the encouragement of learning. The highest and most responsible stations in life were filled by the most illiterate persons; and the great mass of the people were so ignorant, that they had no taste nor inclination for any improvement in their social condition. The Crusades opened the way for a more liberal and enlightened system of Government. They abolished the Feudal System, restrained the usurpations of arbitrary powers, favored popular institutions, encouraged the love of freedom, and thus contributed to the elevation and happiness of the people.

In their military expeditions, the Crusaders met with opportunities and facilities for improvement, which they had never possessed. Rude and barbarous, as most of them were, they were still not insensible to the attractive influence of

the more enlightened and polished nations, with whom they came into communication. In their travels to the Holy Land, they mingled with the cultivated society of Italy, the enlightened population of Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Constantinople, and from their intercourse with people, so far superior to them in knowledge and improvement, they gained information and improvement for themselves. From the Greeks they derived a taste for literature, enlightened views of government, and the love of liberty. In Asia, they were interested in the works of antiquity, displaying the riches of oriental magnificence, and diffusing an elevating and refining influence over the mind. As they made these new discoveries, and came under these higher and nobler influences, their views and feelings were enlarged, and they determined to gratify their newly acquired taste for the comforts and embellishments of civilized society. Consequently, on their return to their own countries, they commenced those improvements in agriculture, commerce, manufactures and the arts and sciences, which gradually wrought out an entire change in their political and social system. They entered into regular communication with the more civilized nations around them. Their ships visited every city and country, where they could exchange their commodities for the comforts and luxuries of life, and thus they laid the foundation of that commercial intercourse, which is carried on between nations. The Crusaders commenced this intercourse, and by their successors it was reduced to a regular system and has now become established by the concurrence of all the civilized nations of the earth.

The Crusades exerted a most favorable influence in *establishing the rights of property, and the security, which is derived from the regular and faithful administration of justice.* Under the Feudal System, communities were subject to the arbitrary will of the lord who governed them. But in consequence of the Crusades, in which many of the nobility engaged, they were obliged to sell their possessions and titles, to raise money for their outfit and support in these expeditions. Many cities and towns, which were held in vassalage by these petty tyrants, took advantage of this circumstance to purchase their freedom, and the right to govern themselves. Thus originated the right which, the civil government grants to corporations and free communities, of governing themselves by

their representatives. This is one of the good effects of the Crusades, and it is an important result, when we consider its influence, in promoting the industry, intelligence, and virtue of the people, securing the uniform and impartial administration of the laws against offences, and in preserving the peace and happiness of the community where this right is properly exercised.

Another beneficial result of the Crusades was to *abolish* the barbarous custom of *judicial combats*, and prescribe a regular legal mode of proceedings for the settlement of controversies. One of the greatest calamities brought upon civilized society by the destruction of the Roman Empire, was the loss of that system of jurisprudence, by which it had so long been governed. The barbarians abolished the laws and institutions, which they found in the countries which they overran, and substituted, in their place, customs and rules, more congenial to their own rude notions and fierce and warlike dispositions. When a man felt himself injured, either in person, or property, he sought redress at the point of the sword. His adversary met him in the same spirit, and the difficulty had to be decided by a combat between the parties at issue. The victor gained the right, and the vanquished party had to submit, without any further appeal. On some occasions, persons accused of crimes were required to plunge their arms in boiling water, or lift red hot irons, or walk barefooted on burning ploughshares. These tortures were considered unerring tests of innocence or guilt, and if the accused could pass through the ordeal unharmed, they stood acquitted, by what was regarded as the judgment of heaven. These barbarous customs were discountenanced and gradually abolished by the effects of the Crusades. The leading Crusaders, in their intercourse with more enlightened nations, became convinced of the unreasonableness of attempting to secure the ends of justice, by a resort to such ordeals and on their return to their own countries, introduced laws and institutions more consistent with reason and the spirit of Christianity. Thus the laws and regulations, which lay buried under the ruins of the Roman Empire for ages, were re-established, and became the basis, from which all the modern civilized governments have derived their jurisprudence.

Among the good effects of the Crusades, we would also notice the institution of *chivalry*. The perilous adventures

in which Christians engaged in their expeditions to the Holy Land, and the courage and energy required to face those dangers, drew the attention of many knights, who offered themselves to combat the enemies of Christianity, and aid the Crusaders by their heroic achievements. The order of knighthood was a military order, instituted for protecting the innocent, defending the weak, avenging injuries, and relieving sufferers. Its chief design, was to excite a spirit of emulation among men, in their efforts to gain distinction, by noble and virtuous deeds. No one was admitted to the order, without having previously passed through a rigid course of military discipline, or distinguished himself by valiant or magnanimous conduct. When a candidate was thus prepared, he was admitted by the most solemn ceremonies, in order to impress on his mind, the sacred obligations and responsibilities he assumed. He took the oath of fidelity to his Prince, engaged to defend the faith, protect the fair fame of virtuous ladies, rescue the oppressed at the hazard of his life, and on all occasions, conduct himself according to those principles of honor, which were inculcated by the order. Having entered into these engagements, he received the decorations of the order, the *Spurs*, *Helmet* and *Sword*, and then fell at the feet of the officiating knight, who dubbed him, by striking him three times on the shoulder, with the sword, saying, "In the name of God, I make thee a knight; be thou loyal, generous and brave." Such was the order of knighthood. It was an institution, that grew out of the disorder and anarchy of the feudal state. It supplied the place of law in those dark and barbarous times; and it was in consequence of the protection it afforded to the weak and defenceless, against the power of the oppressor, that it was deemed the highest honor to belong to an institution, characterized by such a noble and generous devotion. We have the most thrilling accounts of the daring exploits, performed by the Christian knights, who joined the expeditions to the Holy Land. *Godfrey*, his brother *Baldwin*, and *Tancred*, leaders of the Christian hosts, are names celebrated for their chivalrous conduct. *Richard* king of England, distinguished himself above all his compeers in the holy wars. He was a true knight, whose spirit of gallantry excited even the admiration of his enemies, and particularly of *Saladin* the Saracen leader, his great rival in military prowess and chivalry. During the time of the Crusades, the honors of

knighthood were held in the highest esteem. Chivalry reached its greatest glory in those exciting contests between Christians and Infidels, for the possession of the Holy Land. After the Crusades, the institution began to decline. It was no longer observed as a distinct order, though its effects were still visible in the honors that were paid to the military chieftains, who stood forth as the champions of justice and humanity in more modern times. The elevating and refining influence of chivalry was felt in society, long after the institution had disappeared; and it must be acknowledged, that much of the civility and courtesy, which mark the social intercourse of the present day, are to be attributed to that influence. It has done much to restrain the spirit of selfishness and violence, which has caused so much suffering in the world. It has awakened generous sentiments and kind feelings in the different grades of society towards each other. It has encouraged a spirit of enterprize, and stimulated the minds of men to virtuous and honorable action. It has contributed especially to the elevation and dignity of the female sex. It has placed woman in her proper social position, to claim the protection and command the affections of man, without usurping his place, or thrusting herself out of her sphere.

Finally, the Crusades were productive of good, *in opening the channels of commercial intercourse between nations and promoting the general improvement of the human race.* The conquest of Constantinople, Jerusalem, and other eastern cities and seaports by the Crusaders, opened the way for a regular trade between those cities, and the western parts of Europe, which were engaged in the war. The cities, which furnished the provisions and transports for such immense bodies of men, as were sent out in these expeditions, became so enriched by this lucrative trade, that their wealth flowed into other places, which shared in their commercial prosperity. Between these commercial cities, a constant communication was kept up by navigation, and as their commerce increased and spread, these communications were naturally extended, new channels were continually opened, through which the nations of Europe and Asia exchanged their commodities, and contributed to the general prosperity.

The commercial intercourse, opened by the Crusaders, has contributed more than any other cause, to the rapid advancement of civilization and religion in modern times. For the spread of the Gospel and the diffusion of light and knowledge in so many places, once covered with darkness, we are large-

ly indebted to the spirit of commercial enterprize, which was awakened by the Crusades. This spirit, in connexion with some other causes, to which we have adverted, operated very favorably for the extension of liberal principles. It aided in the dissemination of that knowledge and intelligence, which were necessary to raise the people from that degraded state of servitude, in which they had so long been kept by the tyranny of their rulers, and inspire them with the love of liberty, and the desire for independence. And when the love of liberty was once awakened in the people, it could not be restrained by the mere force of arbitrary power. Kings and nobles had to yield to the demands for popular rights and liberty. Every attempt to quell this spirit, served only to increase its power. It spread over the whole continent of Europe, modified every government, and did not relax in its movements, until it had swept away the entire feudal system, and though the progress of liberal principles was subsequently checked by the intervention of despotic power; that power with its most strenuous efforts, could not entirely extinguish the spirit of liberty, which has reproduced so many favorable changes in modern times.

The democratic principle, the right of the people to govern themselves, has been struggling against the usurpations of kings and despots for ages. It received its first impulse from the Crusades, and ever since has been steadily advancing, and this principle must prevail. Millions of noble hearts, burning with sacred fire, kindled on the altar of liberty, have pledged themselves to its support. The age of chivalry is past, but the *spirit* is not lost. It is again rising up in our day to enter on nobler conquests, than it has ever achieved. The champions of freedom have engaged in a *second* Crusade, to finish the work which was begun in the *first*. They have buckled on their armor, and will not lay it off, until they shall have gained the victory in this great battle for liberty and right.

ARTICLE VII.

THE GREAT COMMANDMENT.

By G. B. MILLER, D.D., Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.

THE first and chief duty of all rational creatures is to love serve and obey the great Creator and Sovereign of all. This lies at the foundation of all true virtue and morality. The history of the world goes to show that, where the worship of God is preserved in its greatest purity, the state of public and private morals is far superior to what will be found, where a general disrespect is manifested towards divine things, or where the worship, such as it is, has been adulterated by human inventions. The character of a nation or of individuals will take its color from the ideas entertained of the Supreme Being and the nature of the worship that is paid Him. And though a degree of exterior refinement may exist in connection with low ideas of God and disrespect to His commands, constant experience abundantly proves that no true, hearty virtue can be looked for under such circumstances.

The brightest characters of the heathen world were stained with blots that would disgrace the most ignorant and feeble Christian. In every country we find, that as religion declines, the public morals degenerate. And we discover a constant tendency to this deterioration. Even the false religions that have prevailed display this tendency. For in reality, they are all but the corruption of the true. But we can ask for no greater proof of the innate depravity of the human heart than this universal decline, to which all mankind are naturally tending. This was the cause of the introduction of idolatry and polytheism, which began to prevail soon after the flood and which threatened, like some moral deluge, to obliterate all remembrance of the true God from the earth. But our gracious Creator who has never forsaken His wandering and rebellious children, has from the first taken measures to preserve the knowledge of Himself and to counteract the ruinous tendency of human corruption. For this end he selected a particular family and nation to be the depositories of His truth. Nor did He ever leave Himself entirely unwitnessed to any nation. And it is only to His

unwearied exertions on behalf of our race, that it is owing that the world has not long ago perished in its own corruption. When He established that preparatory economy, at Mt. Sinai, by which the Israelites were to be kept distinct from other nations and preserved and trained up for the reception of the Gospel, so soon as the proper time for its introduction should arise, God gave them an outline of the holy law, by an audible voice from the mount. He proclaimed Himself as their God and Protector, to whom they owed their recent deliverance from Egyptian bondage. Amidst the most stupendous manifestations of His majesty and power, He uttered the fundamental laws of His government. And the very first and most radical and essential of these laws He enjoined upon them, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me*; as much as to say, that they should worship, fear, and serve Him alone as God. And this continues and will forever continue to be the first and chief duty of all men. He is the only Lord, Creator, Possessor and Governor of the Universe.

When God called the material works into being, He gave them such a constitution as rendered them subservient to His purposes, which they cannot in any way contravene. But in creating rational beings He gave them a measure of freedom, so that these services and this homage might be voluntary, and thus fit them to be subjects of reward and make their services more honorable to Himself. But in so doing He did not divest Himself of His claims upon their obedience. Rather by endowing them with free agency He laid them under an additional obligation to serve and glorify Him. For they are His creatures, the workmanship of His hand, with all their powers and faculties. The higher these are, the greater their indebtedness. Every well-ordered mind will acknowledge this as an unquestionable truth. If any one has a right to a thing, it is He who has made it what it is, provided he has not interfered with the prior and superior right of another. To deprive Him of what is thus lawfully his, is the height of injustice. But what injustice, committed by man against his fellow man, can be compared to the wrong done by him that robs God, the great, original Maker and Proprietor of all. Nor will it avail to say, God has no need of my services. This is for Him to determine and not for us. On this same principle any one might take the property of a rich man without his leave, under the pretence that he did not need it. But as this would not be considered

correct reasoning and good morality in the intercourse of men with each other, neither will it hold good in our relation to God, the Supreme Lord and Possessor of heaven and earth. He has a right to the services and homage of all His subjects, and He claims their services in these words, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." He speaks as the Supreme Governor and Lawgiver. He requires implicit submission to His commands, and He has a perfect right to require it, as Lord and Creator of all.

He is altogether worthy of this exclusive honor. Man is so constituted that he will and must worship something. There must be some object upon which he sets his supreme affection, from which he expects to derive his happiness, to which he looks for support in trouble and aid in difficulties. But where is there one who is so fitting an object of veneration, love and devotion, as He who made and sustains the universe? The higher the object of our reverence, the more ennobling is the sentiment itself. To venerate excellence is to make some approach to that excellence. For what we esteem we naturally strive to imitate. But God is infinitely holy, just and good. All excellence of created beings is derived from the uncreated source of all goodness and falls as far below as they are inferior in their nature and capacities to that Great Being, to whom they owe themselves, and all they have of true excellence. We could not have any conception of moral goodness, only as He has implanted the idea in our minds and exhibits in Himself, His works, His Providence and His word the perfect model of Holiness, Justice, Goodness and Truth.

That the universe of intelligent beings may be preserved in due order and proper subordination, requires that there should be a Lawgiver and Governor of the same, to whose commands all should be subject. And were it left to the choice of rational creatures whom to select for this high office, there would none be found capable of sustaining its responsibilities, but He that is infinite in knowledge, power, wisdom and goodness. It is as much for the benefit and well being of His creatures as for His own glory and in His own right that He presents Himself to us in this character of Sovereign, Lawgiver, Ruler and Judge. He alone is able to oversee the whole of His vast empire, to regulate all things for the greatest good of the whole. And as God of all, elevated above all petty partialities, and free from all prejudices and

selfish predilections. He alone is fit to govern the world which he has created. His perfect holiness ensures a government of law and order, in which moral goodness will be suitably rewarded and moral evil punished as it deserves. Nor has any one ever felt any opposition to the divine government, only as he was conscious that his conduct and disposition were such as to incur the displeasure of a Holy God and expose him to the merited punishment of his crimes. The perfect and immutable Justice of God secures the enactment of just and equitable laws and the maintenance of the authority of these laws. His intrinsic goodness will not suffer Him to lay on any of His creatures more than is meet, or to require services that shall not be suitably rewarded. It will lead Him to make all needful allowances for the unavoidable weakness and ignorance of his creatures. The majesty that surrounds His throne will impress His subjects with that respect and reverence that will make their obedience doubly easy, while the continual proofs of his kindness and the gifts of his bounty bind them by an additional tie to the performance of these various duties. Hence if we were not obliged to yield reverence and homage to the Lord from his original claim as our Creator, every well-ordered mind would yield Him this honor, from motives of esteem and gratitude. That all men do not spontaneously yield such homage to their gracious and Almighty Benefactor is owing solely to the sad inroads, that sin has made upon their moral nature, defacing that holy likeness to God in which man was originally created. But their refusal of the service and obedience which they owe to God, does not diminish His rights, nor prove Him to be less worthy of the deepest veneration and love. It has, indeed, been the occasion of drawing out the mysteries of that infinite love and compassion that exist in the bosom of the Almighty in a way that would otherwise have been out of the question. It has served to display the resources and extent of a love past comprehension, by which God has visited this earth with His grace in Christ Jesus our Lord, thus increasing our obligation to love Him in return, a thousand fold. "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us and gave His Son to be the propitiation for our sins." It is evident that it is just as much for the well-being of the rational universe, as for the honor of God's holy name, that He should be acknowledged and obeyed as the Supreme Ruler. Every other authority should be considered subor-

dinate. Whatever claims to our love, service or obedience are found to interfere with His, must be at once rejected. All our relations must be held subordinate to that, in which we stand to Him. From Him and His favor we must seek our happiness. We must own and acknowledge Him as our God, as He, whose we are, whom we serve and love. We must consecrate ourselves wholly to Him. To serve and please Him must be the great purpose of our lives; to enjoy His smiles the great object of our desire. In short we must renounce all pursuits and purposes that are opposed to that homage, love and reverence, which we owe to God. We must walk in the way of His commandments and cultivate communion with Him by prayer and meditation and study of His word; and in so doing we shall but be promoting our own highest interest and securing our own happiness.

He has supreme power and ability to govern the world. "There is one lawgiver who is able to save and to destroy." He has the power of life and death. He is able both to make His obedient subjects supremely happy, and to punish to the utmost all them that disobey Him. A Governor that had not the power to enforce his laws, would be an object of contempt. But He is "King of kings and Lord of lords." The wicked and disobedient may hate Him as the avenger of sin, but they can never despise Him, as a weak pretender to sovereignty who has not the power to make His laws respected. Though He is long-suffering and bears with men's obstinacy for a season that they may repent, yet when He once arises to punish the transgressors, they will tremble and grow pale. God alone is able to make those supremely happy that serve Him. No being in the universe besides Him can do it. In reserving to Himself the government of the world, He has not put the means necessary to carry on the Government out of His hands. He has so constituted the nature of His rational subjects that nothing short of His favorable regard and paternal smile can make them happy. And on the other hand, while assured of His approbation and enjoying His favor, nothing can harm them or destroy their peace. Though for a season during the term of our probationary existence, as we are not perfectly holy, so neither are we perfectly happy; yet so soon as this life comes to a close, perfect bliss will be the inheritance of all God's people, even as unmingled sorrow will fall to the lot of all those that have continued in their disobedience to the end. To govern the universe,

absolute authority must be joined to omnipotent power and infinite goodness, wisdom and holiness. But all these qualifications are found only in Him, who is the original author and rightful Lord and Judge of the world. As He owes His right to govern, to nothing out of Himself, and as all beings, besides Himself, owe their existence, their faculties and their means of enjoyment wholly to His good pleasure, so, to question His right to govern is the greatest wrong that can by any possibility be committed. Justly therefore does this command, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," stand at the head of all the rest. And justly is it to be considered the greatest sin, of which any one can be guilty, to violate this command, and to refuse to God the homage, love and service that He claims and so justly claims of all His rational subjects. The degree of guilt, attached to any sin, depends on the degree of the obligation that is violated, and no obligation can be compared to that under which every rational creature lies towards its Author, Benefactor, Preserver and Lord. Hence when a sinner is truly awakened to a sense of his condition, this feeling prevails above every other, "*Against Thee, Thee only have I sinned.*" The first alarm may, no doubt, be occasioned by a sense of having injured a fellow-creature, or of having rendered ourselves obnoxious to human law, but on following up the question of our guilt it will not fail to resolve itself into the violation of the law of God and therefore into a denial of His authority, and a failure of paying to Him the worship, which He demands. Every sin committed by man includes and rests upon the breach of the first commandment. This constitutes its darkest feature and exposes the criminal to the most severe punishment. And this punishment God will be at no loss for means to inflict. His resources are infinite as is His nature. And as His claims can never cease, so neither can the punishment inflicted on those who have denied His claims ever come to an end. The only way in which the punishment of the sinner could ever come to an end, would be by the annihilation of the subject. But though we are not prepared to say that it is out of the power of God, in itself considered, to annihilate the workmanship of His hands, it would be a reflection upon His wisdom to suppose that He will ever exercise this power, for that would amount to a confession that He had erred in creating such a being. Of course this argument has no application to the destruction

of beings, that were never intended for immortality; brute animals for instance, which manifestly accomplish the end of their creation in this world. But man was evidently intended for a never-ending state of existence. All his powers and tendencies show it. He cannot, under the most favorable circumstances, fully accomplish the end of his creation in the present life. Hence even heathen sages have derived an argument in favor of a future life, though they were not able to arrive at any certainty in respect to this most important of all investigations. But the revelation which God has given us sets the matter beyond all doubt. Christ has "brought life and immortality to light by the gospel." His resurrection contains in itself the most indubitable evidence of our future existence. The question is now decided. It rests on His authority and the fact of His resurrection. There "is an hour coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation." But shall the latter be restored for the mere purpose of being annihilated again? What man in his senses will believe such a thing? No less is it plain from the offers of divine grace to all, that the punishment of the finally impenitent will be eternal. For what would become of the terrors of the Lord, by which, as the apostle speaks, we persuade men, if there were no punishment to be expected after death, and if that punishment were not eternal? If to this we join the solemn admonition of Christ where He says, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear Him which after He hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea I say unto you, Fear Him." Add to this that all men have a dread of what shall befall them after death, unless they have been delivered from this fear by believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, and it must be evident that there is a dreadful hereafter, awaiting all those that do not repent and find peace in believing. The conscience of each individual confirms the universal conviction of all times and nations that there is to be a solemn decision hereafter of every man's case, when he shall find his eternal state fixed in happiness or misery, according as his life has been in this world. And the word of God impresses the seal of absolute certainty upon this universal expectation. But this truth is founded upon the fact that God, as the Judge of all, has both infinite

wisdom, and justice to decide upon the merits of each of His moral subjects, and infinite power to execute His final sentence.

Taking all this together, that God has an infinite right to the homage and service of all His rational subjects, and an infinite fitness to be the moral governor of the world and infinite power and ability to exercise a holy government, it must be plain to every understanding that it is man's highest duty and interest to acknowledge and serve no other God besides.

How then are we to obey the command to have no other gods besides Jehovah? We are to think of Him at all times with reverential awe, as a Being of infinite holiness and excellence, as well as with sincere affection and gratitude as our Author and Benefactor; or in other words, that we worship, serve and honor Him for what He is in Himself and for what He is to us. The true worship of God requires that we have right views of His character as revealed to us in His works and word, His Providence and His Grace. This implies that we study His character, as revealed to us in these various ways; that we meditate much and reflect seriously upon these things, and make them the subject of our most intense study. Of the heathen we read that they did not like to retain God in their knowledge. The thought of God and His holy character and government, was not agreeable to their depraved inclinations. And even so to this very day, whoever does not forsake sin and forswear its service and willingly forego its false pleasures cannot think with any degree of satisfaction of God as a holy God and one that abominates sin and who will not hold the wilful sinner guiltless. Such a one dreads God and seeks to banish the thought of Him out of his mind, as calculated to disturb him in his unhallowed pursuits. But right views of God, joined to right feelings, will lead us to reverence God, to think and speak of Him with profound respect and to realize His presence with us at all times. It will make every thing venerable in our eyes that relates to God or reminds us of Him. It will teach us to pay the utmost respect to the annunciation of His holy will, in whatever way made known to us, but more especially as contained in His word. Again viewing God more immediately in His relation to us, as our Author and Benefactor, we shall join love and gratitude to that veneration with which the thought of His majesty had inspired us. We shall think

of Him with affection and sincere devotion as the Author of our being, the Former of our bodies and the Father of our spirits. This filial attachment He claims of us in these words of the prophet, "If I be a Father where is my honor?" It is not possible that a mind, that is properly disposed and regulated, should fail to realize and acknowledge the claims of God upon our filial reverence, as our Creator and Author, while the consciousness that all our powers and means of enjoyment flow from His munificent hand should fill us with gratitude and excite our most devoted attachment. If, moreover, we reflect upon that great proof of His love and compassion which God has shown in providing a Saviour for our race when revolted and ruined, our gratitude ought to be kindled into the most fervent love and unreserved consecration of all we have or are to the service and honor of our gracious Redeemer and Sovereign. This wonderful fact in the divine government presents a motive stronger than any besides, and while the contemplation is calculated to humble us into the dust, it is at the same time suited to excite the deepest feelings of grateful devotion and love. "We love Him," says the apostle, "because He first loved us." "We thus judge," says another apostle, "that if one died for all, then were all dead. But that He died for all, that they which live, should not henceforth live to themselves, but to Him that died for them and rose again."

But where such feelings prevail they will incline us to trust implicitly in the promise, grace and power of God. That is our God, from whom we expect all good. If therefore we trust in anything besides the living God, we are guilty of idolatry. Thus not only the heathen alone are justly chargeable with the guilt of forsaking the worship of the true God, in favor of idols, but in a Christian land, every one that does not place implicit trust in God alone, regarding His favor alone as life and His loving-kindness as better than life, is in a far higher degree guilty of idolatry. God requires of us, as the proof of our devotion, that we believe His promises, trust His grace, and rely upon His power to be exerted on our behalf in every time of need. And thus the more sensible we are of our own weakness, sinfulness and poverty, the more we can glorify Him by showing that we place unbounded confidence in His veracity and benevolence. This is indeed the distinguishing mark of His true worshippers, by which they have been characterized in all ages. This principle is what in Scripture is termed faith, and

therefore the apostle assures us that from the beginning of the world, all that have been noted as the people of God, obtained this distinction by their faith. He shows that it is by faith, by our confidence in the word and promise of God, independently of our works, that we are rendered acceptable in His eyes, while "without faith it is impossible to please God." The more pure, simple and unalloyed our faith is, the more precious is it in the sight of God. Thus did Abraham gain to himself the honorable appellation of "the friend of God," by the strength and simplicity of his faith, as when he left his native country by the divine command and in reliance on the divine promise, and "went out, not knowing whither he went." And again when he believed that he should have a son born to him, though in the course of nature it was impossible. Once more when he was ready to offer this same child of promise as a burnt-offering, "accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead." And thus must we manifest that we put the most implicit confidence in the promises of God, if we would be remembered among His true and accepted children.

But to this faith must be joined obedience to all God's commands and a constant endeavor to live to His honor and service. As faith alone can furnish the needed ability to obey the law of God, so the reality of our faith is to be tested by our obedience. "I can do all things," says one, "through Christ which strengtheneth me." Hear David acknowledge his dependence on God in the wars which he carried on by His command: "By Thee I have run through a troop and by my God have I leaped over a wall. It is God that girdeth me with strength and maketh my way perfect. He maketh my feet like hinds' feet and setteth me upon my high places. He teacheth my hands to war, so that a bow of steel is broken by mine arms." The very object of Christ's work was to reinstate us in the image of God and that includes the ability to obey; as the Apostle declares, that "what the law could not do," viz.: to secure a willing and hearty obedience on the part of man," that God has brought about by sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin (i. e. for a sin-offering) condemning i. e. punishing sin in the flesh (or human nature of Christ,) that the righteousness of the law (its requirements) might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." "As obedient children" is the admonition of Peter, "not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts in your ignor-

ance." This spirit of obedience will teach us to observe all things that the Lord has commanded us; to be subject to every ordinance of human government, for the Lord's sake; not to resist evil, but to submit to injuries patiently, forgiving those that injure us. At the same time if the commands of human governments should clash with the commands of God, we are to obey God rather than man. The authority of God and His law must be considered paramount. And in order to know what he does require of us, we must study with diligence, that word which He has given to be a lamp to our feet and a light to our path." We must consider the actions of our Lord Jesus who has "set us an example that we should follow in his steps. We may also derive much instruction from the history of the O. T. saints, though as living under a clearer and more perfect dispensation, many things that were permitted to them, would be wrong in us. The account of the labors of the apostles, Paul particularly, will also serve as a guide in many respects. Close attention to the warnings of conscience, enlightened by the word and spirit of God is especially necessary; while the simple rule, to do all that we do to the glory of God, will make our course comparatively plain and easy. Till a man has come to the full decision to live for the cause of Christ and humanity and to make all his conduct subservient to this great end, he will never be able to yield a consistent and acceptable obedience unto God.

To make then such a course practicable and possible, we must be thoroughly persuaded that all our happiness depends upon the favor of God. We must for this end cultivate constant communion with God by faith and prayer, and meditation upon His word and works, striving in all things to keep a good conscience towards Him. Like Enoch and Noah and all His saints we must walk with God, regarding nothing as a calamity but the loss of His favor, nor any thing as a real good that is not a proof of his favor. Every temporal blessing must be received, acknowledged and enjoyed in that light, being "sanctified by the word of God and prayer." Thus even afflictions will become blessings. Every circumstance in which we are placed by His Providence will be regarded as an opportunity to learn His will and to show our submission, our resignation, our acquiescence to that will. If we thus endeavor to walk in all the statutes and ordinances of God, if we set our affection supremely upon Him, as the chief good, place implicit reliance upon His faithfulness and

veracity and make His glory our great aim, He will be our God and we shall be His people indeed, whom He will own, protect and bless. He will show us His covenant. In the name of our great High Priest and Intercessor we may then draw nigh at all times to the throne of grace. There we may pour out all our cares and fears and sorrows. We may cast our every burden on the Lord assured that He will sustain us. We shall realize that "God is for us and then who can be against us?" We shall possess all things; for from His fulness we may at all times receive whatever we need. We shall never be forsaken, though earthly friends shall be taken away, or should refuse to acknowledge us, for Christ has promised that He will never leave us nor forsake us; so that we may say with the Psalmist and with the apostle: "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear." "His Spirit will bear witness in our hearts that we are the children of God, heirs of God, fellow-heirs with Christ Jesus." And what more can we desire? What else can make us happy but the assurance of the divine favor and approbation? And though for a short season, while passing through this vale of tears, we may be "in heaviness" sometimes "through manifold temptations," yet shall we be able to hold on our course, joyfully and manfully, assured that in the end all shall be well, when we shall have "received the word and object of our faith, even the salvation of our souls."

If God is our God, then are we safe and must eventually be happy. Therefore it is as much our interest as our duty to have no other gods before Him. He styles Himself a jealous God, jealous for His own honor and jealous of seeing us place our affections supremely upon any but Himself. He claims our highest love; and well He deserves it too. He has done everything for us that infinite goodness, joined to infinite wisdom, could do. And how can we better consult our own highest welfare than by choosing the Lord for our God and serving Him with all our heart and mind and power: To such He is ever near with His choicest blessings. In them His Spirit will take up His abode and fit them for the joys of heaven. But such as forsake His service or yield Him only an outward, hypocritical obedience, shall be driven away from His presence when He shall finally make up His jewels. And here already we are assured that "the curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked." It follows him; it rests upon him. Often it overtakes him at unawares, in the midst of his revelry or his business. While he is flatter-

ing himself that he has many good days in store, saying to his soul, "Soul take thine ease, eat, drink and be merry," suddenly destruction falls upon him like a whirlwind. Or if he dies in his bed surrounded by weeping friends and relations, no sooner does the soul quit its earthly tenement than it sinks to endless woe. "And what shall it profit a man though he should gain the world and lose his own soul?" Of what use will all earthly wealth and learning and honor and pleasure be at that solemn moment when, stripped of all we here valued and sought, we shall appear before God to answer for having neglected His gracious command, that we should have no other gods before Him. Then shall we be sensible, if never before, that in losing His favor we have lost all; that in neglecting to secure His friendship, we have acted as foolishly as we have acted wickedly; that we have cut ourselves off from all hope, and sealed our own doom, to reap through eternity the fruit of our folly and our sin. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Such is the first commandment. Till we begin to obey this, we can do nothing that is right or truly virtuous and good.



ARTICLE VIII.

REMARKS ON ROMANS 6 : 3, 4.

By E. GREENWALD, D. D., Easton, Pa.

"Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."

We have in these, and the verses in connection with them a triumphant answer by the Apostle Paul, to an objection, which we foresaw would be made to the doctrine, which he had stated at length in the preceding chapters, namely: that we are saved not by our own works or righteousness, but by the mercy of God through the atonement for sin by the death of Christ. He had just said, "Where sin abounded, grace did

much more abound," and the objection that would arise in some minds, would be, "let us continue in sin, that grace may abound." If God is glorified when his grace abounds, and his grace abounds in proportion to the number and magnitude of the sins which by that grace are pardoned, then why should we not continue in sin, in order to promote the glory of God? To refute this objection, and to show that the doctrine of grace promotes holiness, and not sin, is the design of the course of argument, of which the verses under consideration form a part.

He first utters the strongest possible denial of any such consequences resulting from the doctrine of salvation by grace, by saying, "God forbid!" Having distinctly and positively denied the truth of any such conclusion, he proceeds to assign reasons. He says, "How shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?" What does he mean by this expression? It is peculiar, and different opinions have been entertained concerning it. But there can hardly be any difficulty about it. To be "dead to sin," must be just the reverse of the latter part of the verse which speaks about "living any longer therein." To live in it, is to practice it, to be under its influence, to be alive to its exciting power. To be dead to sin must, of course, mean the reverse of this, and therefore is, no longer to practice it, not to be under its influence, to be insensible to its exciting power. That the heart of the Christian is not alive to the excitements and motions of sin, and therefore does not continue in sin because under the power of divine grace, but just the reverse, the Apostle then proceeds to show from the nature of the Christian, and from the vital relation to Christ, which his baptism constitutes. He names the Christian's baptism, because he is thereby distinguished from all others, Jews and Gentiles; because it is the seal of his Christian profession; because it is the means by which the grace that regenerates is communicated to him; and because it is the instrument of his connection with the body of Christ. He names baptism in three particulars, as it brings the Christian in connection with the life, with the death, and with the resurrection, of the Saviour. He speaks of being "baptized into Jesus Christ," i. e. into his life—being "baptized into his death"—and being "buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised from the dead, so also we should walk in newness of life," i. e. being baptized into Christ's resurrection.

By baptism the Christian participates, therefore, in the life, the death, and the resurrection of the Lord. These three points of view, in which baptism is regarded, and the effect they have in producing holiness in the hearts and lives of Christians, are very interesting and deserve our careful attention. Let us examine them in order :

1. *Baptized into Jesus Christ.* That is, baptized into his spirit and life. To be baptized into the body of Christ, is to become engrafted into him, as the limb is grafted into the body of the tree, or the member of the living body of a man is attached to the body, and draws its life from it. This the Apostle says in another passage : “For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body being many are one body, so also is Christ, for by one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free ; and have been all made to drink into one spirit.” The sentiment of this passage is the same as that under consideration. The meaning is that we become members of Christ by baptism. We become members externally, of his Church which is his body, and baptism is the initiatory ordinance, by which that connection is effected, at the same time, too, our internal and spiritual union with Christ is constituted, so that as this passage declares, we not only become members of one body, but are also made to drink into one spirit. We are therefore baptized into the life and spirit of Christ. This union of believers with Christ resembles the members of the body that live and move by partaking of the life of the body, and by being animated by the same inhabiting spirit. This union with Christ is the source and the guarantee of a living holiness. He that has the life of Christ in him, and is made to drink into Christ’s spirit, will necessarily be a holy man. He cannot be a bad man. He will not continue in sin that grace may abound. His relation to Christ will insure holiness in his heart, and in his life. This is the Apostle’s first argument.

Here he might have rested his cause ; but as in man there is a holiness lost, that must be regained, he proceeds to two other arguments, one drawn from Christ’s death, and another from his resurrection.

2. *Baptized into Christ’s death.* “Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Christ, were baptized into his death.” The death of Christ, effected for us the atonement for sin. Christian baptism is grounded on faith in this atonement of Jesus Christ. By it we are brought into

most intimate connection with this way of salvation through Christ. We are therefore baptized into his death. If Jesus had not died, there would have been no Christian baptism at all. The benefits of his death are, the remission of sin, and these are appropriated by baptism. For the Apostle Peter says, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sin." Baptism is therefore a means, through which the grace of the Gospel is communicated to the soul, and the baptized person sustains a different relation to the redemption of the Saviour from that of other persons. He is baptized into the death of Jesus, and if he does not resist the grace that is offered, the benefits of that death are appropriated to him.

Now, by this baptism into Christ's death, we die *unto* sin, as Christ died *for* it. He died for sin; sin was the cause of his death. By dying, he took away the sin of the world. In his death, sin died. The sins, he bore in his body on the cross, died and passed away, in his death. Our baptism into his death, brings us into connection with the death of sin. Sin dies in us as it died in him. We are crucified with him, the old man of sin dies; it is crucified with Christ; the body of sin is destroyed, and therefore we do not serve sin. The union with Christ, which the believing, baptized Christian enjoys, brings him not only into connection with Christ's life by which holiness lives within him, but into connection also with his death by which sin dies within him. There is a crucifixion within the heart of the Christian, as well as the crucifixion on the Mount of Calvary. The believer is crucified as well as Jesus. Christ's body was crucified, the body of sin is crucified in the heart of him, who believes and is baptized. Jesus died for sin, the believer dies to sin. Christ's body died, the body of sin in the believer dies. He is therefore baptized into Christ's death.

From this, it results that the Christian cannot continue in sin. If baptized into Christ's death; if the old man of our corrupt nature is crucified with Christ, if the body of sin is destroyed, and he is thus dead to sin, how can he live any longer therein? The objection that salvation by grace, encourages sin, is proved by the very nature of things to be untrue. The Christian's relation to the Gospel, and the nature of that Gospel, make this impossible. The objection is founded on utter ignorance, and an entire misconception of the nature of the way of salvation by grace. By this second

argument, the Apostle has, again, sustained his cause in opposition to the objection of the gainsayer.

3. *Baptized into Christ's Resurrection.* "Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."

How beautifully does this follow that, which has just preceded! Christ died, but this is not all. He did not remain dead. He was crucified, and his body was laid away in the grave. But it did not stay there. He rose again. He became alive after having been dead. He rose to a new life, and never died again. So with the baptized believer in Jesus. He is baptized into Christ's death, and the body of sin is destroyed. Like Christ with whom he dies, he lays the old man, the body of sin, away. It is dead and corrupt, and as a putrid corpse, it is removed and put away out of his sight. It is buried so that its rottenness may no more curse the earth. But this is not all. Death is not the whole object, and when the old Adam, the corrupt body of sin, dies in his heart, all is not effected that was designed. There must be life as well as death. Something must live in the place of that which dies. If the evil nature is destroyed, a better nature must exist in its stead. There must be a resurrection, as well as a death. Not a resurrection from the water, as some zealous immersionists misconstrue this passage. But a resurrection from the death of sin. A living again spiritually. That as Christ's body died, and a new body lived instead, called Christ's glorious body, so whilst the "old man is crucified with Christ," and "the body of sin is destroyed," and "being dead with Christ," we "shall also live with him." Sin dies but holiness lives. He that is baptized into Christ's death, is also baptized unto his resurrection. Instead of the crucified body, there is a resurrection body. There is a death, and there is also a life. There is something in the baptized believer that dies, but there is also something that lives. There is a resurrection as well as a death and burial. "Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." In the forcible words with which the Apostle closes the description, "Likewise reckon ye yourselves also to be dead indeed with sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

As, therefore, it is sin that dies, and holiness that lives, the objection that the grace of God in Christ, and salvation

by that grace, lead to a continuance in sin, is most triumphantly answered. As Christ died on the cross, laid his dead body away in the grave, and then rose to a new life, so sin in the heart of the baptized believer dies, is removed, laid away and forsaken, and he walks in newness of life. Beautiful and precious is this passage, and most convincing is the argument against the objection which the Apostle is opposing.

Now, what are the conclusions which the discussion of this subject is adapted to leave on our minds?

1. This passage has no reference whatever to the mode of baptism. Its entire reference is to the effect upon the heart and life which baptism is intended to produce.

2. Baptism is a means of grace. It is not a mere external ceremony without any spiritual power. It has real, gracious efficacy, and brings us into most intimate and precious relation to Christ and his Gospel. We dare not despise or undervalue what Christ in wisdom has instituted and commanded to be universally observed. The grace of God is in the means of grace.

3. All objections to the Gospel are readily answered. There are some things that at first view may seem to be opposed to some other principle of piety and morals, but a profound knowledge of the whole, removes all the difficulty. It is a perfect system of religion and morals. No well-grounded objection whatever exists against any of its doctrines, precepts, and effects. It is all right. It works well. This is the best test of any system.

4. Salvation by grace gives no license to sin. It encourages no man to do evil. The hope of the forgiveness of sin, does not induce me to love sin. I do not fear drowning the less because a friendly hand has drawn me from the water, nor do I have a diminished dread of the fire, because I have been snatched from the burning. That God pardons my sin is indeed a great mercy, but that does not lessen in any degree the terrible consequences of the sin that is not pardoned.

5. The grace that saves is also the grace that sanctifies. The principle of my connection with Christ for my justification, is also the principle of my connection with him for my sanctification. The faith that looks to Jesus for mercy, is the source of all pious and holy affections in my heart. The grace, that forgives my sin, changes also my nature. I cannot trust in Christ for salvation without being a better man.

Sanctification is so inseparably connected with justification, that if not sanctified, I am not justified. The presence of Christ in my soul with his forgiving grace insures at the same time the presence of Christ in my soul with his sanctifying grace. Where the one is, the other must be also.

6. There is here a test of the forgiveness of sin. If we love sin, delight in it, and are not made better, we have no well-grounded hope of forgiveness. A corrupt and wicked heart is not pardoned. Sin loved is not forgiven. If the grace that sanctifies is absent, the grace that pardons is not present. Have I pardoning grace? I may answer that by asking, Have I sanctifying grace?

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Parable of the Ten Virgins: In Six discourses and a sermon on the Judgeship of the Saints. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D., Author of the "Last Times," "Gospel in Leviticus," "Lectures on Hebrews," etc., Philadelphia, Smith, English & Co., 1862. These discourses were delivered by the author, in the course of his ordinary pulpit ministrations, and listened to with deep interest by persons of different denominations. In obedience to their wishes they are given to the public in this form. The interpretation of the Parable differs from that usually given. The foolish virgins are represented as a class of genuine Christians, although not so discreet or devoted as the others; they were not unregenerate formalists, "hypocrites, tares or wicked ones," but "real members of the real Church of Christ;" that their application was "to be received as Christ's bride," and that they were not lost. The views of the Doctor, however much we may differ from him, are presented with great clearness and maintained with plausibility and force. He always seems to speak with an honest heart and with a profound reverence for the teachings of the word. He interests us even when he does not convince our judgment of the correctness of his positions. He endeavours to excite in the minds of Christians a deeper interest in the Redeemer's second advent. The discourses are interesting, instructive and suggestive, and no one can rise from their perusal, without being strengthened in his Christian purposes and efforts.

Text Book of Church History. By Dr. John Henry Kurtz, Professor of Theology in the University of Dorpat; author of "A manual of Sacred History," &c. Vol. II. From the Reformation to the present time, Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1862. The Review has several times spoken in high terms of Dr. Kurtz's labors as an Historian. The first volume of the work before us has already been noticed. The second only deepens our impressions of the value of the author's labors.

It is an admirable manual of Church History and is well adapted as a text-book for instruction in Institutions, in which proper attention is given to this branch of study. As a book of reference it furnishes the information on all points that come legitimately within the province of Church History. Dr. Kurtz is a thorough Lutheran and always fearlessly maintains his theological stand-point and ecclesiastical position, but he continually produces upon the mind of the reader the conviction that he is an evangelical, devout Christian, and is desirous of rendering justice to all who may differ from him in sentiment. His works have received the highest endorsement and have been commended by the most eminent theologians. The translation of the present edition, principally by Rev. Dr. Bomberger of Philadelphia, has been faithfully performed and is vastly superior to the Edinburgh issue, which so often, to suit its purpose, mutilates the original and takes liberty with the author, making him utter sentiments which he never entertained, or withhold views which he cordially adopts. This we consider dishonest. We notice some slight inaccuracies in the work, such as we so often find in books of our transatlantic brethren. Melchior Muhlenberg, e. g. is spoken of as a pupil of A. H. Francke. It should be G. A. Francke, his son. The father died in 1727. Muhlenberg entered the Orphan House in 1738. The New or *American Lutheran Church* is spoken of with 15 Synods, 350 Preachers, and 760 Congregations. It would puzzle some of us in this country to tell where the new organization is. He speaks too of "a powerful and successful re-action in favor of general Lutheranism and German tendencies at Gettysburg, inaugurated by Dr. Krauth and Dr. Schaeffer." Some of our friends may be incredulous on this point; also, when he says "since the revolution in the Seminary at Gettysburg, the Synod of Pennsylvania has connected itself with the new Lutheran Church and has sent delegates to its General Synod. The author also speaks of Dr. Thomas Browne as a Deist, of which we were not aware, and says the Methodist Episcopal Church "are decided Abolitionists and excommunicate every slave-holder as an unbeliever." It would be difficult to find authority for this statement.

John Albert Bengel's Gnomon of the New Testament. Pointing out the natural force of the words, the simplicity, depth, harmony and saving power of its Divine thoughts. A new translation. By Charlton T. Lewis, A. M., and Marvin R. Vincent, M. A., Professors in Troy University. In two volumes, Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins, 1862. The original of this work was given to the public more than a century ago, and yet it still retains among exegetical writers the highest authority as an exposition of the New Testament. In the same compass the Biblical student could scarcely find so much material of positive value, gathered together. It is concise, suggestive and perspicuous, full of thought and admirable in spirit. The author held it as a principle, that "we ought to be very careful about composing new books;" for "every book should add something to the reader's information, or at least the improvement of his heart." "The pointings of his fingers," says Dr. Tholuck, "are sunbeams, and his hints, gleams of lightning." This edition of the *Gnomon* is the best that has appeared. The Editors, have performed their labor with ability, care and fidelity. They have successfully studied the spirit of the author and by judiciously introducing annotations and remarks from the best commentators of more recent times, they have greatly enhanced the value of the volumes. It is a standard work for Libraries, peculiar in its character and permanent in interest.

Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church, with an introduction on the study of Ecclesiastical History. By Arthur P. Stanley, D. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. New York, Charles Scribner 1862. The light which this volume throws upon many disputed points, which have divided the opinions of learned men, renders it a most acceptable work to the Christian student. The first three chapters are devoted to a very interesting exposition of the province, study and advantages of Ecclesiastical History. These are followed by twelve Lectures on the Eastern Church, divided as follows: General Divisions, epochs, characteristics, &c.; the Council of Nicæa; the meeting of the Council; its opening; its conclusion; Constantine; Athanasius; Mahometanism in its relations to the Eastern Church; the Russian Church; the Russian Church in the Middle Ages; the Patriarch Nikon; Peter the Great and the modern Church of Russia. The description of the meeting of the Council of Nice is exceedingly graphic, and the sketches of the Emperor Constantine and of Athanasius will be read with interest. The author excels in vivid and picturesque narrative. It is also quite refreshing to notice his catholic spirit, and to find him quote Tertullian's definition of the Church, *Ubi tres sunt laici, ibi est ecclesia*, as in accordance with the Biblical usage of *Ecclesia*. The history may be said to be suggestive, rather than exhaustive, descriptive rather than philosophical. The work is printed in admirable style and is an honor to the House, which has issued it.

The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism, considered in its different denominational forms and its relations to British and American Protestantism. Three volumes. By Abel Stevens, L. L. D., New York. Carlton & Porter. This work is a rich contribution to ecclesiastical history. It furnishes an admirable exposition of a great religious awakening, the origin and progress of an evangelical denomination, whose power is every where felt. The first volume brings the history down to the death of Whitefield, the second to the death of Wesley and the third to the centenary jubilee of Methodism in 1839. The work abounds in details, biographical sketches of prominent leaders in the Church, graphic descriptions and incidents, and presents, in an interesting and instructive manner, the missionary developments of Methodism, its plans and efforts for universal evangelization. We await with interest the appearance of the History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country, in the preparation of which the learned author is at present engaged.

The Epistles of St Peter and St. Jude, preached and explained by Martin Luther, Wittenberg 1523-4. Translated with Preface and Notes By E. H. Gillett, New York, A. D. F. Randolph 1859. An important service is rendered by the translation of any of Luther's works, not hitherto given to the public, and we have often regretted, that there was not the disposition in our own Church by those, so well qualified for the duty, to perform more of this kind of labor. In the language of a Presbyterian critic "there is more life in Luther's words than in those of any other uninspired man, as far as we know." As a direct and practical expositor he has no superior. Throughout the volume before us there is the earnest, devout spirit of the Reformer, explaining in the simplest manner, the great doctrines of the Gospel and applying them with wonderful force and pungency to the circumstances and especially the errors of his own times. The attacks on the Papal assumptions and corruptions are sharp and vigorous, and the difference between the Divine and human authority

is most effectually presented. The translation is well done, giving intrinsic evidence of its fidelity, and retaining much of the boldness and force, peculiar to the original. Luther's stout heart and penetrating power are every where seen in its pages.

Introduction to the Study of the Gospels. With Historical and Explanatory notes. By Brooke Foss Westcott, M. A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; author of a "History of the New Testament Canon," with an introduction, by Horatio B. Hackett, Professor in Newton Theological Seminary. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1862. The principal design of this volume is to furnish the reader the results of a critical and comprehensive examination of the Gospels, for the purpose of determining the principles which distinguish them from other writings, the points of agreement and disagreement, the plan of the composition, the peculiar characteristics of the individual writers, their varied training, mental habits, diversities of style and in this way, by their apparent contrariety, establishing their essential unity and of harmony as well with one another as the truth itself. The author enjoys a high reputation as a man of learning and ability, and the same thorough and accurate scholarship, which marks his work on the Canon of the New Testament, is exhibited in these pages.

The Testimony of Christ to Christianity. By Peter Bayne, A. M., author of "The Christian Life," "Essays in Biography and Criticism." Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1862. Christ said to John's disciples, who came to question him in reference to his mission. "Go and show John those things, which ye do hear and see;" or in other words he appealed to his miracles, in attestation of what he professed to be. The author of the book before us examines the argument on the same ground and presents with earnest, irresistible reasoning from the miracles, words, character and death of Christ, the proof of his Divine Mission. The argument is compact, able and conclusive, and must commend itself to the attention of thoughtful men. There is, too, a freshness of thought, style and imagery, which render the volume very attractive.

Faith. Treated in a series of Discourses. James W. Alexander, D. D., New York: Charles Scribner, 1862. Dr. Alexander during his life was regarded as one of our most attractive, commanding and successful pulpit orators. His preaching was marked by unusual simplicity, clearness and earnestness. These discourses on the central topics of the Christian life, are not unworthy the reputation of their gifted author. It is most refreshing to read a volume so full of Christ, so rich in Gospel truth.

Lectures on the Science of Language. Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain. By Max. Müller, M. A. New York: Charles Scribner, 1862. The author of these Lectures was born in Dessau in 1823, but removed to Oxford in 1848, where he has since resided. He has written many valuable works, and among others, one on the History of Sanscrit Literature, published in 1858. The present volume, by so distinguished a scholar, meets a desideratum in our Literature. There are nine Lectures: (1) the Science of Language one of the Physical Sciences; (2) the growth of Language in contradistinction to the history of Language; (3) the empirical stage in the Science of Language; (4) the classificatory stage in the Science of Language; (5) the Genealogical classification of Languages; (6) Comparative Grammar; (7) Constituent elements of Language; (8) Morphological classification of Languages; (9) Theoretical stage in the Science of Language—

Origin of Language. Much miscellaneous matter of an interesting character is also introduced, and although we notice some incongruities in the work, some carelessness in the logic, it exhibits high scholarship and the most extensive research, expressed in clear and forcible diction. It is a most valuable addition to a science, which, at the present day is claiming increased and more careful attention. We are happy to find the author in his discussions so devout and reverential. He avows his unqualified belief in the common origin of the human race, a belief which receives renewed support at every step in the progress of this study.

A Dictionary of English Etymology: By Hensleigh Wedgwood, M. A. Late Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge, Vol. I, (A—D.) With notes and additions by George P. Marsh. New York: Sheldon & Co., 1862. This work is a beautiful reprint of an octavo volume published in London, and supplies a want greatly felt by all exact readers of the English language. The author's object is to show why certain words have come to mean what they do, and, in illustrating his favorite theory, he discusses more fully than former etymologists the imitative principle, and thus renders plausible many derivations from sound to sense in words, which were never suspected of such an origin. The original work has been subjected to the careful editorial supervision of Dr. Marsh, so competent for the task, whose annotations have greatly enhanced the value of the work. It is an important contribution to our knowledge and whilst the student of Etymology will be particularly interested in the matter presented, even the casual reader cannot fail to experience new sources of pleasure, which these researches unfold to the mind.

Life of Andrew Jackson. In three volumes. By James Parton, New York. Mason Brothers, 1862. These volumes furnish ample evidence on every page of the industry and zeal, with which the author has labored to present a faithful and impartial record of this extraordinary man, who exercised so vast an influence in his own day, and has helped to give shape and direction to the policy of the nation. The work is not only exceedingly interesting, but most valuable for reference. It throws important light upon the past history of our country. The author's opinion of the hero is favorable, although he aims at the presentation of the truth. He writes with a ready pen, in a natural, bold manner, always arresting and retaining the attention of the reader.

The Constitutional History of England, since the accession of George III, 1760–1860. By Thomas Erskine May, C. B. In two volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Crosby & Nichols, 1862. Although the accession of George III presents no natural boundary in constitutional history, yet no one can examine the last one hundred years without observing that during this period, questions of the greatest magnitude were practically decided. The freedom of the press, the prerogatives and influence of the crown, the progress of religious liberty, the relations of England to her Colonies, the development of the British Constitution are intimately connected with these times. The subjects are discussed with great fairness, with none of the tone or spirit of controversy, but with the most thorough conviction, that the development of popular liberty in its efforts has been safe and beneficial. May's History will at once take rank as a standard among our historical works, and will be often consulted.

Manual of Scientific Discovery: A Year-Book of facts in Science and Art for 1862, exhibiting the most important discoveries and improvements in mechanics, useful arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, As-

tronomy, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., together with notes on the progress of Science during the year 1861; a list of the recent scientific publications; obituaries of eminent scientific men, etc. Edited by David A. Wells, A. M., Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1862. The title furnishes an idea of the design of the work. We have repeatedly expressed our high opinion of its value not merely to the man of Science, but to any one who desires, in a condensed form, an acquaintance with the progress of scientific discovery.

Health: Its Friends and Foes. By R. D. Mussey, M. D. LL. D. Late Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in Dartmouth College, N. H. Boston. Gould & Lincoln, 1862. This treatise on a very important subject is by a learned and experienced member of the Faculty. In a plain, practical manner, he has brought together a collection of facts and makes many valuable suggestions in reference to health, diet, exercise, disease and medicine. Whilst there are some points, to which we might take exception, we believe the book will be found useful, particularly to persons of sedentary habits.

Sketches of the Rise, Progress and Decline of Secession, with a narrative of personal Adventure among the Rebels. By W. G. Brownlow. Philadelphia: Geo. W. Childs, 1862. This is a book of thrilling, absorbing interest. It contains a minute, graphic narrative of the indignities and sufferings of a patriotic, brave man, and is rich in incidents, facts and sound argument. Without endorsing every sentiment the volume contains, or always approving the language, in which the author expresses his vigorous thoughts, we believe the work will do good, in awakening and deepening the patriotic feeling and purpose of the nation in this gloomy hour of her history, when a most wicked and desperate effort is making to destroy the best government God ever gave to man.

The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events. Edited by Frank Moore, New York: G. W. Putnam. The last issue of this valuable publication completes the third volume, and brings the record to the close of 1861. As a faithful and complete documentary history of the War the work has no superior, and it must be regarded as the standard authority in connection with our country's history during the time of the Rebellion. It is a vast depository of facts and incidents, which every intelligent American will desire to have convenient for reference, and which will no doubt form the basis of many future histories of the present exciting times. We have several times spoken of the importance of this work and every new number adds to our conviction of its value.

Harper's Magazine. This Magazine reaches us regularly, freighted with the usual variegated and miscellaneous literary matter, that renders it the most popular monthly in the world. Perhaps there is no periodical of the kind more generally welcomed, as a visitor to the family, or read by so many individuals. We are glad to learn that, in these depressing times, it is so well sustained.

We have received from the publishers McAllister & Bro., Philadelphia, several Photographs, which are of special interest to the members and friends of the Lutheran Church. I. An exterior view of St. John's Lutheran Church Philadelphia. II. An interior view of the same Church, as it appeared when it was originally built, the high pulpit with its sounding board, and the antique pews. III. A card photograph of

Rev. Dr. Mayer, the venerable and highly esteemed founder of St. John's Church, who for more than a half century ministered to the congregation. IV. An excellent card photograph of the present Pastor Rev. Dr. Seiss. V. A very good photograph of Rev. Dr. Schmucker, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

Leonardo Da Vinci's Last Supper, from the original of Raphael by the late A. L. Dick, is one of the largest steel engravings, ever executed in this country. It is a beautiful picture, rich in instruction to all lovers of Christian art, and commemorative of one of the most impressive scenes in the life of the Redeemer. It is worthy of a place in every Christian household. This celebrated painting, which has been retouched by some of our most eminent artists, can be obtained from Jacob Lewis, 82 Nassau St., N. Y., at the low price of two dollars, although originally it cost ten dollars.

The Good Mother. A discourse, delivered in commemoration of the death of Mrs. Maria M. Cammann, Sunday April 28th, 1862, in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St James, N. Y. By the Pastor Rev. J. L. Schoek. Published for her family. New York: John A. Gray, 1862.

Remarks made at the Funeral of Sarah Campbell Randall, wife of Joseph S. Randall, Feb. 8th, 1862. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D.

Discourse, delivered at the opening of the Twentieth Convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Lancaster May 1st, 1862. By C. W. Schaeffer, D. D., Pastor of St. Michael's Church Germantown, Pa. H. C. Neinstedt, Printer.

Counsel to Young Men. A Sermon preached to the Students of Pennsylvania College and the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Thursday, February 27th, 1862, being the day set apart for prayer, on behalf of Colleges. By Rev. A. Essick, A. M., Pastor of St. James' Evangelical Lutheran Church, Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, Printer, 1862.

A Conscience Without Offence. A discourse, addressed to the graduating class of Pennsylvania College, August 10th, 1862. By H. L. Baugher, D. D., President of the College. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt.

Our Country. A Sermon delivered by special appointment in Christ's Lutheran Church, New Bloomfield, Pa., July 22nd, 1860. By Rev. D. H. Focht, A. M., Pastor of the Church. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1862.

Our Country. A Sermon delivered on Thanksgiving Day in the Presbyterian Church, New Bloomfield, Pa., November 28th, 1861. By Rev. D. H. Focht, A. M. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1862.

Reply to the Charge of Hon. James H. Graham, LL. D. By Rev. D. H. Focht, A. M. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1862.

Synopsis of the described Lepidoptera of North America. Part I. Diurnal and Crepuscular Lepidoptera. Compiled for the Smithsonian Institution. By John G. Morris, D. D., Washington.

Alphabetical Catalogue of Books proposed to be purchased for the Library of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore. By John G. Morris, D. D., 1861.

Historical Catalogue of the Philomathæan Society of Pennsylvania College. Organized in 1831. Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1862.

The Liturgical Question with reference to the Provisional Liturgy of the German Reformed Church. A Report by the Liturgical Committee. J. W. Nevin, D. D. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1862.

CONTENTS OF NO. LIV.

Article.	Page
<p>I. THE MIRACULOUS TRIUMPHS OF THE EARLY CHURCH.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">By JOSEPH A. SEISS, D. D., Philadelphia.</p>	157
<p>II. WHY DID JESUS PRAY?.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">By J. FEW SMITH, D. D., Newark, N. J.</p>	169
<p>III. RATIONALISM AND SUPRANATURALISM.....</p> <p>Translated from the German of Dr. THOLUCK. By CHARLES F. SCHAEFFER, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.</p>	180
<p>IV. THE UNION OF CHRIST AND BELIEVERS.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">By Rev. D. H. FOCHT, A. M., New Bloomfield, Pa.</p>	212
<p>V. EXPOSITION OF MARK IX. 49.....</p>	240
<p>VI. CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS.....</p> <p>Translated from the German of Dr. Harless. By Rev. G. A. Wenzel, A. M., Philadelphia.</p>	243
<p>VII. LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN A. QUITMAN.....</p>	259
<p>VIII. AN EFFICIENT MINISTRY.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">By Rev. A. ESSICK, A. M., Gettysburg, Pa.</p>	269
<p>IX. THE DIGNITY OF THE MINISTERIAL OFFICE.....</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">By REV. WILLIAM HULL, Ancram, N. Y.</p>	284
<p>X. REMINISCENCES OF DECEASED LUTHERAN MINISTERS.....</p>	293
<p>XI. NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.....</p>	306

"*The Evangelical Quarterly Review*. Edited by Prof. M. L. Stoever, Gettysburg, Pa. The October number of this excellent Review is already out, and is filled with important and valuable matter. The first article is on the Book of Job, and is a translation from the German. Two other valuable translations follow, on Luther and Spener. The article of Prof. Sternberg on 'Public Worship' is characterized by moderation and great good sense. The historical review of the doings of the *General Synod* held in May last, is, we presume, from the pen of the Editor, and is an interesting summary of the doings of that important body. Several other articles, which we have not the space to enumerate, make up the number. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in this country is an important body of Christians, whose doings are destined to attract increasing attention. This Review, which is the chief organ, deserves to circulate more largely than it does among other denominations."—*Sunday School Times*.

"*The Evangelical Quarterly Review* for October is conducted by Prof. Stoever, of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, and is an able exponent of the literature and theology of the Lutheran Church. The present number is filled with articles of a high order of learning and thought."—*New York Observer*.

"The October number of the Review published at Gettysburg and edited by Professor Stoever, of Pennsylvania College is before us. The number contains eight articles in addition to the brief notices of recent publications. The publication is edited with ability, and must be serviceable to the denomination, in whose interest it is carried forward."—*German Reformed Messenger*.

"This valuable Quarterly for October is filled with useful and edifying articles."—*Lutheran Observer*.

"The change of title by the insertion of the word Quarterly, and the omission of the old German motto from Luther, which, however good, was hardly in its right place on the cover, are the first things that strike us as we take in our hands the first number of the Review, which has come forth under the exclusive control of Prof. Stoever. In its general appearance, as well as in the character of its contents, it will take an honorable place with its fifty-two predecessors. The first noticeable feature is the number of well executed translations of valuable matter. The first of these is on the Book of Job. The matter is very instructive and interesting, and the translation is executed in a manner, in which it would be hard to find Dr. Schaeffer's equal. The second of the translations has as its subject, Martin Luther, from the German of Köestlin, by Dr. Diehl, of Frederick. The third is on Spener, from the German of Tholuck, by Professor Mühlenberg, of Gettysburg. Both these articles are worthy of the intelligent and successful labor which their translators have bestowed upon them. We hope the Review will give great prominence to this element. It is one of the things in which our Review can take precedence of any, published in the English language.

The number is emphatically a good one. We hope that every friend of the Lutheran Church will exert himself to the utmost to sustain a periodical, so necessary and so honorable to it."—*Lutheran and Missionary*.

THE
EVANGELICAL
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. LIV.

JANUARY, 1863.

ARTICLE I.

THE MIRACULOUS TRIUMPHS OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

By JOSEPH A. SEISS, D. D., Philadelphia.

ONE of the most remarkable things in the early history of the Church, is the rapidity with which it spread and triumphed.

The period when it appeared in its Christian form, was doubtless the most favorable that could have been chosen. The popular religions of the heathen had become worn out with age. Unbelief and superstition had well nigh put an end to all those systems which had so long swayed the world. Judaism itself, losing more and more its spiritual character, was sinking down into mere heartless externalities. There existed a widespread expectation that the Messiah was about to make his appearance among men. The universality of the Roman dominion made communication easy between the various parts of the world. A general peace reigned throughout the entire earth. And many of the more serious and thoughtful classes were looking and prepared for a revolution in the modes of religious thinking. These facts, along with the spiritual and consolatory character of Christianity, and its adaptedness to all existing forms of society, were certainly very favorable to the success of the new Church. But there were many strong counteractions. Augustine tells us, that "Christ appeared to the men of a decrepit, dying world, that, while all around them

was fading, they might, through him, receive a new youthful life." But, still, it was a world full of obstinacy, such as decrepitude often brings with it; and certainly not wanting in the elements of a fierce antagonism to the truth.

From the providential training of the Jews, we would naturally expect the Church to make most progress among *them*. But when "He came unto his own, his own received him *not*." The worldly spirit which predominated among them, their false hopes respecting the Messiah, their national vanity, and their confidence in their legal righteousness and the inalienability of the rights of their descent according to the flesh, constituted a great barrier to their reception of the Gospel. The Pharisees, proud in spirit, secure in their own goodness, and arrogant in a dead erudition, disdained to submit to the humbling doctrines of the unlettered carpenter of Nazareth. The Sadducees, those sneering rationalists of the Saviour's time, laughed at the ideas of a spiritual existence and an immortality such as Christianity proclaimed. The mystical and eremitic Essenes were so few in number, so exclusive in their habits, and so completely enslaved to a set of vague opinions and outward forms, that the Church derived but little aid from their secluded communities. And the few elements of Hellenic culture, which had been scattered among the Jewish people, were so mixed up with a proud heathen philosophy, as to deepen the predisposition to condemn the doctrines of the Cross. Such, at any rate, was the prevailing temper of the Jews toward Christianity, that they crucified its Divine Author, imprisoned Peter and John, stoned Stephen to death, banished the disciples from Jerusalem, murdered the just James, beat, imprisoned, and vilely persecuted Paul, binding themselves with solemn oaths to put him to death, and persisted in opposing the religion of Jesus with a degree of rancor and malignity which has not subsided with the lapse of eighteen centuries, which called down upon them the unprecedented judgments of God, and which is still re-echoed in the services of every Jewish synagogue under the whole heaven.

In the heathen world, the Church encountered obstacles scarcely less discouraging. Christians were everywhere looked upon as a Jewish sect, and of course had to bear all the obloquy which the nations attached to the Jews, and to whatever related to them. Platonism was then the dominant philosophy, a system rendered formidable by the gigantic

abilities of its great teachers, the sublimity of its speculations, and the graces of poetry and rhetoric, by which it was adorned. And, although the Platonists were nearer to Christianity than any other philosophers, and to some extent prepared the way for its introduction, they were possessed of so much power and pride of opinion, that it was no easy matter for the humble ministers of the crucified Jesus to bring them to a renunciation of their pretensions to superiority, or to exchange their fascinating speculations for definite and faithful facts, taught by uneducated men from shops, ploughs, and fishermen's boats. The Stoics were still harder to reach. These apostles of fatalism and apathy lay entrenched in a sort of heroic indifference, and from the lofty heights of a perfect self-complacency looked down upon that religion as a miserable fanaticism, which left every purely human feeling inviolate, and inculcated a childlike submission, not to an iron necessity, tending to annihilation, but to an eternal love which sympathizes with man, and seeks to exalt him to a proper and eternal life. To them, Christianity was a blind and vulgar delusion, destitute of philosophical proofs, and only ridiculous in its teachings. Lucian passed it off as a master-piece of wit and humor, that he could say of the early Christians, "The wretched people have verily persuaded themselves that they are altogether immortal and will live forever; and hence despise death, many of them meeting it of their own accord. Their first lawgiver has also persuaded them to regard one another as brethren, the moment they have abjured the Grecian gods, honor their crucified Master, and enter upon the observance of his precepts. They despise equally everything heathen, and regard everything as profaneness, except their own unfounded notions." And Celsus, Porphyry, and Hierocles wrote against the Church in the same haughty spirit of ridicule and sarcasm.

Nor was the Gospel any the less stoutly resisted by the rudeness, than by the philosophical culture, of the heathen world. Superstition and fanaticism opposed it as fiercely as a supercilious learning. Though the old religions were on the wane, the inroads of Christianity revived the zeal of the more scrupulous devotees; and while the learned laughed and reviled, the populace raged. Accustomed to behold their divinities with the bodily eye, and to carry them as amulets upon their persons, they could see nothing but atheism in the spiritual conceptions of the Christians, and they regarded their abhorrence of idols as an impious revolt against

the religion of their fathers. They could not conceive of a religion which brought with it no sensible objects of adoration, no sacrifices, no altars, and no temples. The intimate fraternal union of the Christians, and their private assemblies, were entirely incomprehensible, and gave occasion to the worst suspicions, and to the circulation of the most scandalous accusations. And such was the popular hatred of believers, that if the long absence of rain brought on a drought, or the Nile failed to irrigate the fields, or the Tiber overflowed its banks, or an epidemic disease ravaged the country, or an earthquake, famine, or any other calamity occurred, the general cry at once was, "All this is owing to the anger of the gods on account of the spread of Christianity."

And with such a state of public feeling, it certainly ought not to be thought a thing so incredible, that Christians should have been made the subjects of just such imperial persecutions, as those which they are ordinarily believed to have suffered. There certainly was nothing in Roman ethics, or in Roman jurisprudence, to prevent the magistrates from inflicting any severities which popular clamor, or political jealousy, or even personal cupidity might dictate. On the other hand, Cicero lays it down as a fundamental principle of legislation, that "No man shall have for himself particular gods of his own, or worship any new or foreign gods, unless they are recognized by the public laws." The advice of Mæcenas to Augustus was, "Worship the gods in all respects according to the laws of your country, *and compel all others to do the same.*" Julius Paulus cites it as one of the ruling principles of civil law in the Roman state, that "Whosoever introduced new religions, the tendency and character of which were unknown, whereby the minds of men might be disturbed, should, if belonging to the higher rank, *be banished*; if to the lower, *punished with death.*" And though the Romans were in the habit of securing to the nations they conquered the free exercise of their own religions, hoping thereby to gain them more completely to their interests as well as to secure the favorable regards of the gods of those nations; it still needed a special decree of the Senate to effect it; a thing which had not been done for Christianity. Neither were the Christians a separate and distinct nation, so as to be brought within the reach of the ordinary system of toleration. And as they discouraged the warlike spirit of the Romans, and refused to take part in

the national games and festivals, and interfered materially with the fortunes of the priests, artisans, and magicians who, like Demetrius in Acts, drew their gains from idolatry or magical arts, they were continually exposed to the most serious charges, and subject to the inflictions of a proud and jealous magistracy, prompted to deeds of severity by the rage and fury of a merciless populace.

The Church, therefore, had to encounter the storms of bloody persecution. According to a passage in the Annals of Tacitus, "the integrity and truth of which the most sceptical criticism is bound to respect," Nero, the sixth Emperor of Rome, who had been most carefully educated by one of the mildest and most humane of the ancient philosophers, "falsely accused, and condemned to the most exquisite tortures, those people commonly called Christians, who were already hated as infamous criminals. The confessions of those who were seized, discovered a *great multitude* of their accomplices, and they were *all* convicted. They died in torments, and their torments were embittered by insult and derision. Some were nailed on crosses; others were sewn up in skins of wild beasts, and exposed to the fury of dogs; others again, smeared over with combustible materials, were used as torches to illuminate the darkness of the night. And the gardens of Nero furnished the place for the melancholy spectacle, which was accompanied with circuses, and honored with the presence of the Emperor, who mingled with the populace in the dress and attitude of a charioteer!" And this was but the beginning of a system of butchery which was continued under Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Decius, Gallus, Valerian, Dioclesian, and Maximian; the last of whom so deluged the Roman Empire with Christian blood, that even Gibbon, that subtle apologist for heathen Rome, is forced to say, that *this was a persecution*.

Such, then, were some of the principal hinderances, which stood in the way of the progress of the infant Church.

But not all the bitter malice of the Jews, nor the contempt of the heathen world for things of Jewish origin, nor the pride of philosophy, nor the ridicule of wit, nor the baseness of the common religious belief, nor the trickery of priests, nor the fanaticism of the devotees of idolatry, nor the cunning of Roman statesmen, nor the bloody rescripts of Roman Emperors, could prevent the growth and onward march of the spiritual Republic of Jesus Christ. From the least of

the nations, and from a small company of its illiterate and poorest children, "a sound went into all the earth, and words unto the end of the world." From the supper-hall which witnessed the first advent of the Comforter, the holy brotherhood of believers pitched its tent upon the graves of the Cæsars, drove the babbling Sophists from the Porch and the Academy, opened the text-book of Christianity in Antioch, Athens, and Byzantium, and enthroned itself in the very heart of the Mistress of the World. "Like the beams of the rising sun, the doctrine of Jesus suddenly illumined the vast earth."

The day of Pentecost, was the inauguration day for Christianity. From that transporting signal of her God, the Church went forth in the panoply of the Spirit, for the conquest of the world. When that morning dawned, "the number of the names" of those enlisted in her service, "were about an hundred and twenty;" but when that evening closed, the little army had grown to "about three thousand souls." "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia,"—"devout men out of every nation under heaven,"—heard the tidings of the Gospel; and many believed, "and were baptized," and "continued steadfast in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." "And the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved."

Soon the number of "men" that believed were "about five thousand." And the impressive scenes amid which Ananias and Sapphira went to their graves with their lies upon their lips, caused the more to be added to the Lord, even "multitudes of men and women." "And the word of the Lord increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." And when the bigotries and persecutions of the Jews compelled the disciples to fly from Jerusalem, "they that were scattered abroad went every where preaching the word." The refugees became efficient missionaries, and carried the Gospel to various parts of Judea, and even to Damascus, Phœnicia, Cypress, and Antioch, where many were enrolled as believers in the risen Jesus. And the zealous Philip, with his heart expanded by the genial spirit of the new religion, cast off the prevailing Pharisaic prejudice, and went down to tell his sacred story to the despised Samaritans, who embraced the

truth with such unanimity, that even Simon, the arch-sorcerer himself, deserted by his followers, and amazed at the gifts of the Holy Spirit, came to receive baptism, hoping to secure the use of powers, so far transcending his own.

Thus far, however, the progress of the Church was almost exclusively confined to people of the Jewish race. Indeed, believers had not yet renounced Judaism, or the ceremonial law; but rather considered themselves the true Israelites, who, having been saved from that untoward generation, were in course of preparation for the full coming of the Messiah's kingdom, and still subject to the Mosaic ritual. A taint of the peculiar expectations of the Jews of those times also adhered, as yet, to many of their views. And for these reasons they were reluctant to offer the invitations of the Gospel to the Gentiles, until they were subsequently more fully enlightened on the subject. But the Divine direction to Peter to visit and baptize the Centurion of Cæsarea, and the out-pouring of the Spirit which accompanied his interview with that devout Gentile, and the marked success which had attended the preaching of the Gospel to the Greeks of Antioch, gradually inspired a higher mode of thought, and a more liberal spirit than that which pervaded the mere Jewish mind. And as the Church was also already distinguished from the Jewish hierarchy by peculiar faith, hopes, efforts, officers, and sacraments, all of which had been derived directly from the blessed Saviour, they soon came to view the Christian community as a new, spiritual, and independent Republic, in itself fully equipped and commissioned for the work of regenerating the world, both Jewish and Gentile.

The infant Church was now making ready for foreign aggressions. She was about to enter upon the invasion of that vast realm of Polytheism, whose centre was Rome, and to whose blighting sway the little territory of Palestine was the only exception. But to conduct such an expedition, a more intrepid spirit was needed than any, as yet found in the ranks of believers. God called Saul of Tarsus, a man of genius, learning, and heroic zeal. He was then a persecutor, fierce and bloody; but Jesus met him, and commissioned him as the great Apostle of the Gentiles. From an inflicter of death, he at once became a preacher of life. From the Pharisaic sectarian, he became the

great champion of Gospel liberty, against Jewish narrowness, Pagan idolatry and Oriental mysticism. With undaunted courage, he stood up for Jesus and the resurrection, before the Sanhedrim of the Jews, the Areopagus of Athens, and the Forum of Rome. His first circuit of missionary labor, planted the Church of Christ in Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia. His second tour carried the bloodless triumphs of the Cross into the heart of Asia Minor, Phrygia, Galatia, Troas, and Macedonia. The glories of the Parthenon, and the splendors of Diana's Temple, faded before his mighty eloquence. The islands of the sea heard his voice, and threw aside their idols. And by his hand, the standard of the Gospel was borne aloft above the gods and goddesses of Greece, and planted on the heights of its renowned metropolis. Having preached the faith "from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum," he even pushed his victories South to Ethiopia, and North, (if we are to believe an obscure tradition,) to the remote isle of Britain. And thus, having established monuments to the power of Christian truth, from the Euphrates to the Ebro, the Rhine, and the Danube, and expounded the high doctrines of Christianity in Epistles which shall govern the faith and command the admiration of believers in every generation, he ended his brilliant life, by a triumphant death, upon a state-block at Rome, a lamented martyr to the cause which he had so faithfully served.

But, whilst Paul was engaged in these fruitful labors, the other Apostles were not mere idle spectators. Those addressed by Peter in his Epistles, had most likely been brought to the knowledge of the truth by his own efforts; and the fact of his having written from Babylon, warrants the presumption that he also carried the Gospel into Chaldea. Thaddeus established Christian churches in Edessa and Mesopotamia. Mark won many to the standard of the Cross in Egypt, Arabia, and Persia. And Thomas did the same in Parthia; Andrew in Scythia; and Bartholomew in India. And so successful were the early preachers generally, that, in the course of seventy years, Tacitus expressed himself with something of amazement at the *vast multitude* who were enlisted on the side of Christ, and Pliny, in his perplexity, wrote to Trajan, that the temples and solemnities of idolatry had been forsaken for the services and sacraments of Christian wor-

ship. By the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr affirmed, that "there is no race of men, whether Barbarian or Greek, or by whatever name they be designated, whether they wander in wagons, or dwell in tents, amongst whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered to the Father and Creator of all, in the name of the crucified Jesus." And before Constantine came to the throne of Rome, it was the triumphant boast of Tertullian, "We are but of yesterday, yet we have filled your Empire, your cities, your islands, your castles, your corporate towns, your assemblies, your very camps, your tribes, your companies, your palace, your senate, and your Forum; your temples alone are left you."

Thus did the honors of the gods of the world's idolatry vanish before the light of the Gospel. The little grain of mustard-seed had now become a tree. Upon the mountain passes, along the highways, on the house-tops, and even upon the mosaic of the floors, it is said, might be seen the emblem of the victorious Cross. "As the barbarian appears over the vanquished dragons on the coins of Constantine, so the worship and the name of Jesus towered over fallen paganism."

A triumph, such as this, by which a large proportion of mankind were induced to abandon the religion of their fathers for the doctrines of a crucified carpenter, which was achieved by a few publicans and fishermen, without riches, credit, or arms, and which vanquished the prejudices, the passions, the laws, the jealousies, the bitter persecutions, and the combined strength of the pagan world, is certainly nothing less than a *miracle*, the great, crowning miracle, the glorious harvest of all that preceded it; the only explanation of which is to be found in the omnipotent and invisible power and presence of the all-ruling God. Infidelity may talk of "secondary causes," and by subtle exaggerations of the force of ordinary facts, insinuate that it is adequately accounted for on ordinary principles; but, there it stands, like the Alpine hills, a monument to the majesty and almightiness of God, an everlasting demonstration of the Divinity of our religion.

It is true that the Church was then in its youthful purity and vigor. Her ministers had not yet turned philosophers or politicians. Her faith was not yet encumbered with metaphysical subtleties, or theological refinements. Her membership had not yet been divided by ecclesiastical

bigotries, or become the vassals of priestly combinations. Gentleness, kindness, forbearance, and mutual good offices, had not yet been absorbed in party strifes. The full flow of her profound convictions, had not yet been stinted by the imposition of human enactments. The inventions of men, which filled the heathen world with idols, and the Jewish Church with absurdities, had not yet obscured or tarnished her Divine and effective simplicities. Scholastic niceties, and the pride of learning had not alloyed the virgin strength of her holy doctrines. And all this ministered greatly to her prosperity and success. But all these peculiarities do but show with what distinctness she was marked with the impress and assistance of the Divine interpositions. It is true that the early promoters of the Church were animated with an "inflexible," and if we may use the expression, "an intolerant zeal," a heroic and unyielding fervency, which "neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come," could divert from its purpose, or reconcile to the abominations of paganism. But, so far from having derived it "from the Jewish religion," it was the result of convictions, wrought in them by the spirit of God, filling them with an unmistakable and irrepressible persuasion that what they preached was Divine and immutable truth, seen with their own eyes, heard with their own ears, and experienced in their own hearts. It is true that they insisted upon the doctrine of a future life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight and efficacy to that important truth;" but it was a doctrine, such as the heathen did not believe, associated as it was with the resurrection of the body; which God himself had demonstrated to them in the miraculous history of our Lord, and which certainly could not have gained the credence of the cavilling world, if it had not been accompanied with a weight of testimony, superior to the force of mere unaided human reasoning. It is also evident, that Christianity derived material assistance from "the miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive Church." But mere fables, invented in after times, could not have been thus availing; and the forgeries and magical tricks of mere pretended miracle-workers, instead of promoting the Christian cause, must inevitably have retarded and weakened it, just as the "lying wonders" of Popery drove more than half of its own adherents to Protestantism, or to infidelity. It is also true, that "the

pure morals of the Christians" contributed much to the success of the early Church. But, whence came such an exalted and controlling moral purity, except from an inward transformation of the mind and heart, which nothing short of supernatural and Divine grace could have effected? And there was also a certain *esprit de corps*, a sort of Church-patriotism, which aided in the animation of the early Christians in their labors for the Gospel; but it was certainly much weakened by the absence of a perfect external unity, and utterly inadequate to account for that heroic zeal which led the first disciples to present themselves as willing sacrifices to be laid upon the altar of the Church's weal.

In despite, therefore, of the sneers and inuendos of infidelity, the great fact of the early triumph of the Church stands forth as an everlasting *miracle*, a sublime and enduring monument to the Divinity of its source. Had it not been of God, it must needs have come to nought.

The true seat of the Church's strength then is not in the outward world, or in the materials which make up earthly greatness. It is not in race, in national regulations, or in the permanence or success of any given form of favoring, civil institutions. It has flourished as well under despotisms as under republics, under persecutions as under flatteries and patronage, and often against them all. Its vital forces are within itself, in the power of truth, and in the presence of the Spirit of the Almighty. *God is in the Church.* He is there to make it strong against whatever trials it may encounter, and to overrule all its adversities for its good; there to rebuke kings for its sake, and to give it victory in spite of all its enemies, great or small; there to give dignity to seeming humiliation, and vigor to its apparent helplessness; there to prove that he cannot be outdone by human passion, nor outwitted by Satan's machinations; there to show favors to them that come to him in its holy rites, to speak words of comfort and hope to the down-trodden and oppressed, to strengthen the hearts of those, whom he sends to contend with insolent power, and to reprove with a rigor sufficient to make every proud Pharaoh cower, every Belshazzar quake, and every Felix tremble, even on his judgment-seat.

We should have confidence in God for the security of his Church, and for its sufficiency, just as it originally came from his hands. People are sometimes tempted to

distrust His simple institutes for the prosperity and efficacy of His Gospel. The world has progressed, and it is thought that the implements which were so mighty in the Father's hands no longer suit our altered circumstances. Foolish thought! Can God change? Is he less in nature now than when science had not yet been learned? Do not the same old laws hold as ever, bringing round the seasons in their turn, and seeding and harvest in their time, and the rains and sunshine, daylight and darkness, in their succession? And why should we dream that he is not the same efficient Power in the kingdom of His grace, that he was in the beginning? Away with the fears and timidities of unbelief! God has not forsaken his Church. And as in the days of her feebleness, he gave her victory over the throne and dominion of the Cæsars, and established her upon the ruins of a stern and far-reaching paganism, why should any one doubt of her competency for all her trials? With all the prowess which has marked this world's advances, it is still the Divine plan to make the foolish things confound the wise; the weak things, the things that are mighty; and the base things, and things which are despised, and things which are not, bring to nought things that are. The doings of the past are ample pledges for the future.

We live, indeed, in an age of fearful changes. All the stabilities, in which society has been trusting, are shaking to their centre, and crumbling to dust. The best and freest constitutions are no longer sufficient to bind men together, or too sacred for the hand of bloody revolution. Over all the earth we look in vain for that, on which we can confidently count. But, amid all the overturnings and uncertainties, there is one thing which is abiding. *The Church is safe.* Thick and hot as may be the flames that gather round it, it shall not be consumed. He who planted it hath said, and by that planting hath demonstrated, that, "*the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*" Thrones may fall, empires may perish, unions may be dissolved, nations vanish from the earth, and all the proud works of man be brought to desolation: but the Church shall live, and wave its fruit-laden branches in glory in the sky, when the world itself is burned. It can no more perish than God himself can die. It can no more fail to go forward to the accomplishment of its holy mission than God himself can be defeated; for he is in it, and has linked it, with all its true members, to his own immortal Almightyness.

ARTICLE II.

WHY DID JESUS PRAY?

By J. FEW SMITH, D. D., Newark, N. J.

THE History of Jesus represents Him frequently *engaged in prayer*. Several instances are recorded of his praying in public, or in the presence of his disciples. (e. g. John. xii. 27, 28 : xvii. ; Luke xxiii. 34 ; Matt. xi. 25 ; John xi. 41, 42.) But oftener He is described as retiring to some quiet, secluded spot, and spending hours in solitary communion with God. Now we are told (Mark i. 35) "in the morning, rising up a great while before day, He went out and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed." Again, we read (Matt. xiv. 23,) "And when he had sent the multitudes away, he went up into a mountain apart to pray : and when the evening was come he was there alone." And on still another occasion, it is recorded (Luke vi. 12) "And it came to pass in those days, that He went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God."

The question has probably arisen in many minds, *why did Christ pray?* What need had He of prayer? He claimed to be one with the Father. He asserted that He had life in Himself. He was constantly doing wonderful things ; with all the ease of almighty self-sufficiency, performing astonishing miracles. He knew what was in man. All the powers of nature obeyed Him. The sea was calm at his bidding, at His touch the deaf ear was unstopped, the blind eye was opened. At His word the dead came back to life. He could do whatsoever He would. Why should He pray? Praying always implies *subordination* and *dependence*. And how can these belong to Him?

There is an interest attaching to this inquiry, why did Christ pray? that may make it worth our effort reverently to pursue it.

And we shall be aided in this if we look for a moment at *the character of Christ's prayers*. Without attempting to pass in review all of these that are recorded, or dwelling minutely upon any of them, we shall find them exhibiting these three characteristics: First, *Earnest desire for the*

glory of God. This is evident, for example, in the brief petition mentioned John xii. 28, "Father, glorify thy name," and in the longer prayer recorded in the xviith chapter of John. The key-note to that prayer is the glory of the Father. The same thing may be said of the memorable and touching supplication in Gethsemane : above all personal considerations rises the desire that the Father's will may be done, and his name honored. This, as it is seen ruling His whole life, beams out clearly in all His recorded prayers.

Second. *His prayers were largely intercessory.* With His desire for the Father's glory blended His deep interest in fallen men whom He came to save ; and He prayed for them. The prayer with His disciples, already alluded to (John xvii.), is a striking illustration of this. So also are His words of tender compassion, uttered amid the anguish of His crucifixion, on behalf of His murderers, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The same thing appears in His brief address to the Father at the grave of Lazarus ; and in that mentioned John xii. 28. His deep interest in those who stand around Him and hear Him, is unmistakably evinced. For their sake the words are uttered. And this feeling is also seen where the prayer does not take the form of intercession, or even of direct petition, but rather becomes a thanksgiving. e. g. Matt. xi. 25, 26. "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight."

Third. *His prayers exhibit an entire consecration of Himself to His mediatorial work, and plead for Divine support in the endurance of suffering in its performance.* Whenever He prayed for Himself, personally, all looked towards that end : that the great work, given Him to do, might be successfully accomplished ; that He might be sustained, and not shrink from the conflict. Thus He prays, (John xvii. 1) "Father, the hour is come ; glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee ;" where we must include in the scope of the petition, which, it is admitted, may embrace all the glorious results of His suffering, an entreaty that He may be enabled to bear Himself well in the coming conflict. A similar feeling shows itself also in that other prayer, when the shadow of the coming horror was cast upon His soul." "Now is

my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father save me from this hour! But for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name!" (John xii. 27, 28.) And this seems to have been the entreaty of His soul in the agony in Gethsemane. In a word, in all of Christ's prayers that are brought to our view, we find Him having constant reference to the great work of Redemption, to which He had consecrated Himself: and whose consummation, in the felicity of saved souls, his own mediatorial honors, and the glory of the Supreme God, lay nearest His heart.

Into the sacred privacy of His solitary communings with the Father, we may not intrude with our mere conjectures. Only one of these interviews has been disclosed to us by the pen of inspiration. It is that scene in the garden, to which allusion has already been made. Thrice He kneeled down and prayed, being in an agony, and praying most earnestly: "Father if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done." From this we may judge that the same spirit of resignation and devotion to the Father's will, and desire that He might faithfully fulfil that will, characterized all His private communings. While we may also suppose that they had reference to daily occurring events, or specific transactions, of his life.

For it is also worthy of notice that these seasons of private prayer, in which He spent many hours, or even whole nights, *usually preceded some important act or event.* It was not invariably so, perhaps, but so frequently, as to arrest our attention. For instance His walking on the water, was preceded by such a season of retirement and prayer; (Mark vi. 46.) So was His commissioning the twelve Apostles, and, possibly, the sermon on the mount. (Luke vi. 12, *et seq.*) The wrestling prayer in Gethsemane preceded His betrayal and arrest, and the mockery of His trial, and the pains of the crucifixion.

And the incident, already mentioned that occurred at the grave of Lazarus, may throw some light on the character of Christ's private prayers. "And Jesus lifted up His eyes, and said Father, I thank thee that Thou hast heard me: and I know that Thou hearest me always; but because of the people which stand by, I said it, that they may believe that Thou hast sent me." (John xi. 41, 42.) This would seem to indicate that He had offered special prayer

for success on this occasion, either for power to raise Lazarus, or for such an issue of events as would impress the minds of those present, and lead them to a belief in His divine commission. It is fair to infer from it that "His prayers had reference to special and particular blessings and gifts."

Of these hours of prayer, at night, upon the mountain, or in some unfrequented grove, we may believe that they were consecrated to the fulfilment of His high commission. They were to Him, doubtless, seasons of refreshing after the labors of the day; seasons, of sweet repose, afar from the bitter jeer, or sophistical discussion, or hard ingratitude, or disgusting vice, that met Him in his daily walks. They were hours of high spiritual enjoyment, when He escaped from all the disturbance of sin, and fed at that table prepared for Him in the wilderness, and drank of the river of life from his native heaven, and took in new measures of strength for his great work. There He enjoyed direct and uninterrupted communion with God, a communion which we cannot understand, any more than we can understand the union of the Divine and the Human nature in Him; but which we can believe must have been fraught to Him, as mediator, with richest gladness, renewing His tired frame, and sending Him forth to the conquest of sin, with fresh resolution and holy power. A veil which none may draw aside hangs before those sacred scenes, on which God and angels alone can look. Unknown to mortals are the words which Jesus utters to the Father, while there

"From ether plains
Is borne the song that angels know,
Unheard by mortals are the strains,
That sweetly soothe the Saviour's woe."

Turning now from this glance at some of the characteristics of the Saviour's prayers to consider more directly the inquiry, *Why did Jesus Pray?* we observe,

I. *As a man He needed the assistance of God in the performance of his work, and sought it in the appointed way of Prayer.* We do not forget His essential divinity, or derogate from His honor, when we regard Him as truly and thoroughly a man. However inseparable in His person the Divinity may have been from the Humanity; however mysteriously the Divine may have inter-penetrated the Human,

without destroying it; however truly we may say to Him, as Thomas said, "My Lord and my God!" He was in every sense a man; thoroughly identified with us; nothing human being wanting to Him except sin, and those infirmities which are the result of sin. Nay, to some of these, while perfectly sinless, he was, by reason of the completeness of His human nature, the thoroughness of his identification with us, subjected; as for instance to hunger and thirst, fatigue, pain, and death.

This entered essentially into the arrangement by which He was to make atonement for sin, and became the Saviour of lost men. That He might taste death for every man, and bring many to glory, He took upon Him our nature, and was born of a woman, and was made in all things like unto us, His brethren. He thus voluntarily subjected Himself to the dependence, and to all the needs, of men; excepting only those which belong to a state of *guiltiness*, and which could not possibly, from the nature of the case, attach to Him. As a man, therefore, He needed Divine assistance: and as a religious man He prayed for it. This was part of His voluntary assumption of human nature, of the place of a servant under the Law, rendering obedience unto death. To Him thus entering into the human family belonged the invitation of Jehovah, "Seek ye my face;" and the declaration, "I will yet for this be inquired of by the house of Israel;" and the encouragement, "Ask and ye shall receive; call upon me and I will deliver thee." And as the man appointed to be mediator between God and men, and desirous of the accomplishment of His great work, there was a special call on Him to pray, by the very terms of the mediatorial covenant; "Ask of me and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." (Psalms ii. 8.)

But especially, *in view of the vastness of the work that He had undertaken, and of the peculiar difficulties that opposed Him*, did He, as a man, need to pray. He had undertaken a work which required that He should be "made perfect through suffering." And that suffering embraced a variety of inflictions, and culminated in an intensity and grandeur of anguish, inconceivable by us. In it all Divine Being as He was, He was also man. The Human Nature to which He had been pleased to conjoin His Divine Nature, interpenetrated as it was with the Divine, was yet

human, and needed all the aid which man ever needs from God. Its sinlessness, indeed, saved it from man's greatest weakness, inward corruption, and a treacherous foe harbored in his own spirit. Jesus had no sinful passions to contend with, nothing within him giving response to the insidious or open approaches of the world, the flesh or the Devil. Still He was susceptible to bodily pain, and fatigue, to weariness, and mental solicitude: keenly sensitive to ingratitude and insult. And He was subjected to the open solicitation, and to the secret opposition of the Devil; to all the enmity and the insults of men; to the deepest ingratitude, and cruelest neglect, and positive ill-treatment from those, for whose sake He was laboring and making unspeakable sacrifices; to all that was disagreeable and painful in a life of poverty, and toil and lowliness; to that indescribable grief which pervades a holy soul when compelled to dwell in the midst of wickedness; to deep sorrow at beholding the mad folly and self-destruction of men whom He would gladly save; to bodily anguish at the hands of his enemies, from the scourge, and the crown of thorns and the dragging of His exhausted frame from place to place on the day of His crucifixion, and from the cross; and to that suffering which crowned Him Atoning Saviour, and which we cannot fathom with any line of woe that human experience furnishes, in the silent hour of Gethsemane, but especially in the "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani" that burst from His lips upon the cross. And then besides the suffering to be sustained, what need had He of wisdom, and of patience, and of gentleness, in teaching men; in dealing with wily adversaries, or ignorant disciples, with the tempted, the heavy laden, the doubting, the darkened!

All this work was to be done, especially all these sufferings were to be endured, by Jesus, in fulfilling His commission, voluntarily undertaken, as the atoning Saviour of lost men. And man, as He was, in doing and enduring them He needed help from God.

For Himself therefore as man, as the mediator, in the full performance of the special and great work given Him to do, He prayed. The need of praying was one of the necessities to which he subjected Himself. It belonged to the condition in which He voluntarily placed Himself. He frequently tells us that as mediator He received every thing from the Father; every thing was given Him by the

Father. "The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do:" (John v. 19.) "When ye have lifted up the Son of man then shall ye know that I am He, and that I do nothing of myself; but as my Father hath taught me I speak these things." (John viii. 28.)

Not then at His praying are we to be astonished; but at the inscrutable hiding of the Divine, beneath the human: at beholding the word made flesh, God become man; man with God, in one Person; man still; all that belongs to man, except sin and its weaknesses, characterizing him. Regarding Him as one with us, with such a mighty work to perform, such sufferings to endure, his praying appears perfectly natural. Or looking at it from another side, His praying shows how completely He identified Himself with us. The fact that He so often retired to pray, and continued all night in prayer, is at once proof of His humanity, and is explained by His humanity.

Just the relation between His praying, and His strength for His work, we cannot tell. But He was heard when He prayed; (Heb. v. 7,) and always heard; (John xi. 42,) and He came forth strong to do His great work, and to bear His mighty agonies. And without abating in the least our solemn reverence for His divinity, not ceasing to say with awe, "My Lord and my God!" we may yet appeal to Him as a perpetual illustration of the efficacy of an earnest, pious man's prayers; (James v. 16,) and of the way in which God answers prayer. He was not delivered from trouble and suffering, but was sustained under them. The bitter agony wrung from Him earnest cries, and drops of bloody sweat. The *cup*, however, did not pass away but was steadily pressed to His lips. But "there appeared an angel unto Him from heaven, strengthening Him." (Luke xxii. 43.) And in all this there is a blessed power to draw our hearts, poor, feeble struggling creatures, as we are, to Him in loving confidence. He felt the need of prayer, and He prayed, and was sustained. Now seated at the right hand of power He hears our prayers, and presents them at the throne of grace. "We have not an high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities: but was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in the time of need." (Heb. iv. 15, 16.)

II. *Christ prayed as our Intercessor.* We have already seen that His public prayers partook largely of intercession; and we have reason to believe that this was true also of His private prayers. He told Simon Peter, "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not." (Luke xxii. 31, 32.)

There is an inseparable connection between atonement and intercession. Just how Christ *now* intercedes for those for whom he died, it is impossible for us to define. But He is now an Intercessor, and is such by virtue of the atoning sacrifice which He offered. He is now the one mediator between God and men, interposing, *undertaking*, for those whose sins he bore. It was predicted of Him that He should be an intercessor. (Is. liii. 12.) In some way the success of the work of Redemption, the salvation of men, appears to be dependent on His intercession. Therefore He prayed for men in the days of His flesh. Therefore He now intercedes for us. Such an intercessor He was when praying for His murderers on the cross. (Luke xxiii. 34,) and when He prayed for His disciples and for all His Church at the close of the last supper. (John xvii.) Who can tell how much the world's conversion is due to those prayers? Are not those words of compassion, "Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do?" still lingering on earth, still pleading with the heart of God! How many of those "Jerusalem sinners" were saved by means of them? What connection had they with those glorious scenes at Pentecost, when three thousand cried out "Men and brethren what shall we do?" and repented, and were baptized, and were brought to Christ, the first fruits of His sore travail, the first sheaves from that grain of wheat which had fallen into the ground and died, and was now bearing a harvest, that should eventually cover the earth with its golden beauty? (John xii. 24.) And how much do we at this day owe to those very words; and to that last prayer of love? Did not Jesus then pray for us? and is not our conversion, our Christian faith and love, whatsoever of the heavenly spirit and life there is in us, all due to His prayers? How much of it all may be intimately related to that lone wrestling in the midnight hour, those mysterious communings between the Father and the Son? Then we believed His spirit was refreshed for His work; He went away, as it were, and bathed in his native air; visited heaven, and came back to earth "glorious in His

apparel, travelling in the greatness of His strength, mighty to save." But then also we may believe were the great plans of the future, including all the history of the Church, made themes of His prayers, and he pleaded, not for Himself alone, but also for poor sinners, to the end of time.

Christ was an intercessor then, even as He is an intercessor now, and as we are taught that our ultimate and complete redemption is intimately related to the fact that He ever liveth to make intercession for us, (Heb. vii. 25,) so we may believe that then His praying was largely intercessory, and was intimately related to the conversion of sinners, the establishment, and spread of His Church.

III. *Christ prayed as an example to us.* Evidently Christ is set before us as an example in all things. It was not only in suffering that He left us an example that we should follow "His" steps: (1 Peter ii. 21,) but in all things, are we to be imitators of Christ, (1 Cor. xi. 1,) and to walk even as He walked, (1 John ii. 8,) and to have the same mind that was in Him. (Phil. ii. 5, John xiii. 15.) He is to us the model of a perfect man, (Heb. vii. 26,) conformity to whose character and life should be our constant desire and aim. (Rom. viii. 29. Eph. xiv. 13. 1 John iii. 3.)

To this end He fulfilled all ordinances incumbent on Him, as a member of the Jewish church and a citizen of the Jewish nation. And with this view He prayed. He taught us that man could not live without prayer. He would illustrate His teachings by His practice; showing that we must ask in order to receive: going before us most condescendingly in all His greatness and excellence to pray to the Father who heareth in secret and rewardeth openly, that we might be encouraged to pray; that we might realize the importance, and the need, and the efficacy of prayer; and that we might learn how to pray, with directness, and simplicity, and earnestness and faith.

Thus would we answer the inquiry, Why did Christ pray? As man appointed to a great work, subjecting Him to severe temptation and suffering, He prayed for Himself as Mediator, He interceded for sinners. And He prayed as an example to us.

1. *We find here an answer to those who affirm that prayer is useless because all the arrangements of God are*

fixed, and it is idle to suppose that prayer can effect any change in them. There are other answers to this objection, or cavil. But consider this one furnished by the case before us. Could any thing be more fixed, more according to "the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God," than the life, and work, and sufferings, and death of Christ, and their relation to the Redemption of men? Yet He prayed, and was heard in His praying. His praying effected some results certainly. And He has taught us to pray with the expectation of being heard. Why was not Jesus embarrassed by this objection? Why did not He refrain from praying on the ground that it was idle or presumptuous in Him to expect to change the plans of the immutable God by his prayers? Is the objector wiser, or more reverent than Jesus?

2. *There is here a reply to those who object to special seasons of prayer, and to retirement for private prayer.* Some men so spiritualize religion as to reject the use of all forms of devotion. Others insist that prayer is simply a matter of thought and feeling needing no outward expression. They say men may pray in their hearts any where and at any time, which is very true. They say also, that having set times for prayer, and appointed seasons of retirement for devotion, is inconsistent with free spiritual devotion; which is not true. But Jesus prayed audibly, Jesus retired for prayer. Jesus had seasons of prayer; if we may not say regular and stated, yet frequently recurring, indicating a fixed habit of prayer.

3. *There is here a lesson and a rebuke to those who neglect prayer.* JESUS did not think that He could live and do His work without prayer!

4. *Christ is our model in prayer.*

(1) *As to regularity and frequency.* As remarked above, there is abundant indication in His history, that He prayed *habitually*. Probably He prayed *statedly*. Certainly He prayed *frequently*.

(2) *Special prayer on special occasions.* When He was to perform some special act, or encounter special difficulties, and sufferings, as we have seen, He appears to have prepared Himself by special prayer.

(3) *Earnestness.* It is written of Him that He "offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying

and tears." (Heb. v. 7.) He frequently spent the whole night in prayer. The description of His praying in the garden of Gethsemane, is, that of one deeply in earnest, wrestling with the Father for the desired blessing. His prayer for His disciples at the last Supper is marked with earnestness. It is earnest pleading.

(4) *Submission.* In all His praying, in His most earnest pleading, He ever said "Not my will but thine be done." Gethsemane still echoes back those words, a lesson for the earnest pleader in all times. He did not instruct the Father; He asked of Him: He did not insist, He entreated: He did not complain, He submitted.

(5) *Thankfulness.* He did not omit to give thanks to the Father. "Father, I thank thee!" often rose from His lips. By prayer and supplication with thanksgiving He made known His requests unto God.

(6) *The subject of prayer.* (a) He made *the glory of God* the grand end towards which all His prayers as well as all His life tended: and especially the glory of God to be secured and manifested in the work of Redemption. (b) He prayed for support, and strength, and success *for Himself*, but always with reference to that one end, the accomplishment of His ministry of Redemption. (c) He *interceded for sinners*, for those whom He condescended to call his brethren.

In all these respects let us take Christ as our model in prayer. Let us be regular, and frequent in prayer; offering special prayer on special occasions; let us be earnest, submissive, thankful. Let us make God's glory the grand end of all our praying, pray that we may be enabled to live for this and to advance it, in all the work we perform, in all the relations we sustain; and let us intercede much, and most earnestly, on behalf of others.

In one respect pre-eminently, there will be a vast difference between Christ's praying and ours. He needed no mediator between Himself and the Father. We need a mediator, and He is our mediator. We pray in His name, and through Him have access to the Father, and boldness to come to the throne of grace for mercy and for help. Jesus who prayed for us on earth now presents our petitions for us in heaven, and intercedes on our behalf.

ARTICLE III.

RATIONALISM AND SUPRANATURALISM.

Translated from the German of Dr. THOLUCK, [Herzog's Real-Encyclopædie, Vol. 12, p. 537-554.]

By CHARLES F. SCHAEFFER, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.

Rationalism (*vulgaris*), as defined by its adherents, is that system which fully recognizes the principle that revealed religion must be tested by the conceptions of reason which are peculiar to man, and by other reliable means of acquiring knowledge (*Wegscheider*). According to the judgment of its opponents, it is the system which applies the name of *reason* to the *sound common sense* of men (that is, the established opinions of the majority of educated men at a specified period, which are assumed to be correct), and then adopts that common sense as the criterion of a revelation of religion.

I. *Rationalism in England*. Various infidel tendencies, not differing widely in their results from modern Rationalism, appeared even previously to the Reformation—the *Fratres spiritus liberi*, the Averrhoists, and, at the era of the Reformation, a Bodin,* Pucci,† the Antitrinitarians; still, all these cases were marked by a peculiar philosophical or even mystical element which pervaded them. *Deism in England*, on the other hand, and Rationalism exhibit an essential affinity both in their principles and in their results. Amid the persecutions and religious wars in England during the seventeenth century, many lost all confidence in specific creeds or definite forms of faith, and imagined that a firm foundation could not be secured unless they returned to fundamental principles to which all parties could assent; and, as after a superficial examination, the fundamental truths of the Christian religion seemed to coincide both with those of religious systems that were distinct from

*Bodin: *Colloquium heptaplomeres*; comp. the edition of Guhr-aer, 1841.

†F. Pucci, in the rare work: *De Christi Serratoris efficacia in omnibus et singulis hominibus, quatenus homines sunt*, (in the Library of the Halle Orphan House, in manuscript.)

Christianity, and also with those of philosophical systems, these persons renounced their faith in a supernatural revelation, and now adopted the "light of nature" as both the source and the test of all religious truth. This tendency, which depended for its support on the so-called *natural light*, received in its day the name of *Naturalism* or *Deism*, and, occasionally, of *Rationalism*. The latter term, however, was not first introduced in connection with this system; the earliest date of the use of the name *Rationistæ*, is assigned to the commencement of the century, when it was applied to the Aristotelian Humanists of the Helmstedt school by their opponents,* and, at a somewhat later period, by Comenius (*Theol. Natur.* 1688, *Ep. dedic.*) to the Socinians also.†

Rationalism itself unquestionably denied in a positive manner that any relationship existed between it and its predecessors, named above; its adherents maintained that while Deism rejected a divine revelation as impossible or as superfluous, *they* recognized it (—but in what a sense of the word?), and only claimed that it should be subjected to the untrammelled judgment of reason. The distinction is summarily expressed by Nitzsch (*System*, §28) in the following terms: "The Naturalist, in whole or in part, was rather a *denier of the truth* of the contents of the Scriptures—the Rationalist was rather a *philosophical exegete*." Still the fundamental principle in both was "the light of nature" (explained to be "the sound common sense of men,") and the results, while they differed in some points, were, on the whole, the same. It must yet be added, that the Deism of England, which originated with men who were not professional theologians, did not shrink from assuming a hostile attitude towards a presumptive revelation; but German Deism, which originated in the bosom of the Church, and was sustained by its ministers, contented itself with a grateful recognition of the Scriptures as a vehicle of the general religion of reason; it therefore endeavored, as far as it was possible, to discover in the former points of affinity with the latter.

*Henke: *Calixt.* I. 248

†Comp. Hahn: *De rationalismi qui dicitur vera indole*, 1827.

II. *Rationalism in the Netherlands.* Contemporaneously with Anglican Deism, a Rationalistic tendency originated in the Netherlands. In the latter, as in England, the variety of creeds, which gradually acquired equal civil rights, became the means of promoting Latitudinarianism; to this was added the influence of the humanistic archæological studies of the times, which maintained a spirit of indifference in matters of faith; hence various harbingers of Rationalism appeared even before the middle of the seventeenth century. Voetius (*Disput. theol.* I. p. 1,) mentions a work which was published in the Netherlands in 1633, and which avowed the sentiment, *naturalis ratio judex et norma fidei*. The Cartesian philosophy, as a pioneer, opened the way in a systematic manner. It did not positively assail the established Church creeds, but it roused the attention of men by setting forth the principle: *de omnibus dubitandum*. This principle claimed indeed merely that it exhibited the mode of acquiring a scientific insight into truths that were already firmly established in other modes; still, the subjects which were then discussed, and which Spanheim mentions in his *Epistola de dissensu*, p. 61, indicate the manner in which that principle influenced young students in that day; they are the following: *Fidei præ philosophia nullam posse esse prærogativam; Non minus contra rationem, velle nonnullos philosophiam esse Christianam, quam si Muhamedanam dicerent; Omnem philosophiam esse religionis expertem*. The alleged purpose of these movements was, not to impair the authority of the Scriptures, but to confirm it by establishing its conformity to human reason; such was the case with Duker in Franeker: *De recta ratiocinatione*, 1686, and with Roell in the Inaugural Address which he delivered in 1686. According to this address (of which a complete copy is given in "*Religio Naturalis*," and which had reached its fourth edition in 1700), reason is as infallible in the wicked as in the converted man—indeed, not less so than God, who is its author; when reason errs, the cause lies merely in the limited attention which it pays to its oracle—to which the perverted will of man, as it cannot be denied, is only too much inclined. But the conclusions which may be deduced from this conceded point, are omitted. The same course was adopted by Krug, who assigned to reason the office of an absolute sovereign and

judge, in spite of her own whispered confession that she was very often unexpectedly thrust from her lofty seat by the pretentious understanding of man. This reason, moreover, although it has a Cartesian origin, regards itself as in entire harmony with the reason of a Cicero, with sound common sense, and with the *notiones communes* of men. The results of the investigations of reason, as exhibited by theologians, demonstrated the agreement between reason, on the one hand, and revelation and the Scriptures, on the other. When this harmony failed to appear in subordinate points, as, for instance, in the scriptural doctrine respecting the operations of Satan, it was restored by exegetical skill, like that of B. Becker. But a different plan was adopted by the disciples of Spinoza, who attracted attention at this period, and who were learned laymen, physicians, booksellers, men of property, &c. Spinoza had, in accordance with the principles of his system, unfolded his views in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; he did not, it is true, reject the religion of the Bible, as Deism had done—he *explained* it, on the contrary, in a *philosophical* manner, after the manner of German Rationalism. Still, the results were irreconcilable with the theology of the age and with the ecclesiastical office. Both the influence of Spinoza and the number of his disciples were probably greater, at least in the Netherlands, than they are usually estimated to have been; among the latter, he who exercised the widest influence on the theological world, was a physician named Lewis Meyer, by means of his work: *Philosophia Scripturæ interpretres*, which passed through four editions between the years 1666 and 1676. It presents without any disguise the canon: *Quidquid rationi contrarium, illud non est credendum*. A bookseller named Fr. Cuper, who wrote a refutation of Spinoza, which many received with suspicion, declares in the preface that he had grown up in the midst of Atheists alone. B. Becker (*Kort begryp der algemeene kerkelyke historien zedert het jaar 1666 tot den jare 1684*, p. 551), furnishes the following interesting statement: “It must be confessed that the views of Spinoza have only too generally pervaded all places and all classes of men, and taken deep root—that they have taken possession of the courts of the great and empoisoned many of the best minds—and that people of a much lower rank have

thereby been seduced to Atheism; hence, the number of those is quietly increasing, who adhere to religion and the confession of faith solely from a sense of decorum(voegelykheid), being governed more by human than divine reasons." Among those theologians also, in the Netherlands, who entertained churchly sentiments, a tendency, partly of a doctrinal, partly of a critical nature, to escape from the influence of tradition, began to develop itself since that period; and here no inconsiderable influence was exercised by the literary activity of French refugees, like Bayle and Le Clerc.

We may here omit a description of the infidelity of France, which, after the middle of the century, widely prevailed simultaneously with a rude and low bigotry; it is not so much the result of *investigation* as of mere *opinion*, depends less on *arguments* than on *motives*, and assails not so much the *Scriptures* as religion and the *Church*. However pernicious its influence on polite society really was, it met with nothing but contradiction on the part of theologians.

III. *Rationalism in Germany.*—(A). *The period of illuminating reasoning, (1660–1750).* Previously to the close of the seventeenth century, the Rationalism of other countries received attention from German theologians only in individual cases. The first opponent whom *Herbert of Cherburg*, as well as Spinoza's *Tractatus*, encountered, was the excellent Musæus in his *Dissertationes* of the year 1667 and 1674. Still, the soil had been already prepared; the princes had grown weary of the endless controversies of the theologians, and Calixtus had produced a more liberal theology; besides, the Thirty Years' War had indeed, on the one hand, awakened in perhaps the larger portion of Germany, a consciousness of man's spiritual wants, but, on the other hand, it had also begotten in the lower ranks a spirit of lawlessness, and in higher grades of society, a spirit of indifference to religion and of infidelity. The influence of France, (the court of which country furnished a model for the princes and had become the goal of the nobility in their travels and also their school of refinement), operated like a pestilence on people of the world; the middle ranks, in their turn, influenced by a commercial spirit which extended its power more and more widely, were induced to substitute French manners and French luxury for the

ancient simplicity of their own country. These assaults on *principles* were, until towards the close of the century, resisted by the Lutheran Church, which boldly stood forth, as if equipped in a coat of mail. The resistance on the part of the Reformed theology was not altogether of an equally positive character. Duisburg [in which city a Reformed university existed] became the rendezvous of the Cartesians who had been expelled from other Reformed academies. Henry Hulsius defended in Duisburg (in a work entitled: *De principio cred.* 1688) the right of reason to test points of faith; in place of the *testimonium internum* he substituted the argument derived from reason as the ultimate ground of faith, and, in opposition to the established principle of centuries, maintained that theology was the "handmaid" of philosophy. The same views respecting the relation between philosophy and faith, as well as between the argument derived from reason and the testimony of the Holy Spirit, were also elsewhere advocated by Reformed theologians. The proposition that reason is the criterion of matters of faith, and that none but fanatics could appeal to a *testimonium spiritus*, was advocated by Jac. Bashuysen in his *Dissertatio de rationalitate fidei Christianæ*, Zerbst, 1727. Still, rationalistic principles made progress even in the Lutheran Church in circles that were not strictly theological. Chr. Thomasius was pre-eminently one of the earliest pioneers of those principles, even though he wavered occasionally; his efforts were made first in Leipzig, and subsequently in Halle, from 1687 to 1728. It was the avowed object of his life as an author, to *banish old prejudices* and the old "pedantry and tiresome fashions of an earlier day [Bocksbeutel]" in every department,—in Theology, philosophy, jurisprudence, history, and polite literature; he designed thus to deliver the courts of princes, the tribunals, the universities and the pulpits from all that was antiquated. The philosophical basis of this critical expurgation was professedly that adopted by a philosophical *man of the world*, as contradistinguished from every philosophical system of the *schools*, especially the Aristotelian; and its great aim was to give prominence and an efficient support to the *Useful*. The period of German Rationalism may be dated from this man, [who was a jurist], although some of its principles had long before been in active operation, when their true character was not yet recognized

and acknowledged. The authority of the Scriptures, accordingly, was in general not assailed until the closing years of the century; *the name of Rationalism was almost unknown*, and yet its fundamental principle—the autonomy of human reason—was already in full operation. The watchword of the day, not only in Theology but in every other department, till to the end of the century was “*Illumination* ;” hence a distinction—even if the lines of demarcation are sometimes indefinite—may be made between the period of this Illumination and the period of Rationalism.

Very different answers may be given to the question: Was the course of procedure adopted at this period by the Protestant theology of Germany, designed by God and acceptable to him, or was it sinful? The answer varies not only according to the theological system of the individual, but also according to his mode of conceiving of history. If human liberty is simply the form which the absolute will adopted in assuming reality or proceeding to the actual execution—if that which is imperfect cannot be developed and attain to a perfect state except through sin as the transitorial course, then, in this course of procedure, as in every other of a historical nature, (as, for instance, in the development of apostolic Christianity, which passing through Popery, appeared as the Christianity of the Reformation) that absolute will, which in wisdom governs the world, was simply executed. But, if not only subjective but also objective truth is found in the moral liberty of the individual, and if in every historical development of the human race sin is, in a greater or less degree, a co-operating agent, why should not the same occur in that development in which reason, *set free from a deeper religious state*, claims autonomy, in opposition to the Christian revelation, and with a growing consciousness of itself? On the other hand, if sin was associated only, as a co-operating agent in the history of the world, and in so far as it *rendered service*, why should not this period in which reason struggled to obtain autonomy, receive commendation as having exercised a hopeful and salutary influence? Hence this rationalistic period is not to be regarded as a mere episode in the history of Protestant theology, (as it has recently been asserted), in such a sense that the Lutheran theology, at its restoration, is now admonished to connect itself im-

mediately with the theology of the seventeenth century. Even as the Lutheran Church manifested its appreciation of history in the course which it adopted, that is, when it sought to connect itself anew, not with the apostolic but with the Catholic Church, when cleansed from its dross, in which, moreover, even behind the misty veil of Popery, the Holy Spirit had not ceased to unfold apostolic germs—so, too, that churchly Theology of the nineteenth century is alone the true system, which adopts as a part of itself, for the sake of its own progress, those treasures of scientific knowledge which came to the light of day during the period of Rationalism.

The Church presented during the seventeenth, and till the middle of the eighteenth century, two parallel series of development—on the one hand, that of a subjectively animated godliness in Pietism, on the other, that of a subjectively critical mode of reasoning on the part of the understanding; in their extreme forms both met in their opposition to the Church and her doctrine. The leaders of the Pietism of Halle were undoubtedly far from mistaking the value and validity of the church-confessions, but such was naturally the result in individual cases when the conventicle was preferred to the Church by those who mainly sought edification, when the confession of faith was assigned to the background, and the Bible and Bible doctrine continually occupied the foreground. Thus Mich. Lang, a theologian of Altdorf, who was, in other respects, a venerable man, permitted his zeal for practical religion to carry him to the point of terming the Symbolical Books “supposititious bibles” [Afterbibeln] and “sectarian books.” The authority of the Symbols had also ceased to be unconditionally acknowledged even in the case of the leaders of Pietism. Spener had experienced it to be “too hard that Christian ministers should be expected to recognize all secondary matters as divine, that, possibly, belonged to the style or delivery, or *that lay beyond the circle of the doctrines of faith*” (*Letzte theol. Bedenken*, III. 277). Not merely Joach. Lange, who groped awkwardly around, but even others allowed themselves to deviate in several particulars. Haferang of Wittenberg, a disciple of the school of Halle, in his dissertation: *De fide operosa*, 1727, finds a want of precision in the formula: *Good works proceed from faith*, and desires to substitute “*fides operosa in ipso justificationis actu* ;”

the devout Rambach, in his *Illustration* of his work *Instit. Hermen.*, teaches, in spite of the doctrine of Inspiration, that the books of the New Test. were written without any arrangement *ductu naturali*. The practical religious regard for the Scriptures gave rise even during the first generation of Halle to biblico-dogmatic manuals which disregard the terminology of the schools, such as *Breithaupt: Theol. credendorum et agendorum fundamentalis*, 1700; *Anast. Freilinghausen: Grundriss der Theologie*, 1703. The same separation which was accomplished on this side by motives connected with Christian practice, was demanded by the opposite side in view of the claims of sound reason. The unrelenting hatred of a Thomasius, of which every form of the terminology of the schools was the object, was directed especially against that of the dogmatic [doctrinal] system—that thorny field of scholasticism and Polemics. If then the pious party approved of the act of giving a subordinate position to that system, the men who were the friends of a rational progress demanded its entire removal.

We are completely taken by surprise when we perceive the audacity with which men who followed the palladium of reason, assaulted the doctrinal system of the Church, as well as the extent of their operations during the first decades of the eighteenth century; at that time, the sense of an emancipation from the ancient fetters, like new wine, produced a fermentation in the minds of men. This opposition to churchly authority had, no doubt, originally proceeded from the development of the German Church itself—that is, on the one hand, when the sound sense of men had been released from the fetters of a traditional authority, and of churchly discipline, after the guardians of the latter had, to a certain extent, been influenced by the spirit of the times, and their convictions had been shaken; on the other hand, when the subjective character of faith had taken entire possession of the soul, and the temptation to give an entirely subjective character to religion itself was not always effectually resisted. Still, external influences also added their weight; academic travels, and, pre-eminently, the numerous translations of the deistical writings of England and the rationalistic productions of Holland, had brought Naturalism into Germany. Lilienthal enumerates 46 works which were published against Atheism, 27 against Naturalism and Ra-

tionalism, and 15 against Indifferentism [the absence of all interest in religious subjects] between the years 1680 and 1720. The opposition party exhibited various grades, from the demand for a rational illumination to an absolute religious Indifferentism and a vapid Atheism. J. G. Zeidler claims that he still occupies a scriptural foundation, when he confesses that Thomasius had taught him "to abandon the parson's trade, to resign his pastorate near Leipzig, to discard the *systemata*, and to content himself with the Bible alone." His work, entitled: *The tottering parson and the firmly established teacher*, 1735, closes with the lines: "Gott und den Nächsten lieb, erkenne Dich mit Fleiss, halt deinen Lehrer werth, an Pfaffen wisch den St" The mystics who were moved by pietistic impulses, declared that the "inward spark, the inner word" was the true and proper oracle of revelation, the only religion which was free from controversy, the only standard by which any other religion could be tested; (see my [Tholuck's] *Wittenberger Theol.* p. 285.

As early as in the year 1682 a publication entitled: *Theologia, or Spiritual Dialogues, particularly on the true Trinity*," assigned the office of a judge in matters of faith, to reason and a sound understanding instead of the Bible. In 1697 Dippel, adopting the principle of "the inward word" as the guide, commenced a rationalistic criticism of the doctrines of Inspiration, the Atonement, &c. The work entitled: "*Innocent Truths, discussed in Dialogues*," 1735, declares that "free-thinking is the true freedom which Jesus Christ acquired for us, according to which even Heathens, Jews and Turks can be saved by means of a virtuous life." Löscher says in 1725 that "even teachers in their zeal discuss only love and moral edification, and overlook the danger proceeding from misguided minds." A man of the world demands in the "*Evangelical Temple of Peace*," 1725, in conjunction with Thomasius that the two confessions [the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches] should be united by the secular power, since love is the basis of all true Christianity. A work published in 1714 on "*Original Sin*," demands that, in general, ethics should be taught in place of doctrines. Edelmann commenced his "*Innocent Truths*" of 1735 with an attack on the so-called "orthodox theology

of the schools," and ended with Spinoza, that is, with the denial of the personality of God and of the immortality of the soul. The aged Löscher seems to be standing before the grave of the old period of churchly life, when he utters the following words in the preface of his periodical: *Die unschuldigen Nachrichten*, 1746: "We are indeed growing older and more feeble every year, and we can ascribe it to the goodness of God alone that we have been able during 47 years to set forth our testimony before all men, amid so much opposition. But we have daily reason to deplore that disunion and losses are increasing, and that our circumstances are continually growing worse." It seems to us as if a voice was lifted up not in the middle of the eighteenth, but rather at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Koch exclaims (in "*The strength and the weakness of the enemies of a divine revelation*," published in 1754):—"What is the lot of our divine revelation? If we must believe the fashionable science of our day, this Book is far too mean for elevated persons who possess wit and influence. They really do much already if they even take the trouble to make a jest of the language of this book, discover on every page something that deserves censure, and then surrender it to the superstition of the populace."

The opponents by whom such assaults were made, and who were in almost all cases other than theologians, bore before them the ægis of an unphilosophical sound common sense. In the meantime—after the commencement of the eighteenth century—a new philosophical system came into force, by which, on the one hand, the fermenting elements of the age were unquestionably directed into a narrow channel, but by which, on the other hand, the fundamental principle, even if it was rigidly curbed, was transferred to the very heart of theology. Of many points of the new system it could be maintained with reason that they were incompatible with the truths of the Christian faith, especially the explanation which traced evil ultimately to the limits of the Finite. Still the orthodox theology did not engage in a contest with the philosophy of Wolf in consequence of any material heterodoxies; that result was rather produced by the *principium rationis sufficientis* and the mathematical mode of demonstration founded upon the latter; for, this mode, whether employed in the service of the church doctrine, or in opposition to it, threat-

ened to introduce rationalism into theology. Here the distinction between natural and revealed theology which was introduced by Wolf, who applied his mathematical demonstration to the former alone, while the latter or faith was allowed to retain its rights, could afford no assurance of safety; for, after that separation was effected, the deistic tendencies of the times the more freely claimed the right to abandon that department to doubt which at the outset conceded that it dispensed with evidences, or proofs. It was in vain that devout and well-meaning theologians like Canz, Bilfinger, Carpzov and Daries with all the presumption of his youth, relying on the distinction made by Leibnitz between the super-rational and the anti-rational (*ratio* here being equivalent to *connexio veritatum*) undertook to prove that even in the case of the mysteries of the Christian faith, only their super-rational, but not their anti-rational character could be demonstrated; for, such a statement still seemed to concede a certain right to reason, by virtue of which her criticism, which still admitted the rationality of revelation, might soon with equal facility be applied in a manner most disadvantageous to that revelation. But the arrogance of the new tendency became a public scandal when it revealed itself in the Werthheim translation of the Bible, 1735. The preface described all the past attempts to vindicate the character of Christianity as failures, maintained that its advocates, dispensing with evidences, depended on faith alone, and asserted that when they did resolve to refute its adversaries, they had been defeated. "This result still more encouraged the other party, who now demanded the evidences with increased vehemence, and went indeed so far as to claim the victory at once, because they were not satisfied with the answer which they received, and pronounced the opposite cause to be hopelessly lost." This rational explanation of the Bible, this production of philosophic light and logical acumen, is now offered to the sorely endangered Church as her sheet-anchor. It is true that the well-known edict of 1723 commanded Wolf to withdraw from the limits of the city of Halle within 24 hours after the reception of the order, under penalty of the halter; but a change in the sentiments of the court succeeded as early as 1733, chiefly through the influence of Reinbeck; and, in 1739 the cabinet issued an order addressed to Reformed candidates for the

ministry, on the subject of the right mode of preaching. The document, of which Reinbeck wrote the introduction, directed the candidates "to establish themselves right firmly on some rational system of Logic, *for instance, the work of Professor Wolf.*" However, even if the system acquired considerable influence, it inflicted but little injury on the doctrines of the Church in a material respect; its influence extended only so far that it converted the discussion of theological questions more decidedly into a mere process of the understanding, and increased the confidence of men in such a mode of argumentation.

Hitherto the principle of illumination had only in a limited degree influenced the lectures of theological professors, and when such an influence was felt, it came in contact not with the doctrinal system of the Bible, but with that of the Church. That theologian who advanced further than others during this first half of the century, and in whom the most different tendencies of the time encountered each other, and even co-operated, although not with entire harmony, was Matth. Pfaff (professor in Tübingen 1715, in Giessen 1756, died in 1760). The wide space which he filled in his day has not yet been perceived with sufficient distinctness; it is only his *systema collegiale* [respecting church government]—an index of his mental processes—which still continues to be noticed. His studies were of the most varied character, while he was remarkable for his courtly manners. In the course of his travels he became acquainted with the eminent men of every country distinguished for literary culture, and with men, too, of every creed. The editor of his works (Vol. I. 9) remarks that the latter circumstance elevated him "far above the prejudice of authority." He is thus described by one of his opponents (Works. II. 20).—"His temperament is the choleric-sanguine, and he is by nature inclined most of all *ad Scepticismum et Libertinismum*. He has a tendency *ad Galantismum et Singularismum*, and is furthest of all removed from *Pedantismus*." He exhibits a sound and clear judgment combined with great powers of observation, in his discourses *De vitiis eorum, qui sacris operantur*, 1719, and, *De academiis rite instituendis*, 1721. The influence of Pietism gave a practical Christian basis to his doctrinal and ethical writings, and when he decides on that which is fundamental in religion, he is governed by the influence which the doctrines

may exercise on a Christian mind, and by the degree in which a Christian people can understand them (*Instit.* p. 26). The controlling canon, also, of Biblical Theology—the doctrine of inspiration—is modified by him, inasmuch as he distinguishes different degrees: *suggestio* in doctrines, *directio* in historical matter, the individual liberty of the writer in subjects in which faith is not interested. Such views of the incongruous relations existing between theology and religion were naturally very favorable to those unionistic tendencies which in his day presented themselves to the public in all their force. Not less than 25 unionistic controversial writings on the Reformed side, and 140 on the Lutheran side appeared between the years 1719 and 1722. Pfaff's "*Solemn Address to the Protestants*," 1720, in combination with an article written by his colleague Klemm, operated so powerfully in favor of the matter of the union, that the *Corpus Evangelicorum* was on the point of proclaiming the union of the two Protestant churches and investing it with the sanction of the law.

B. *The Period of the illuminating historical Criticism* (from 1750 to 1800). Theology, and indeed science and art generally, about the middle of the century exhibited a mummy-like aridity—their prominent feature was that of an abstract, inanimate rationality. The churchly agents, Pietism and Orthodoxy, which had engaged in an active contest after the appearance of Spener, had become dull, and were in a state of exhaustion. The last representatives of the second generation of the Halle Pietists, in whom indeed the decay was already apparent, were now dead—John H. Michaelis, 1738, and Joach. Lange, 1744; Gotth. Francke survived till 1770. So, too, the last standard-bearers of the stricter form of orthodoxy had disappeared—Wernsdorf, 1729; Cyprian, 1745; Löscher, 1749. Wolf had returned to Halle in 1740, without, however, being greeted with the applause of his earlier years. He died in 1754, having uttered the following complaint, several years already before his death: "I must repeat the lamentation of Confucius, *Doctrina mea contemnitur*, but I cannot add the words, *Abeamus hinc*, until God shall transfer me from this world to another in which truth prevails." Gottsched still held the sceptre in Polite Literature. The literature of the day, including that of theology, exhibited extensive knowledge, the living soul

of which had disappeared. "Nearly all the clergymen," says Crenius, now devote themselves to the collection of curiosities, coins and medals." The sails were spread, but no healthful breeze expanded them. The new impulse proceeded from Criticism when it was restored to consciousness, and the effect was perceived first in the department of History, then, in that of Philosophy.

It is undoubtedly true that Thomasius labored in the cause of historical as well as of philosophical illumination, and that in his writings, particularly in his *Observationes Halenses*, he employed the weapons of Criticism against real or supposed errors in universal and in Church History. Still, the weapons were simply those of rational argumentation with which the theology of the Church had been assailed before and during the age of Wolf. The new tendency, on the other hand, acquired its real strength and a permanent significance in the history of theology through the historico-critical element which now came into operation. The traditional assumptions in Biblical and Ecclesiastical history, in Archæology and Geography, and in Biblical criticism and philosophy, were now subjected to a thorough critical investigation, and data were brought to light which had not been previously noticed. The results were of such a nature that even one who was unfriendly to them could not evade their force; it consequently became an indispensable duty, in every department of theology, to reconstruct the earlier forms in which knowledge had been imparted, even though the philosophical illumination of those times may be considered as having long since become powerless. At the same time it cannot be denied that it was a spurious interest in doctrinal truth, and one which had no deep religious basis, that imparted to these historical investigations all their motive power; hence many of the results have since been found to be untenable, although many others have been shown to be historically demonstrated, and have been made available even for doctrinal systems of an entirely opposite character and tendency.

It was in this field of labor also that the Deism of England had acted as a pioneer, and presented certain deductions which could not be despised. Toland, Collins, Tindal and Bolingbroke asserted that we cannot rely on

the present canon of Scripture—that the large number of apocryphal writings, of which so many had been acknowledged by the church-fathers, give rise to well-founded suspicions—that many passages in the Gospels were confessedly spurious—that the period in which our canon originated, was favorable to “pious frauds”—that the sacred writings of the Jews had perished during the Babylonish Captivity. Hobbes presents detailed arguments against the genuineness of the Pentateuch; Collins, against the credibility of the narratives of the Pentateuch, to which Morgan, further ascribes a rhetorically extravagant and dramatic style. One of the pillars of the historic argument—the prophecies—is rudely shaken by Collins, who maintains that when the respective passages of the Old Testament are interpreted in a sensible manner, they refer to matters entirely different from those to which they are applied in the New Testament; he adds that only one prophet, Daniel, furnishes definite predictions, and even these do not refer to Christ but to certain political events, and that, accordingly, they were really written *post eventum*. A more firm historical foundation was assumed by the historical exegesis and the historical and biblical criticism of the Arminians, Episcopius, Curcellæus, Wettstein and Clericus, whose works continue to exercise an influence to the present times.—It was Semler, in Germany, who assailed hereditary assumptions and views in the whole field of biblical and historical criticism, such as the biblical text, the force of proof-passages heretofore generally admitted, the genuineness of certain books in the sacred volume,—and he shook the foundation of many views respecting points in the history of the church and its doctrines, which are now universally received. This criticism may have been then rude and boisterous; nevertheless, the traces which Semler discovered have since been still more fully investigated, and certainly *at that time* confidence in the doctrinal system of the Church was rudely shaken.

A new impulse was given to the spirit of investigation. In nearly all the universities and in the ranks of the clergy, the subjects of biblical criticism and exegesis, and the history of the Church and its doctrines were enriched by new investigations and discoveries. In Halle Semler obtained in his colleague Gruner, a fellow-laborer of kindred sentiments; with respect to the other univer-

sities, we will mention only the following: In Leipzig, Ernesti flourished, cautious and prudent in his progress; professor of Theology 1759; J. D. Michaelis, *ordin. theol.* 1750; in Jena, Griesbach, 1775; Döderlein, 1782; Eichhorn, 1775; in Helmstedt, Henke, 1778; in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, O. Töllner, 1765; Steinhart, 1774. Not one doctrine remained which was not reconstructed in accordance with the dominant illumination; the means were critico-historical discoveries and results which were obtained by assuming an illuminated point of view. The avowed object of all was simply illumination, not the abrogation of the authority of the Scriptures; even the authority of the Church is still sustained by Semler, although he proceeded in his own peculiar way. He avowed that, for the purpose of maintaining ecclesiastical union, the doctrinal system of the Church should not be changed nor even touched—that untrammelled investigation was only a private right of learned theologians—and that the adjustment of the two opposite interests lay in the exhibition of the doctrine of the Church and the Bible solely for the purpose of “moral reform,” and that this doctrine should be interpreted in harmony with such a purpose, according to the judgment of the individual. So abstract was the distinction between religion and theology which Semler had learned in the school of Baumgarten and firmly maintained, that to him doctrinal truth was nothing else than the unsettled, subjective reflection of piety. When a certain reviewer asked him whether he no longer knew of any objective truth, he replied: “Objective truth does, indeed, exist; but, whether we have approached nearer to, or departed further from it, is, and always will continue to be a different question, and always *must continue* to be different, precisely because it is a moral judgment.”*

The theological literature of England and the Netherlands exercised a considerable influence in German theology during this second half of the century, and that influence increased during the succeeding decades, particularly in the department of critico-historical investigation. The writings of the two Arminian celebrities, Wettstein and Clericus, were universally revered and studied by theologians; Semler expressly admits the great extent of his obligations to the Arminians. Every important work pub-

*Vorbereitung auf die königliche grossbritännische Aufgabe von der Gottheit Christi, 1789, p. 59.

lished in England was noticed in the *Acta eruditorum*, the *Neue Büchersaal*, Hoffmann's *Aufrichtige und unparteiische Nachrichten*, &c., and especially in Baumgarten's *Nachrichten von einer Halle'schen Bibliothek*. In the year 1760 fifty-four answers to Toland's *Discourse: Christianity not mysterious* had already appeared, and one hundred and six answers to Tyndal's work: *Christianity as old as the Creation*. Various biographies belonging to this period contain confessions respecting the deep impression which these writings made.

The illuminated theology could not, however, have openly appeared with such freedom, if the reins of church discipline, which were controlled by the State, had not, precisely at this period, been held very loosely. In some Protestant States, as in Hanover and Electoral Saxony, they were still held with a certain degree of strictness. But the Prussian government, after the accession of Frederick II. in 1740, had given to the other States an example of toleration in the widest sense of the word. It undoubtedly still continued to be the duty of the imperial attorney-general to bring a case before the imperial tribunal, when local authorities had failed to do their duty. But various States of the empire had already adopted laws of their own, respecting the censorship of the press; even the little territory of Wittgenstein-Berleburg had ventured to defy the imperial commands, and to offer an asylum to heterodoxy in all its forms; and when in 1790 the electoral agreement of Leopold II. received the clause: "that no publication shall be tolerated which did not agree with the symbolical books of the two churches," Prussia presented a special protest.

While the development of the historical element of illumination was advancing, the philosophical element was consolidating and systematizing its principles. The latter had been the reasoning subject; it had pronounced judgment on religious objects according to its subjective pleasure, and had, in the case of Thomasius, substituted the criterion of *utility* for that of *truth*. But the philosophic interest now turned more and more decidedly to the *subject* rather than to the *object*; empiric Psychology was now cultivated with special attention, and all that continued to be interesting in the *object*, was its relation to the *subject*, that is, its *utility*. Basedow now maintained in his *Philalethie*,

neue Aussichten in die Wahrheiten und Religion der Vernunft (1763, 2 vols.) that philosophy had no other aim than to "set forth such knowledge as would be useful to all," and thus promote human happiness; the criterion of truth was declared to be "the necessity to assent to a truth in order that our mental processes might conform to our happiness." Even when this subjectivism assumed such a distinct form, and plainly appeared to be subversive of all religion, theology was not sufficiently alarmed to withhold its sanction from it; Eudæmonism found a theological advocate, first, in Steinbart (in his *Glückseligkeitslehre des Christenthums*, 1778), and then in one of those men to whom *motives* were of more moment than *reasons*—in Bahrdt.

C. *The Period of Philosophical Criticism* (1780–1800). After the philosophy of Wolf had, with the exception of a small band of faithful adherents, lost its influence, systematic philosophy, as a power, was paralyzed in Germany. That eclectic popular philosophy which had taken the place of the latter, and the representatives of which were also those of Illumination, namely, Mendelssohn, Garve, Sulzer, Meiners, Platner—next, the popularizing philosophy of Wolf as adopted by Reinhard, Joh. Fr. Flatt, Jehnichen—and, lastly, Eudæmonism—all these encountered the postulates of sound common sense; so far the theology of Illumination could with reason appeal to philosophy as its pillar and foundation. But now Kant came forward, "the man who crushes all," whose philosophical criticism shows that supersensual cognition does not advance beyond experience, and that its religious truths can be defended only in the character of postulates of practical reason. The popular philosophy must concede to the criticism of the evidences of the existence of God, the point of which it had already had an inward conviction, namely, that it cannot consistently lay claim to more than *probability*. Its ethical system, which is altogether subjective, is expected to admit that morality can only exist when *authority*, independently of all subjective motives, has decided. Theology is expected to admit that religion has no other purpose than that of extending the dominion of ethics under the veil of religious conceptions. Any powerful current of feeling of great extent can, however, always assimilate to itself even very heterogeneous elements; hence, a critical system which presented so striking a con-

trast to the self assurance of sound common sense, was nevertheless compelled to render services in sustaining the dominant theology of illumination. The three Kantian *postulates* of *practical* reason were converted into hypotheses of *theoretic* reason—the objective categorical imperative was changed into the subjective voice of conscience, and that “ethics are the main point in religion,” was a proposition which men supposed that they had long since supported. While one division of the illuminated theology, represented in the *Allgemeine Bibliothek* of Nicolai, acted against the Kantian philosophy, and represented it as only dealing in subtleties and mysticism, the other division attempted to clothe itself with the new garment, without perceiving that the latter in its fashion or cut was different from that which was formerly worn. The only exceptions were a few men who possessed a higher degree of sagacity, such as Chr. Ehrh. Schmidt, Vogel, Tieftrunk, and Stäudlin also, in his earlier years.

D. *The period of “vulgar” rationalism (1800–1814).* The position which that theology occupied which prevailed at the close of the last, and at the commencement of the present century, was of the following character. The Bible, *when rationally explained*, was still regarded as a written instrument that set forth a rational religion and system of ethics. Still, the more rapid the progress was, which was made in the so-called *historical Exegesis*, the more plainly the discrepancy was perceived between the original historical sense of the Bible, on the one hand, and the rational truths, on the other, which were deduced from, or obtruded on it. If Semler had already observed that a large portion of the Bible doctrine bore somewhat of a “Judaizing” character, this circumstance was even less likely to be suppressed, when rabbinic literature was studied with new interest; Doederlein had expressed the well-founded opinion that this literature would contribute far more largely to a correct interpretation than the study of the Classics. Now when the discrepancy just mentioned, was perceived, the remedy which offered itself lay, in accordance with the example given by Arminianism, and very often followed by Semler, in the principle of *Accommodation* (see Obs. on Wetstein’s work: *Ad crisin et interpr. N. T.*, as well as his *Appar. ad lib. N. T. interpr.*) As those Jewish traits appeared in the entire doctrinal system of the Bible, they were, in their whole

extent, subjected to this principle of Accommodation, and the Messianic views which occur in the discourses of Jesus, were also here included. The quotations from the Old Testament which are found in the New Test. first led to doubts concerning the correctness of this mode of interpretation. The reviewer of Hartmann's *Urchristenthum* in Gabler, 1803 (Journal f. theol. Liter. 1 St. p. 117) exclaims: "If only Jesus had not pointed with such earnestness to passages of the old Testament!" "The theologians," continues the same reviewer, "had originally contended against Accommodation, in order to save at least the letter; then Accommodation prevailed, and the cause of Illumination appeared to have gained a complete victory; but now Accommodation is rejected in order that the proof might be more easily furnished that Jesus had deceived himself in the conception and expectations which he entertained respecting himself." When Jesus therefore considered himself to be the Promised One of the Old Test. the whole was *self-delusion*. An essay entitled: "*Jesus, as he lived and taught,*" and published in Gabler's *Neust. Journal*, vol. 5, p. 118, states the point thus:—"The more closely he examined the spirit of his times, so much the more clearly he perceived, that *that* exalted messenger of the Deity must *soon* appear; and now, how easily the thought could occur to him: "Perhaps thou thyself art this Elect One of God;" thus he applied all the prophecies of the Old Test. to himself." In this mode the whole series of those accommodations: "the Resurrection and the Judgment, the future coming, the doctrine concerning angels and Satan," was now removed from the place which it had hitherto occupied in the category of cases of wise and kind condescension to Jewish infirmity; the series was now transferred to the "excusable errors," that is, excusable "for the sake of their great purpose." Hitherto, the moral character of Jesus had been conceded to be sinless and unassailable. But Riem had proposed the inquiry as early as 1794, whether such a delusive accommodation for good purposes, as had hitherto been assumed, was not a moral weakness; the essay entitled: "*John and Jesus,*" and published in Gabler's *Journ. f. theol. Lit.* 1802, vol. 6. p. 438, asks the question: "Was Jesus an enthusiast?" the answer is thus given: "I do not take exception to the name, provided that it be not employed as a watch-

word for folly of every kind." Another essay, entitled: "*On Jesus, his own character and that of his religion*," and published in Riem's work: *Das reine Christenthum*, 1794, is intended to show that many other moral weaknesses may be pointed out in Jesus. Lorenz Bauer concedes (*Bibl. Theol.* II. 248) that John the Baptist considered Jesus to be sinless, but, at the same time, he asks the question: "But would Jesus himself have affirmed this of himself?"

What means were now left for vindicating the supernatural character of the Christian religion and the Person of Christ? Could an appeal be made to either of those two proofs of a supernatural revelation, the validity of which had so long been admitted—Miracles and Prophecy? But Semler was already convinced that those alleged prophecies referred to matters entirely distinct from the history of Jesus. The miracles had been regarded, since the last decades of the eighteenth century, as natural events, it is true, and only clothed in garments furnished by an oriental imagination; as, however, the facts themselves were very extraordinary and very numerous, they furnished sufficient evidence of a special guidance of Providence; and, as such, they confirmed, in the opinion of Gabler and others, the divine authority of Jesus (*Journ. f. anserl. theol. Lit.* 1807, vol. 3. p. 420, vol. 5. p. 618). But the mode of assigning natural causes for the miracles began to be regarded with increasing doubt towards the beginning of the century. The arguments which may be adduced against it are already very judiciously stated by the reviewer of Eck's *Wundergeschichten* in the theological Journal, of von Ammon, Höhnlein, 1795. The narratives in the Old Test. respecting divine covenants were declared by Wilh. Meyer to be *myths*, in a *Dissertation* of 1797; the same appellation was given to the history of the childhood of Moses in Gabler's *Neuest. Journ.* 1799. vol. 2. In Henke's *Museum*, 1802, vol. 6. p. 439, the following remark is made respecting the ascension of Christ: "When the Evangelist wrote, Jesus had already been removed from the real world; hence a poetic fancy could easily invest his deeds with *imaginary glory*." In 1800 Lorenz Bauer published a *Hebrew Mythology* of the Old and New Testaments. And, in general, even those who, like Gabler, appealed to the miracles of Jesus as evidences of a particular Providence of God, did not

attempt to deny that the high antiquity of those events rendered it impossible to arrive at any positive results respecting their true character.

Under such circumstances Riem had drawn the following inference as early as 1794 (*loc. cit.* p. 1. xxxv): "The advocates of a pure religion of reason have already been very successful, inasmuch as the best theologians are uniting with them, and those of the most recent date pay a tribute of honor by also approximating to them. *It is already settled that reason is competent to decide as the ultimate tribunal, and it may be readily conceived that she will not decide against herself.*" The author of an anonymous publication entitled: "*Candid and free reflections on dogmatic tenets, on miracles and revelations,*" 1792, says: "The truth of a doctrine has a foundation of its own. If the doctrine need not dread an investigation on the part of reason, if it by no means contradicts those principles which have been established as perfectly reliable by the results of the reflection and experience of all rational men,—then it is a true doctrine, and no worker of miracles will be able to prove the contrary." Krug shows still more thoroughly and minutely, in his *Letters on the Perfectibility of Revealed Religion* (1795) that the truth set forth by Christianity is not less an evanescent point of history than all philosophical systems. "Let it not be said that only a perfect revelation could proceed from God. *There is no perfect revelation, but the knowledge which holy men were to communicate to their contemporaries is developed precisely as in the case of other men, and therefore necessarily corresponded to the circumstances of any particular case and to the sum of the moral and religious wisdom, which was, in this respect attainable.*" The penalty at that time, in Electoral Saxony, of such an unreserved renunciation of a positive revelation, was the suppression of the book. It was otherwise in Prussia, where, in 1799, "*Letters missive of certain heads of families of the Jewish religion,*" were addressed to Teller, inquiring whether he would be disposed to receive them into the Church without demanding of them a positive Christian faith. The philanthropic Chief Assessor of the Consistory replied that *something* indeed that was positive, such as Baptism and the Lord's Supper, must necessarily be demanded of them—that, however, no other new yoke should be imposed upon them

—and, that they should be received into the Church without hesitation, if they acceded to the following confession: “I baptize thee on thy confession of Christ as the founder of a more spiritual and *gladdening* religion than that of the congregation to which thou hast hitherto belonged.”

And now, when the concluding years of the former century had brought with them a change of the religious basis, the new name of *Rationalism* began to be occasionally heard—employed, at first, not so much by friends as by *opponents*. Numerous essays discussed the question whether the mere religion of reason could be deemed sufficient. Among those who assumed the negative, we find men like Gabler who (in *Theol. Journ.* 1802. vol. 2) represented *Rationalism*, which involved a denial of the authority of Scripture, as the antagonist of *Protestantism*. But *this* Protestantism held to the authority of the Scriptures by a tie which had, in the mean time, become so slight, that it could no longer be recognized; it now maintained that this authority of the Scriptures must be restricted to *practical* truths, to the exclusion of those that are theoretical, which too plainly betray their local and temporary character,—and, that this authority cannot be sustained by the miracles that are related, as these are too remote in point of time to admit of irrefragable proof, but only by those extraordinary and providential occurrences which seem to constitute their true historical basis (*loc. cit.* p. 270; *Journ. f. auserl. theol. Lit.* vol. 5. p. 617.)

After Rationalism had thus become conscious of the relation which it essentially sustained to revelation, the duty which had already at an earlier period devolved upon it, now claimed fulfilment still more urgently, namely, that of acquiring a clear view of *its own fundamental principle*; that claim was also enforced by an external impulse. Rationalism had so far permitted its head to repose without suspicion on the bosom of each philosophic system, as it successively appeared—the philosophy of Wolf, the popular philosophy, and Criticism—and had assigned to each the office of a body-guard at its cradle. But when *speculative* systems, like those of Fichte and Schelling, respectively, came forward, that defensive alliance became an impossibility for each party. The haughty consciousness of power on the part of these systems dis-

dained to fraternize with the superficial mode of reasoning adopted by sound common sense; but, on the other hand, the sound common sense of Rationalism looked with dread on the abyss of this *mystic enthusiasm*; its hereditary sentiments of reverence were dismayed at the view of the *atheism* of such a troop. Gabler had the courage to enter the lists (in his Journals), with religious indignation, against the atheistic Idealism of Fichte and Forberg, as well as against Schelling's pantheistic doctrine of Identity. The character of that unphilosophical reason which ventured to engage in this contest had been exhibited with equal severity and skill by Fichte, as early as the commencement of the century, in his *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*, 1794, pp. 52, 61. "The sense of this third age is the *ordinary*, sound common sense, which the age receives, as a paternal inheritance without toil or trouble, and which is connate like its hunger and thirst; that sense the age now applies as a true and sufficient standard in estimating all that exists and that exercises authority." So, too, Goethe (*Aus meinem Leben*, II. p. 142) describes that period: "Philosophy was therefore *common sense*, which, after more or less practice, ventured to approach universal things, and to pronounce a final judgment on inner and outer experiences." These sensible people were named in Schelling's terminology "*the ordinary people*."—In the mean time, however, a new system had presented itself, under the shadow of which this sorely reviled sound common sense could find a place of repose, and also a renewal of its life and strength. The cause which had converted the soil of Illumination into such an arid steppe of sand, lay in its flight from all the spheres of *immediate* life, from feeling and imagination, from enthusiasm and geniality; their place was to be supplied by a meagre and bald intelligence; the calculations of Probabilism, as made by the understanding, were presented as the sole security even for the most momentous truths. It was now that Jacobi came forward with a system which met the most ingenious arguments by exhibiting the *immediateness* of feeling as the higher power, and by opposing *faith* to knowledge. It is true that here sound common sense might again have somewhat dreaded the jugglery of mysticism; still, in every case in which Rationalism continued to be united with devout sentiments, and considered God to be more than

“a probable hypotheis” (Garve), the true basis of that conviction was, accordingly, not the reasoning of the understanding—it was solely faith, the immediate feeling. Hence rationalism in its more devout forms did not find an alliance with this new system to be altogether unendurable. If, therefore, reason had hitherto been represented as simply a capacity for forming intelligent judgments and conclusions, Gabler, who, in general, endeavored to investigate such questions more profoundly than other rationalistic theologians, now described the basis of the religious ideas of reason as consisting in “a feeling of necessitation with primitive declarations of universal reason.” (Journ. f. anserl. theol. Lit. vol. 5, p. 25, &c.) The same practico-religious consciousness of certain wants, which, in opposition to the annihilating antinomies of Kant, refused to resign God and immortality, from this period speaks, in addition to the reasoning of the understanding, of a “faith of reason” also. To this course an apparent support was given even by Kant, when he declared that he had circumscribed the boundaries of knowledge for the purpose of affording more scope to *faith*; still more efficient aid was afforded by Semi-Kantians like Bouterweck, who assumes a *feeling of truth*, a *faith of truth* as the basis from which the ideas of reason proceed. This is the basis of the definitions which Bretschneider and Wegscheider furnish of Reason and Understanding: “*Reason* is the faculty which deduces ideas from immediate consciousness without discursive action; *Understanding*, the faculty which demonstrates and illustrates them.”

Rationalism had accordingly, since the commencement of the century, risen above the earlier, meagre, illuminating understanding; this process became still more decided after the philosophy of Fries had produced even an opposition between reason and the understanding by its doctrine concerning faith and presentiment, and after that philosophy had found a theological representative in de Wette, whose intellect was as lofty as his character was noble. Still the original color and character of the stream of rationalism as it proceeded from its fountain, could long be recognized even to the third decade, and amid the wider current which the influences of the nineteenth century had produced. Thus, the abstract intelligence of

Nicolai and Teller re-appears in Röhr and Paulus, of whom the latter renews Eck's and Hezel's mode of explaining the miracles; so too, the cloudy syncretism of Semler, and specially, of Gabler, recurs in Bretschneider and Wegscheider. The great fault of the *Institutiones* of the last mentioned, consists, in a scientific point of view, in a certain inability to state his conceptions distinctly, and, in his dread of positive statements. He had said: "*In rebus gravissimis ad religionem et honestatem pertinentibus convenire omnes gentes.*" Hase replied by asking whether any one who understood the history of philosophy would assent to this proposition; Wegscheider's defence consists in the insertum of a timid "*fere omnes.*" When the earlier evidences of the existence of God are exhibited, they encounter the resistance of the Kantian antinomies; then the concession is made that, when presented singly, they are not sufficient to demonstrate the point—but *they do this when all are combined!* Hahn pronounces Deism and Naturalism to be essentially the same; against this statement Wegscheider indignantly protests, on the ground that rationalism certainly assents to the fact of a revelation—in so far, namely, "as God endowed the founder of the Christian revelation internally with eminent gifts of the Spirit, and furnished him externally, in his life, with eminent proofs of his providence!" (comp. §12.)

That cloudy syncretism which has already been mentioned, extended still more widely when the mongrel forms of rational supranaturalism and of supernatural Rationalism came forward; for it is to be observed that since the commencement of the century, together with the name of Rationalism the opposite party-name of *Supranaturalism* came into use. It is not strictly just that, since the days of Hegel, these two have been described as twin brothers. The name of Supranaturalism was intended to designate an antithesis to reason, after the latter had become autonomic; it unquestionably defines the biblico-churchly faith only in one of its aspects,—still, this aspect is the one which at that time directly constituted the main point of difference. It is also true that many of those who assented to *this* antithesis, were not fully conscious of the vitality of the dogmatic antithesis in anthropology and soteriology. Nevertheless, this circumstance does not justify us in placing this Supranaturalism, in general, (which,

even when debilitated, still adhered to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity,) on the same footing with Rationalism. It found, beyond the precincts of the theological schools, adherents, who possessed faith and spiritual life, and who, indeed, precisely on account of their active life of faith, were compelled to bear the name of Mystics, which the theologians of the schools imposed upon them; such men were Hamann, Claudius, Lavater and Stilling. But very venerable theologians also, as representatives of faith, belonged to the Supranaturalists—in Wuertemberg, Storr and J. F. Flatt—in Dresden, Reinhard, who in his admirable Reformation-sermon, delivered on the confines of the two centuries (1800), discusses the theme: “*How much our Church has reason never to forget that she owes her existence primarily to the restoration of the doctrine of the free grace of God in Christ.*” Whoever reads the admirable statements of this revered man on his own Supranaturalism, in the ninth letter of his “*Confessions*” [respecting his sermons and his education as a preacher] cannot entertain a doubt that his faith in the truth which this sermon defends, was founded not merely on his respect for the authority of the Church, but also on the experience of his heart. Nevertheless, the majority of those Supranaturalists are really liable to the reproach of being deficient in a deeper insight into Christian truth; and even de Wette found occasion, in his criticism of Reinhard’s *System der christlichen Moral* to animadvert on the author’s want of a deeper insight into the sinfulness of man.

When the second decade of the century commenced, the few and feeble voices which had advocated this Supranaturalism had become silent, and Rationalism stood alone on the field of battle as the victor, if we except a brief and bloodless feud to which the “*Confessions*” of Reinhard (1810) had given rise. After it ceased, all again became tranquil. In the history of even British theology the question is one of deep interest:—Whence did that revolution originate, since the beginning of the century, when the dominion of latitudinarianism and deism in all the denominations ceased, and a positive tendency succeeded, which lost even the remembrance of the period that preceded it?—The question is not satisfactorily answered in Lechler’s *History of Deism*. But the same question awakens a still deeper interest when it refers to German

theology, inasmuch as the dominion of Rationalism was far more widely extended, and the forces which had been employed in sustaining it, were far more numerous and important. The Church was to experience once more the truth of the saying: "Man does not live by the bread alone which learned men crumble into the dish." It was the voice of thunder heard from the battle-fields of Leipzig and Waterloo that first roused the German people; then were the first sparks of life enkindled, and as the Church was gradually renovated under such an influence, a renovation of theology succeeded. Till to the year 1825 the contest continued to be maintained in the sphere of the school—a series of controversial writings against Rationalism appeared, among which those of Tittmann and Sartorius (*"Beiträge zur Rechtgläubigkeit"*) are the most important. The new ordinances and appointments of the Prussian Government in the Church and in the school—the commemoration of the Reformation in 1817, and, in connection with it the "controversy of the Kiel Theses" [Claus Harms]—the Leipzig Disputation of 1825—the Evangelical Church Journal [Kirchenzeitung] since 1828—all these circumstances showed that the sovereignty of Rationalism was at an end. The Theses of Harms had hurled the thunder-bolt of excommunication against the religion of reason—the Leipzig Disputation had had the courage to summon the Rationalists to withdraw voluntarily from the Church—the Evangelical Church Journal had ventured in 1830 to demand, in the name of the Church, the deposition of rationalistic professors. It was still a little flock which maintained this struggle, but they operated at different points in the German Church, and were partially protected by the ægis of the Governments. In a wider field, that is, among the educated classes, the rationalistic mode of thought was destined to be displaced by one that was favorable to a positive faith. The theology of Schleiermacher, warmed by the breath of the newly awakened life, had assumed the form in which it is presented in his *Glaubenslehre* (1821); his system, after being freed from all material intermeddling of worldly science, deduces Christian doctrine solely from the immediate Christian consciousness, of which that doctrine now appears as the reflection. The author constructed his doctrinal propositions without the admixture of other subjects, and thus avoided every conflict with philosophy

and historical criticism, while his only postulate was Christian experience. Such a system naturally presented strong attractions to all those who had been prevented from adopting the faith of the Church by the results of the secular sciences, of philosophy, of historical criticism and of the natural sciences. Thus the numbers of those in the ranks of educated men increased who recognized in the *feelings* the maternal soil of religion, in *religion* itself an original want of the mind which was supplied, and in the *Church* the guardian of an unalienable holy treasure of mankind. The period had passed by, in which faith was deemed to be incompatible with intellectual culture. Possibly Fichte and Schelling may also be regarded as having aided, even if in an inconsiderable degree, in effecting this change. Rationalism ventured to engage in its last contest on the field of science after the appearance of Hase's *Hutterus redivivus*. In this work, a theologian trained in the schools of modern times, transports himself with historic interest and with affection back to the age of the old churchly system, and attempts a vindication of it in the spirit of the latest age. The head of the established church of Weimar cannot remain silent when such a misdeed is committed in his immediate vicinity, and Röhr accordingly appears (in his periodical styled *Predigerbibliothek*) before the public in 1833 as the assailant of Hase's widely extended book; but the choice of the weapons which he employed in his criticism already indicated their impotence. The three collections of controversial writings in which the author of *Hutterus* replied, may be viewed as the last decisive blow which descended on the head of the old rationalism. Now, at a time when philosophic speculation had attained to its greatest elevation, Rationalism is compelled to make the confession in the periodical just named, that *that* reason, on which it was established, was undoubtedly not that "of any sophistical system of philosophy indiscriminately" but rather "*that of every cultivated rational being*,"—that is to say, of sound common sense. After this period the term "*vulgar Rationalism*" came into use, to which Röhr is not able to take any exception, unless that the predicate "*common*" would have a more respectable sound.

E. *Philosophical Rationalism*. During this whole period a more decided need which reason experienced, had

turned for relief to philosophy rather than to theological rationalism. What system could afford this relief in the highest degree, and thus prove itself to be one which, without any presuppositions at the outset, brought forth all truth by means of dialectic formal movements, and demonstrated to the objective world that it was simply the result of logical categories? But this monism of thought was now required to demonstrate the spirit in the objective world, in order to find itself again in it. This task it performed also within the domain of religion. Although religion takes up thought only in the imperfect form of conception, which does not fully correspond to the truth, the system found in the highest grade of religion, in Christianity, unity of form and contents, the adequate expression of philosophic truth, and, therefore, also in the doctrines of the Church; the justification of these doctrines consisted in their transfer from the form of conception to the form of thought. If the reasoning of rationalism against the theoretic doctrine was obliged to place itself in a negative relation, in order to find it again in the moral doctrine, the enriched speculative reason found itself again in the totality of the doctrine. But this conscious or unconscious self-delusion could succeed only in the crisis of the first paroxysm of speculative enthusiasm. The treatise of Strauss: "*Hegel on the evangelical History*" (in the third number of his controversial writings) and his "*Dogmatik*" (1840) constitute the beginning of the descending movement of speculative rationalism, of which the first stage is formed by Strauss himself. It is shown that that assumption of an adequate relation between the form and the contents in the Christian religion is unauthorized and only made in favor of the latter, and, that the connection between the speculative and the Christian mode of contemplating the mundane is excessively slight—indeed, one that disappears when specially sought out.—The second stage succeeds. The young Hegelian school reaches the result that thought can be aided by philosophy alone, and that religion can satisfy merely a practical want, specially one that is *egoistic*,—according to Feuerbach, Biedermann and Zeller; the last one, however, is free from moral blemishes. This entire change of views respecting the very being of religion, indicates a change in the philosophic point of view. The monism of thought is now discovered to be an illusion. "Are not the telescope of the astronomer, the microscope of the naturalist, the hammer of the geologist, fully as much the legitimate

means of acquiring knowledge, as the logical necessity of thought?" This is the question which Feuerbach proposes—the inductive proof takes the place of the deductive proof. Ruge commenced a periodical designed to advocate the newly developed intellectual tendency, and styled, first, "*die Hallischen*," subsequently, "*die deutschen Jahrbücher*" (from 1838 to 1843); during the period of its publication the third stage of philosophical rationalism was disclosed. The old Berlin Hegelianism, (as represented in the Berlin *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*) is now exposed to the most wanton derision as the period of the Old Testament, of the old fashioned pigtail, of professional philosophy. For the second time a period of sound common sense—fecundated by the newest philosophy—is proclaimed, as the only one that is legitimate. "It is an established fact that we have been brought to such a pass, that philosophy and a professorship are absolute contradictions, insomuch that it is a specific criterion of a philosopher, when a man is not a professor of philosophy, and, conversely, *that it is a specific criterion of a professor of philosophy, when a man is not a philosopher.*" — "The new period of philosophy begins with the *incarnation* of philosophy. Hegel belongs to the *Old Testament* of the new philosophy."—"Only a flowing philosophy, or *that* philosophy which ceases to be a fixed and unchanging system, is the philosophy of life and of the future." (Comp. *Deutsche Jahrb.* 1842, No. 40). Philosophy must cease to be *systematic*, in order that, after it has become flowing, it may become the common property of the mass. "Besides, the formidable question of *Communism* has, without doubt, penetrated to the ears, if not to the hearts, of our sages. The fact that the populace philosophizes, and still more, the manner in which this is done, inspires terror. Raise up that populace, or, better still, consider in your own hearts, the mode in which it is to be raised up. This is one of the practical problems, the solution of which will teach the best means of escaping the violent overthrow of the old system, namely, by constructing the system on the new consciousness. Or, do you rather wish to shoot down the populace, if the thought should occur to them, to return the blows which they now endure? Certainly not—neither would it be practicable. *Mankind is immortal, and just as immortal is its right to itself and to its own conception. Liberty has not received a more real task than that of elevating all men to the dignity of man, and with this task the*

world must be occupied until it be fully performed." (Comp. Deutsche Jahrb. 1843, No. 3). The fruit of this rationalism of sound common sense was—the year 1848.

Authorities: *Stäudlin, Geschichte des Rationalismus und Supranaturalismus*. (—in every respect unsatisfactory). —*Saintes, Histoire du Rationalisme*, 1841 (—without sufficient insight into the subject).—My own [Tholuck's] *Vermischte Schriften* II. "*Geschichte der Umwälzung der Theologie seit 1750.*"—*Hagenbach, Geschichte des 18. u. 19. Jahrhunderts*. 2 Thl. 3. Aufl. 1856. — *Hundeshagen, Der deutsche Protestantismus*, 3- Aufl. 1850.

ARTICLE IV.

THE UNION OF CHRIST AND BELIEVERS.

By Rev. D. H. FOCHT, A. M., New Bloomfield, Pa.

Immediately after the celebration of the Lord's Supper and before leaving the temple, Christ addressed his disciples in language the most affectionate, impressive, and full of comfort. Hitherto they were a united and peaceful band, their Master was with them, and they loved him and each other sincerely. But now he was about to leave them, and very soon they were all to be outwardly separated under circumstances the most trying and appalling. Dejected and cast down in soul, the disciples gathered closely around their Lord, wistfully looking upon him and deeply realizing that his hour had fully come. Their anxious silence bespoke their sadness and dismay. To quiet their fear and anticipate their sorrow by words of consolation, the Saviour opened his lips once more, and by the use of an expressive figure beautifully illustrated the continued, inward, and most intimate union subsisting between him and them. He compares himself to a vine, of which his disciples are the branches. By this figure he teaches that the relation obtaining between him and true believers, is as close as that of the vine and its branches. What Christ then said to those who stood around him, applies to all believers in all time. By faith, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, they are

all united to Christ in the closest union, are spiritually quickened, derive from him spiritual nourishment, and in him grow up together a spiritual body to eternal life. His life is their life, as the life of the vine is the life of the branches. In union with him they live, grow and bear fruit, as the branches live, grow and bear fruit in union with the vine. The spiritual life and progress of believers are as wholly dependent on Christ, as the natural life and growth of the branches are on the vine. As branches severed from the vine can bear no fruit, and wither and die a natural death; so without Christ, or separate from him, believers can do no good, and wither and die a spiritual death. But in union with him, who is the life, they have spiritual life, and from him, the inexhaustible source of all life, they unceasingly derive spiritual nourishment for their ever-onward progress in holiness. As their spiritual life is derived from him, and continually sustained by him, they live his life by faith and grow continually in conformity to him. Thus, between Christ and believers the most intimate union and communion are established. He dwells in them, "the hope of glory," and their "life is hid with Christ in God." And in consequence of their union by faith with him, "they are the sons of God, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ."

The sacred Scriptures teach us that this union is *vital*, *progressive*, and *all-embracing*.

1. *A vital union.* By nature we are spiritually "dead in trespasses and sins," are wholly destitute of holiness, in love with sin and in the habitual practice of it. Of ourselves we are unable to originate within us a truly spiritual life, or any thing that is good, and therefore, can do nothing that is really good. As a union of the branches with the vine, by a vital communication, is essential to the life, growth and fruitfulness of the branches; so the union of believers with Christ, by receiving and believing in him as the Saviour, is essential to their life, their growth in holiness, and their blessedness now and forever. By the exercise of genuine repentance and a living faith, through the renewing and sanctifying operation of the Holy Spirit, the heart, naturally dead and prone to evil, must be spiritually quickened by being brought into vital communication with Christ. And when so united to Christ, then may the believer truly say: "I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God." Gal. 2: 20.

Christ is the *bestower* and *sustainer* of the new, spiritual life of believers. "Because I live, ye shall live also." John 14 : 19. Christ "is the life, and giveth life to the world." In its rise and progress the new, holy, or divine life of believers is dependent on the life of Christ, as the life and growth of the branches are dependent on the life of the vine. Without Christ there is and can be no eternal life in any of Adam's race ; but united by faith to Christ, believers live, because Christ lives. From him they receive their life. As the branches united to the vine impart nothing to it, but from it derive life and constant nourishment ; so believers, in union with Christ, impart nothing to him, but from him receive life and continued grace for their spiritual growth. The Saviour says : "The Spirit of truth shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you." John 16 : 13—15. In connection with the truth, the Holy Spirit calls, enlightens, and convinces of sin, awakening the entire emotional life of the soul, aiding and guiding it in the exercise of repentance and faith, and always leading it to Jesus Christ, in vital union with whom the new life is carried forward.* "Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature ; old things are passed away ; behold, all things are become new." 2 Cor. 5 : 17. The awakened soul, conducted by the Holy Spirit to Christ in the exercise of evangelical repentance and faith, is "created in Christ Jesus unto good works ;" a new life is received and new activities of soul become manifest ; former views and dispositions in regard to things spiritual are wholly changed ; new relations are formed, and new ends in every thing are sought ; all actions conform to a new rule, and all desires terminate in new objects ; there are new joys and new sorrows, new hopes and new fears, new wants and new prospects ; in short, the believer lives a new life, a life derived from Christ, and has therefore, become a "partaker of the divine nature," (2 Pet. 1 : 4), as the branch is a partaker of the nature of the vine. Every thing good and holy in the soul is derived by faith, through the Holy Ghost, from Jesus Christ. And as Christ imparts the new life, so he also continually sustains it. "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine ; no more can ye, except ye abide in me. * * He that

*It is not in accordance with our design to trace, at present, the relation between the work of the Holy Spirit and the life-imparting and indwelling presence of Christ in the soul of the believer.

abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit." John 15 : 4, 5. As union with Christ by faith is essential to the commencement of spiritual life, so remaining in union with Christ by faith is essential to the continuance of spiritual life and progress in holiness. The believer can no more maintain the new life without Christ, than he could originate it without him. As the life of a branch must be continually sustained by a constant impartation of the life of the vine ; so must the divine life of the believer be continually supported, nourished and replenished by impartation from the life of Christ. Hence, the believer's growth in holiness is conditioned by his strength of faith in Christ. The closer he is united by faith to Christ, the more does he partake of the life of Christ. In order to life and growth, the believer needs daily spiritual food for the soul as well as daily natural bread for the body ; and without spiritual nourishment the soul dies spiritually as well as without natural food the body dies naturally. Therefore, Jesus says : "I am the bread of life : he that cometh to me shall never hunger," (John 6 : 35) ; "blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness : for they shall be filled." Matt. 5 : 6. As in nature the branch, most disposed to bear fruit, and therefore, always most in need of nourishment, receives the largest amount of the vital fluid of the vine ; so in the kingdom of grace, he who hungers and thirsts after holiness most, and therefore, always deeply realizes his want of more spiritual life and grace, receives from Christ the largest increase of life and strength, and is therefore, most like him. Without spiritual food there can be no spiritual growth, and without union by faith with Christ, there can be neither spiritual life nor spiritual food : this is the condition of those who are "without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world." Eph. 2 : 12. As the believer's life is derived by faith from Christ, so also is his strength to advance in holiness ; and as he is daily to grow in grace and closer conformity to Christ, so he receives also daily of the "fullness" of Christ increased accessions of "life unto life and grace for grace." 2 Cor. 2 : 16 ; John 1 : 16.

In vital union with Christ the believer *has eternal* life. The Saviour says : "He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life," (John 3 : 36) ; "I am the resurrection, and the life : he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall

he live : and whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die." John 11 : 25, 26. To believe in Christ is to live forever. Whenever the sinner, spiritually dead, is awakened from his sins through the truth by the Holy Ghost, enlightened, convicted of sin, and in the exercise of repentance and faith is led to trust in Christ, and receives for Christ's sake the forgiveness of his sins, then does he receive and commence to live a new life, a life that never ends, because he is by faith united to Christ, "who is our life." Col. 3 : 4. By virtue of his vital union with Christ, the believer *has* eternal life, and shall never die.* This new life, commenced when the believer by faith embraces Christ, is continued forever by faith in Christ. "The just shall live by faith." Gal. 3 : 11. As the branch lives, because the vine lives ; so the believer lives, because Christ lives ; and as Christ lives forever, the believer united to him shall never die. The believer's life is here the same that it will be in heaven, except that there it will more fully unfold its powers, be matured, purified, and made more glorious. In so far as Christ lives in him, in that far is the believer like Christ ; and what is yet wanting will be gradually supplied in this world, and fully perfected in the world to come. So soon as there is a living faith in Christ, that soon does the believer begin a new life, he is a babe in Christ, and breathes the atmosphere of heaven, and after a blissful immortality. Though his spiritual life be at first feeble and faint, still in its nature it is eternal life,—it is everlasting life begun,—and will be completed and glorified in the full and unclouded glories of heaven. The believer's life and happiness are therefore here of the same kind, though not of the same degree, that they will forever be in the world of glory. His "life is hid with Christ in God." Col. 3 : 3. Hence,

The vital union of Christ and believers is so *close* and *intimate*, that Christ declares : "Ye are in me, and I am in you." John 14 : 20. In this passage we are clearly taught that by faith believers are partakers of Christ's life and nature and are animated by his indwelling Spirit, and that while they live by faith in union with him, he lives in them by his life-giving and life-sustaining efficacy. As by its life-imparting and life-upholding sap the vine

*We waive the question whether a believer can or cannot fall totally from grace, as it is not necessarily involved in the subject under discussion, though closely related to it.

lives and circulates in the branches, making them partakers of its own life and nature, and as the branches are in the vine, living and growing in the nourishment derived from it; so also, in union with Christ, believers live the life and grow in the grace received from him, and he dwells and lives in them "the hope of glory," making them "partakers of the divine nature." 2 Pet. 1: 4. Thus, between Christ and believers an internal, spiritual relation of the closest and most intimate nature obtains. As the branches live in the vine, so believers live in Christ, and as the vine lives in the branches, so Christ lives in believers,—“Ye in me, and I in you.” What union so close as this?—a union of a poor sinful worm with the King of kings and Lord of lords! All the glory of life and blessedness in the believer belong for ever to Jesus Christ.

By virtue of this vital union, Christ unceasingly *imparts* “of his fullness” to believers. For “of his fullness have all we (who believe in him) received, and grace for grace.” John 1: 16. To believers Christ is a never-failing fountain of life, of grace, and of blessedness. The fullness ascribed to him is an exhaustless one, sufficient for all for evermore, and from it believers derive ever fresh and ever increasing gifts of grace. They are the receiving party; Christ alone, from the fullness of the divine being and essence dwelling in him, is the giver of one gift of grace after another. The more we receive from the divine streams of grace proceeding from him, the more we may yet receive; and as the fountain is not exhausted by bestowing, we may take of it without measure. “Every good gift and every perfect gift” comes fresh to us from Jesus Christ; and as our days are, so shall our strength be. The inexhaustible fullness and all-sufficiency of the Saviour lays a permanent foundation for the power, peace and quietness of all who trust in him; and though destitute of resources in themselves, they may always find unfailing supplies in him. The heavenly bread multiplies evermore. Luke 9: 10–17. Hence, Paul could triumphantly exclaim: “I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me” (Philip. 4: 13); for Christ had said to him: “My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness.” 2 Cor. 12: 9. Our strength is Christ in us by his power and we in him by our faith. Of themselves believers can do nothing; but in Christ and Christ

in them they are powerful through faith. Their "sufficiency is of God." 2 Cor. 3: 5. Every thing good and all might in them, whether in thought, word or deed, flows to them from Christ, the fountain of all goodness and power. Therefore, in all his attainments, labors and successes, the believer must always humbly acknowledge: "By the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain; but I labored more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was in me." 1 Cor. 15: 10. As life, grace, all strength, and every thing good in us, is conveyed to us from Christ, all human boasting is for ever excluded, and all the glory and honor belong to our divine Redeemer, to whom we are by faith united, and by whom we are what we are and will forever be what we will be. If we would live and gain the kingdom of heaven, this vital union with Christ by faith must not only be formed, but in it we must also continually advance. It is, therefore,

2. *A progressive union.* "First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." Mark 4: 28. As in the kingdom of nature all things living from small beginnings tend towards perfection; so in the kingdom of grace in general, and in the human heart in particular, the work of divine grace is gradual and constantly progressive. Met by the Holy Spirit in the truth, the attention of the sinner arrested, the sins of his heart are exposed, a sense of danger and hatred of sin are induced, and then there are thoughts of Jesus, then inclinations to Jesus, then holy feelings for Jesus, and finally there is child-like confidence in Jesus as the only Saviour. With this trust or faith in Jesus, a gracious calmness, serene as the unclouded heavens, the consequence of forgiveness of sin and of union with Jesus, and the result of a peace which is beyond expression sweet, fills the heart of the infant believer, who now breathes a new life, the life of faith in blessed union with the glorious Redeemer. Thus, by faith a living union with Christ is formed and a new life is commenced, and by faith this living union must be preserved and this new life progressively developed. For where spiritual progress ceases, there spiritual death commences. In the enjoyment of the new life, holy feelings, aspirations, and sincere desires, alternating with impatience, passions, weakness, and a thousand hinderances and interruptions, the

genuine believer experiences in his heart, in union with Christ, a gradual increase in faith, in spiritual discernment, in love, hope, humility, and all the Christian virtues and graces. He has his winters and his summers; and though he has continually to contend with corruption remaining within and strong temptation coming from without, by faith in union with Christ and in the diligent and devout use of the divinely appointed means, the new life in Christ gradually grows and the old life gradually decays.

From the smallest beginning, the believer *advances* in union with Christ ever onward towards perfection. The Holy Spirit in the truth more and more enlightens his understanding, purifies and ennobles his feelings, and sanctifies his will, transforming and renewing him progressively in conformity to Christ. Thus, his earthly nature gives gradually way to the heavenly, and he lives no longer for the earth, but has begun to live the life of heaven. As a grain of mustard-seed, the smallest of seeds, by progressive development and growth, becomes "greater than all herbs;" so the believer, from small beginnings of life in union with Christ, is quickened and daily advances in holiness, purity and fitness for heaven. As in the vine we first behold the bud, which by progressive development and growth in union with the vine, becomes finally a large fruit-bearing branch; so also the believer, from the dawn of a living faith in Christ, steadily advances in union with Christ, who strengthens and makes him fruitful in every good work. Born again by the Holy Ghost, believers are "new-born babes, desiring the sincere milk of the word, that they may grow thereby." 1 Pet. 2: 2. From this passage we learn, that from the very inception of faith and holy emotions in the heart, wrought by the Holy Spirit, there is in the use of the divinely appointed means a gradual unfolding of the divinely implanted holy principle, until, from being babes in Christ, "we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." Eph. 4: 13. In union with Christ, the believer passes from spiritual birth and infancy, through childhood and youth, to manhood and onward towards perfection. His piety is progressive; and in every instance where there is no growth there is no life. Of such a thing as instant perfection in holiness the Bible knows nothing, and it is

contrary to daily experience and observation as well as the analogy of God's ordinary operation in the kingdoms of matter and mind. The holiness of believers is only and always relative, and can never be more, and therefore always admits of progress; whereas the holiness of God alone is absolute, and therefore knows no change or increase. A babe may be perfect as a babe, but is not perfect as a man, though by receiving the proper nourishment and care it will through all the stages of life grow up to the full stature of a man; a bud may be perfect as a bud, but is not as a branch, though by a union with the vine and a constant receiving of its healthful juices it will grow until it is a fruit-bearing branch. So, also, a new-born believer is perfect in kind, but not in degree, though by faith in union with Christ, and by a constant reception of Christ's life-imparting and life-sustaining grace, he will progressively grow in grace, in knowledge, and in holiness. The believer is therefore perfect and holy, only in so far as Christ dwells in him, and as he is in this life always compassed by many imperfections, so he has always ample room for progress towards perfection. And to the sincere believer it is not only a matter of duty, but of pleasure, that he faithfully uses every divinely ordained means, and trusts in God for help to resist and overcome every thing sinful, in order that he may make the highest possible attainments in personal holiness. The apostle Paul realized his imperfections deeply, and the consequent necessity of striving incessantly to gain higher and still higher degrees of perfection. He says: "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect: but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Jesus Christ. * * This one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." Philip. 3: 12-14. Forgetting all past attainments, and not trusting in the vain fancy of Christian perfection, like a racer, St. Paul would stretch forward and hasten onward in deep anxiety to reach the goal and receive the crown of life eternal. This he does in union with Christ, by whom he was overtaken and laid hold of at his conversion, and of whom he now lays hold by faith, and in whom he presses anxiously forward for the heavenly

prize. Progress in piety can, however, not be arbitrary; every advance is in view of an end. Something definite is to be attained, something definite realized, or something definite accomplished. Progress by faith in union with Christ has for its end, in the first instance,

A gradual and ever closer *conformity* to Christ. By sin we lost the image of God and are alienated from him; but by divine grace, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, we are renewed "after the image of him that created us." Col. 3: 10. As progress in holiness by faith is a result of union with Christ, so it is always a progress by faith in conformity to Christ. As the branch partakes of all the elements of the vine, and is therefore wholly conformed in its nature to the vine; so the believer, receiving his spiritual life and all spiritual gifts from Christ, will necessarily be more or less assimilated and conformed to Christ. The derivative must bear the nature of the original. As the old sinful nature dies daily, so, on the contrary, in the likeness of Christ, the new, spiritual, "inward man is renewed day by day." 2 Cor. 4: 16. Those whom God did foreknow, "he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son" (Rom. 8: 29), that is, it is in accordance with God's eternal design, that believers should be conformed and assimilated to Christ's image. Christ the prototype of holiness, is the model into which believers are "transformed by the renewing of their mind." Rom. 12: 2. By the determinate counsel of God the believer, in his new birth and spiritual growth, is to bear Christ's image for ever. This is the standard to which he must be conformed. For "as we have borne the image of the earthy (Adam), we shall also bear the image of the heavenly (Christ)." 1 Cor. 15: 19. As the branch, by receiving its life and all from the vine, is conformed to the vine according to a natural law; so the believer, by receiving his spiritual life and nourishment from Christ, is conformed to Christ according to a spiritual law. And just as we are partakers of the nature of Adam naturally, so is the believer a partaker of Christ spiritually. By our union with Adam, according to nature, we are sinful: by the believer's union with Christ, according to the spirit, he is holy. And as every natural advance is in conformity to Adam's sinful nature; so every spiritual advance of the believer is in

conformity to Christ's holy nature. Adam must die daily in us, and Christ must be our life. It is therefore, in the second instance,

A union of progress in *holiness*. For "as we are partakers of Christ," we are "partakers of his holiness." Heb. 3: 14; 12: 10. As the nature of the vine is shared by the branches, so the nature of Christ is shared by believers. "If the root (Christ) be holy, so are the branches" Rom. 11: 16. The believer's holiness and growth in holiness are conditioned by his union with Christ and the constant supply of grace, derived from Christ. Hence, the Lord Jesus is said to be "made unto us sanctification or holiness" (1 Cor. 1: 30), which does not mean the gradual development or purification of the old sinful nature, for that must die; but it does mean the gradual development of the implanted new life, which is by faith derived from Christ and makes progress in conformity to Christ. The old natural man must be displaced by the new spiritual man; and the remaining imperfections of the believer must yield to the perfect life of Christ, until holiness embraces and extends over the collective powers and faculties of the believing man, as Paul prays: "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly," that is, sanctify you in every part, "your whole spirit, and soul, and body." 1 Thess. 5: 23. As the branch in all its parts is penetrated and vitalized by the sap of the vine, and as a little leaven leavens the whole lump; so the life of Christ passes over and brings in subjection to the divine life all the powers of the believer's soul, renewing and transforming them into conformity to Christ. Holiness must be stamped on every part, and every part must grow in holiness, because it grows in union with Christ. Out of Christ, or separate from him, there can be no holiness; but in Christ, or in union with him by faith, we are "partakers of his holiness" and grow in holiness, as the branches are partakers of the vine and grow in the strength, derived from it. And as the internal life of the branches evinces itself in the external fruit, so the internal life and holiness of believers evidence themselves in external works of righteousness. Hence, it is, in the third instance,

A union of progressive increase in *fruitfulness*. "He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit." John 15: 5. Life and growth, holiness of heart and righteousness in works, follow each other as

cause and effect. The tree is known by its fruit, that is, the conduct of a man is a true index of the state of his heart. As the branch, in union with the vine, cannot be unfruitful; so the believer, united by faith to Christ, cannot "be barren and unfruitful" (2 Pet. 1: 8), but will "be fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God." Col. 1: 10. Actions derive their complexion from the condition of the heart. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" Surely not; "even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit." Matt. 7: 16, 17. No matter what a man's profession may be, if his life and conduct are at variance with God's word, Christ dwells not in him, and all his pretensions are vain and hypocritical. In view of his many imperfections and utter dependence on Christ, the believer has always great cause to be humble and to glory in nothing, save the cross of Jesus Christ. And in order to attain higher and still higher degrees of holy dispositions within and holy actions without, he will diligently and devoutly use all the means appointed of God. He will always feel the want of increased measures of divine grace. But he daily realizes that the more he receives the more he wants, and the more he wants the more he shall receive, for "whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance." Matt. 13: 12. The branch, bearing most fruit, receives most nourishment. And as the branch does not force sap from the vine, but being in want, the vine sends it freely; so the believer does not force spiritual food from Christ, but being always in want, Christ is more willing to give than he is to receive. The desire of the heart is the believer's best prayer; his wants must prompt his prayers, and as he has always wants, so he should always pray, and then his wants will be always supplied. Christ will give life and grace, so that the believer shall progressively increase in inward holiness and outward fruitfulness, till he shall in heaven want no more and his prayers are turned into praise to God and the Lamb for ever. Therefore, with Jesus Christ,

This progressive union will *continue* for ever. As on earth believers constantly grow in grace, holiness, and closer conformity to Christ, we infer that what was begun and only partially perfected here, will be completed and

fully perfected in heaven. As the infant is introduced step by step into the light of this great earthly temple; so the believer in union with Christ is gradually matured and qualified for entrance into the light of the heavenly temple, and is there forever "changed into the same image (of Christ) from glory to glory." 2 Cor. 3: 18. Notwithstanding the exalted position the sainted believer attains on entering heaven, there will doubtless always be many depths and heights, and lengths and breadths, open to the blessed soul to explore, many mysteries to be solved, and glories to be realized. Thus the knowledge, and consequently the bliss, of the saint in glory will be increasing for ever and ever; and this progress will be in union with Christ. We are told that "the angels desire to look into" (1 Pet. 1: 12) the great mystery of redemption by Jesus Christ, and thus attain to a knowledge of what was before hid from them or not known to them, though ages upon ages had passed away, since they sang together and shouted for joy, when God made the world out of nothing. If angels still gain knowledge of new facts, will not the saint in glory receive and reflect the brightness of Jesus and in blessed union with him for ever advance in knowledge, happiness, and all the perfections of the eternal world? The union formed with Christ on earth and in time, is formed with him for heaven and eternity. It is a linking together of every thing and being, that is good and holy in the universe, a harmonizing of all things good with God's will, and all with each other to Christ. It is therefore,

3. *A mutual union of believers and of all with Christ.* "Ye in me, and I in you." John 14: 20. "There shall be one fold, and one shepherd." John 10: 16. "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are." John 17: 11. These passages teach most clearly the mutual union obtaining between believers, and them and Christ. This union of Christ and believers is more than a merely outward one, where every one stands in his own isolation; it is a real, inward fellowship, a blending of souls together in love and a common life, and a real, though spiritual, self-communication of Christ to believers. It is a communion of saints, of all believers of all ages and in all places, who have been renewed by the Holy Ghost and united to Christ by a living faith, and in whom Christ

is formed, and lives, and reigns supreme. All these constitute one flock, one spiritual body, of which Christ is the ever-living head. To express this mutual union of believers and of them and Christ, the Holy Scriptures use various illustrative figures.

As *branches* all believers are united to Christ and by him to each other into mutual *communion*. Though the branches are so many and different, they are nevertheless all united to one vine and by that one vine to each other. Their relation to each other arises from the relation of all to the vine. So, also, believers are, by virtue of their union with Christ, united to each other in mutual fellowship. Christ is all in them all, and they have all by faith in him. He is the inexhaustible source from which they all alike receive grace for grace. And as they are partakers of the same gifts of the same fountain, they sustain to each other the relation of children of the same Father, possessing the same spiritual life, the same Christ-like mind, the same faith, hope, joy, and mutual love. They have the mind and spirit of Christ, because he dwells in them all. As there is a diversity in the branches of a vine, and yet all are alike in being equally nourished by the vine, deriving life from the same source and agreeing in all things, essential to the oneness of their nature, collectively forming in outward diversity a grand inward unity as a whole; so, also, among believers there is an endless variety of gifts and outward conditions, some possessing more talents and some less, some bearing more fruit and some less, and yet in their outward differences there is an inward unity of nature, a unity in all things essential, a spiritual unity in life according to the measure of faith of each, of peace, joy and grace, and all are therefore united to each other and all in and to Christ in a grand oneness of life and blessedness. Christ Jesus is the centre and source of life and love to all believers, and his life lives and pulsates in the hearts of all, uniting them to him and each other into a communion of one life in love. As the branches are in communion of life with the vine and each other, so are believers in mutual communion of life and every grace with each other, and all with Christ. In Jesus Christ they constitute the one universal church, are partakers of his life and holiness, "drink into one Spirit," and rejoice in the same hope and love, and are more and more assimilated

to Christ's glorious nature and in him grow up together in his glorious oneness of spirit for ever. The life which animates one animates them all, and the fruit which one bears all bear, diverse it may be in quantity, yet, essentially alike in kind, because all partake of the one inexhaustible source. From their union and love to Christ flows their mutual union and love to each other, so that the same bond which unites them to Christ unites them one to another and the universe of all that is good. From the shining throne in heaven the grand circle embraces all in one, whether they be angels, archangels, cherubim, seraphim, just men made perfect, or all on earth and all in heaven, all the good are one in the kind of life, spirit, gifts, graces, joys, bliss and glory of the glorious giver, our glorious Lord God and Saviour. Those in heaven and those on earth, in Christ Jesus, both great and small are mutually united in life and love, and, in Jesus the life-giving vine, they constitute one universal family of believers and joint-sharers in all the gifts of his unbounded grace on earth and for ever in heaven. Time and space, and outward differences in talents and age, cannot separate them from him and each other. All the branches are in the one vine.

As *members* all believers are mutually united into *one body*, and all to Christ the ever-living head. "For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office; so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another." Rom. 12: 4, 5. As the members of the human body are many, and each member has its own particular function; so believers are regarded as an organic whole, in which one member is dependent on another, and though the members are so various and have functions so different, yet the service of each member is to promote the good of all, and all the members working together are, collectively, one body in Christ, are animated by his life and in him they are mutually united. One member of the human body needs another; and so, also, one believer in Christ has need of another. As there is mutual sympathy and a common life, shared by all the members of the human body, so all believers in Christ have one common spiritual life, common sympathies, and share in each other's blessings. Thus, this reciprocal union and communion of life, of love, of affection and

of suffering among believers, is so close and tender, that when one "member suffers, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." 1 Cor. 12: 26. In his infinite wisdom God has so constituted the organism of the human body, that the pleasure or pain of a part affects and gives pleasure or pain to the whole; and so, also, the collective body of believers, the church, is so constituted and its parts so closely united in life and mutual fellowship, that the whole body of believers participates in the suffering or joy, the degradation or honor of one member. This reciprocal sympathy of believers is "rooted and grounded in love," in their oneness of life in Christ Jesus, who is the embodiment of love. Therefore, as all believers are mutually united into one body, so as a body they are all united to Christ, the ever blessed head. For it is the will of God that we should "grow up in all things, which is the head, even Christ, from whom the whole body, fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love." Eph. 4: 15, 16. And to express, if possible, this union with Christ in language still stronger, Paul declares that "we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones." Eph. 5: 30. This cannot be understood literally; though, by avoiding the notion of a physical union, language too strong cannot be employed to set forth the union of believers with the Lord Jesus. "He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit." 1 Cor. 6: 16. The connection of believers with Christ consists in a spiritual union, formed and continued by a living faith in Christ. For "Christ is the head of the church: and he is the Saviour of the body." Eph. 5: 23. When Christ is called the head of the church and the church his body, the meaning cannot be that without the church he would be a head without a body; but the meaning is, that true believers, in their collective capacity as a body, a church, being inseparably united to Christ by faith, are filled and animated by his life and spirit, are partakers of him, are governed by his will, and in and with him triumph over self and every foe, and will finally be glorified with his own glory. As a body the Church is therefore not a complement of Christ as the head. He needs not the

Church ; but the Church, founded by and in him, constantly needs him. Thus, united to him as individuals and a body, he is easily "touched with the feeling of our infirmities," (Heb. 4 : 15), and "what is done unto the least of his disciples, is done unto himself" (Matt. 25 : 40-46), and to despise them, is to despise him. Luke 10 : 16. With those who are his, Christ identifies himself, and deems himself treated by men as they are treated. He suffers and rejoices in them and they in him. As there is only one head, Jesus Christ ; so all believers, collectively, are one body. "For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body." 1 Cor. 12 : 13. Though as individuals, believers are many ; yet as possessors of the same life and faith, the same graces and hopes, they are one body, of which Christ is the head. "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling : one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." Eph. 4 : 4-6.

As *living-stones* believers are mutually united into a spiritual temple, of which Jesus Christ is the foundation-stone. They "are built upon the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord, in whom ye also are builded together, for a habitation of God through the Spirit." Eph. 2 : 20-22 ; 1 Pet. 2 : 4-6. As the temple at Jerusalem was built after patterns from a higher world, (Exod. 25 : 8, 9), so the apostle represents believers, as "fitly framed together" after a heavenly pattern, being born from above by the Holy Spirit in the likeness of Christ and forming, collectively, a holy temple, all the parts of which mutually sustain each other, and all together form a symmetrical and glorious "habitation of God through the Spirit," based on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, who in turn also repose on Jesus Christ, the proper foundation and corner-stone of the whole edifice. This whole spiritual temple, consisting of individual believers, rests on Christ, and in him increases and grows up continually in the mutual fellowship of all its parts. . The different kinds of materials, whether of Jews or Gentiles, or of whatever nation under heaven, are by faith fitly framed together and incorporated, through the Spirit, into this temple on Jesus Christ. And each one that has faith, as a grain of mustard-seed, however humble he may appear in the eyes of

men, will find a niche and be of use to others and of great importance and value to the whole building. And how various soever and even diverse true believers may be in their outward and unessential forms and attainments, they nevertheless agree in this, that they are built on Jesus Christ, have been renewed by the Holy Ghost, believe the same fundamental doctrines, have the same life and faith, worship the same God, are redeemed by the death of the same Saviour, bear the same Cross, love and obey the same Jesus, grow in the same holiness, walk in the same narrow way, and with the same hope and joy look for the same heaven. Thus, they are mutually and fitly framed together through the Holy Spirit on Jesus Christ, who is their foundation, bearing them all by his power, and as the chief corner-stone, uniting them all into one in himself. All the parts of this temple, from the least to the greatest, from the most insignificant to the most conspicuous, are mutually adjusted together, each part strengthened and supported by another and all by Jesus Christ, in whom the whole structure rises in equal proportions, the beauty of the whole earth well founded and secure, uniting in one all the blest in heaven and the believers on earth. Without Christ as the foundation and corner-stone, this temple could not have been reared, and when reared, without him the individual stones would fall from each other and the whole building instantly crumble down. But we rejoice to know that the foundation of this holy temple is laid deep and broad; laid in Jesus Christ, in the counsel of God from eternity, and the gates of hell cannot overthrow or prevail against it. In the Lord Jesus the individual stones as well as the whole temple are permanently secure, being animated by his life and supported by his power, and closely united to him and each other in love. In his temple he dwells as well as sustains it, and it is, therefore, "a habitation of God through the Spirit." Every stone, as well as the whole structure, is precious and filled with the glory of the Lord. Hence,

Believers are united in mutual *fellowship* with each other and all with Christ. "Truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. * * * If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his

Son cleanseth us from all sin." 1 John 1: 3, 7. Christian fellowship presupposes an affinity of nature in believers. They "have been all made to drink into one Spirit" (1 Cor. 12: 13), and mutually commune and participate in the same spiritual gifts and graces. And however various their gifts and different their outward positions, they are nevertheless in spiritual communion, united inwardly by one spirit of faith under one Head to one holy life of love and one hope of eternal blessedness. They are "beloved brethren," disciples of Christ and heirs of the promises, a "household of faith;" they are united by the same faith to Christ, and sanctified and animated by the same Holy Spirit, having one holy and heavenly fellow-feeling and fellow-nature; they are subject to the same trials and bear the same crosses; they are engaged in the performance of the same duties and in the observance of the same ordinances; they have at heart the same spiritual interest and labor to promote the same glorious cause; they are supported by the same promises and cheered by the same prospects. Their fellowship with each other and their blessed Saviour is sweet and like to that of saints in heaven. But the fellowship of believers necessarily presupposes their individual fellowship with Christ, as that from which their mutual fellowship first proceeds. "Our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." It is through Christ, that the love of the Father is manifested to us, and from Christ that all grace proceeds to us, and by the Holy Ghost, that brotherly love is produced in us. Our fellowship with the Father is therefore mediated by the Son, and our fellowship with the Son is conditioned by our faith in him, wrought in us by the Holy Spirit. Whilst believers have fellowship with the Father and the Son, "the communion of the Holy Ghost is with them all." 2 Cor. 12: 14. The fellowship of believers is thus in a certain sense with the three persons of the Godhead, and whilst we may not be able to define accurately the peculiar relation they sustain to each of the persons in the holy Trinity, we nevertheless know that such a relation exists and is of the most intimate and sacred character. Believers possess something in common with God by virtue of their union with Christ; something in which they partake or share together with God, so that it may be called a communion or fellowship. To indicate the inti-

mate spiritual communion, subsisting between him and believers, Christ says: "If any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." Rev. 3: 20. This passage gives us an image of true friendship, and the closest intimacy, and fullest reciprocal communion, so that he participates with us and we commune with him in such a way that he gives us infinitely more than he receives from us, and that which he receives from us was only and always his own. Besides, there is also fellowship between Christ and believers in mutual attachment to the same things and beings, love for the same truths, desire for the same objects; and co-operation in the same work. They work when he works in and with them; mutually and unitedly they work together, he commencing and giving them grace and strength. In him they have fellowship of life here and of eternal life hereafter. By a communion of life he lives in them and they have life in him. Thus, while believers are by one life united in mutual Christian fellowship one to another, all are united in mutual fellowship with Jesus Christ. Mutual life and love unite all on earth and all in heaven in one, and all in one with Christ for ever and ever. The union of Christ and believers is therefore,

4. *An all-embracing union.* God "gave him (Christ) to be the head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all" (Eph. 1: 22; Philip. 2: 6-11), "for it pleased the Father that in him all fullness should dwell." Col. 1: 14-19. As all fullness dwells in Christ, believers united to him by faith must in at least some degree be partakers with him of the same. As the branches share in all the elements of the vine, and all the members of the body are influenced by the head; so all believers are to some extent partakers of all the sufferings and joys, the death-pangs and triumphs, the fullness and blessedness of Christ, and in some sense they are sharers in his holiness and glory, in his might and dominions, in his greatness and divine nature, for in union with him they are "the children of God; and if children, then heirs; heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ." Rom. 8: 17. As heirs of eternal life they rejoice that their "names are written in heaven." Luke 10: 30. From the relation of believers to God as sons, Paul passes to the sublime conception of glory,

as an inheritance, of which Christ is the proper heir and possessor, but in which we are to have a share by virtue of our union with him. All the glory and blessedness, therefore, which the Only-Begotten had from eternity with the Father, and of which he again took possession after his return to the Father, is also in some measure imparted to and shared by the finally faithful. Rom. 3: 21, 22. Hence, Paul exultingly exclaims: "All things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's: and Christ is God's." 1 Cor. 3: 21-23. From persons and things present, the apostle passes to things to come, to the remotest extremes in the created universe, and adjudges all to the believer in Christ. Overwhelmed by the grand conception, we cannot but be filled with humility, be astonished and adore. On a subject like this, the union of Christ and the believer, involving so much, and embracing in its lofty range all on earth and all in heaven, all in time and all in eternity, all that is Christ's, we can but touch a few points and leave all the rest to be studied, seen, and realized in the full fruition of eternal life and glory with Jesus Christ beyond the grave.

Believers are partakers of Christ's *suffering* and *joy*, because they are by faith united to him. "Our hope of you is steadfast, knowing, that as you are partakers of his suffering, so shall ye be also of the consolation" (2 Cor. 1: 7); "Rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings." 1 Pet. 4: 13. The sufferings of Christ repeat themselves, more or less, in believers in the same way as did the comfort of the Redeemer and his subsequent glorification, "because as he is, so are they in this world." 1 John 4: 17. "They are not of the world, even as he is not of the world," and therefore the world hates them, even as it hates him. John 17: 14-16. Christ suffers and rejoices in and with his disciples and they share with and in him to at least some extent. Paul therefore says: "I am crucified with Christ" (Gal. 2: 20), teaching us that as Christ died for sin we die to sin, daily crucifying the old sinful man, so that "if we be dead (to sin) with him (Christ), we shall also live with him." 2 Tim. 2: 11. St. Paul assures us that he "always bore about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus," and that "we which live are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake."

2 Cor. 4: 10, 11. As Christ's life was a life of continual suffering, which was terminated in the bitterness of death for us; so the believer is represented as always dying in his sinful nature, which must finally yield to death, and the new man be glorified with Christ and his glory. For we "are buried with him, and planted together by baptism in the likeness of his death; that as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. Our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin." Rom. 6: 3-8. Christ died once for sin, so the believer dies daily to sin; and as Christ rose from the dead, so the believer walks in newness of life; for as he is by baptism buried and planted in the likeness of Christ's death, so shall he also be in the likeness of Christ's life." "Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution (2 Tim. 3: 13), and must through much tribulation enter the kingdom of heaven" (Acts 14: 22), "that they may know the fellowship (communion) of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death." Philip. 3: 10. As Jesus was a man of sorrow and acquainted with grief, and suffered and died for our sins, and "for joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God" (Heb. 12: 2); so must believers participate in his sufferings, be made conformable to his death, and thus will they with joy unspeakable and full of glory enter the kingdom of heaven. As Christ conquered the powers of darkness, and triumphed over death and the grave; so by and through him will believers overcome all their spiritual foes and triumphantly sing: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ!" 1 Cor. 15: 55-57. Victory to him that believeth in Christ. The vine and the branches, the head and the members of the body, Christ and believers in union with him, suffer, live, triumph, and rejoice together for ever, he in them and they in him, he the great source of all to them all. In union by faith with Jesus Christ we have now come to the very verge of the heaven of heavens, and the soul has obtained a view and realized the glories of the new Jerusalem. But we must for a moment return to earth, and regain the body from its

mortality to a glorious immortality in union with the soul and Christ. We say, then,

The *bodies* of believers will be raised at the last day by Jesus Christ, because he arose "and became the first fruits of them that slept." 1 Cor. 15: 20. The union of believers and Christ must be complete in all its parts, embracing not only their souls, but also "the redemption of their bodies," (Rom. 8: 23), from the power and dominion of death and the grave. Hence "also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body." Philip. 3: 21. Christ will transform the bodies of believers into a similarity of his own glorified body, so that, as their souls are conformed to the image of the Son, their bodies shall bear the fashion of his body.* For "now we are the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is." 1 John 3: 2. Though we now hold the high position and dignity of sons of God, there are nevertheless many things connected with the resurrection of our bodies, their change, their re-union with the soul, their glory and peculiarity, which in this life we cannot fully understand, nor clearly apprehend, because they are so far above, but not contrary to, our present conceptions, and the future state will be so different from the present that language would fail to convey to our minds a true conception of them; "for now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." 1 Cor. 13: 12. Whatever may now be dim to our vision, and faint to our understanding, we know for certain that then "we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory," (2 Cor. 3: 18), "and as we have borne the image of the earthy (Adam), we shall also bear the image of the heavenly (Christ)." 1 Cor. 15: 49. Our resurrection is founded on and secured by Christ's resurrection, and the fashion of our bodies by the fashion of his body. As the vine and the branches, so Christ and believers, correspond—he the glorious model into which they will all be transformed. They must be together and bear a like image. "For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also

*By Jesus Christ the wicked shall also be raised, but "to shame and everlasting contempt"—"unto damnation." Dan. 12: 2; John 5: 29.

which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him," (1 Thess. 4 : 14), and that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by Jesus." 2 Cor. 4 : 14. To this resurrected, immortal and glorious body, the soul shall be re-united, and then shall the judgment sit.

The saints will *judge* the world and angels. To Christ is committed all judgment, (John 5 : 22, 27); but as the saints stand in most intimate union with him, it is said of them that they "shall judge the world (men)," and- "shall judge angels." 1 Cor. 6 : 2, 3. They judge not without Christ, but with him, or rather, he in them, for their judging-power is Christ in them. Saints judge angels! to what a dizzy height, in Christ, does this vast thought exalt him who is now a humble believer in union with Christ, but shall then with Christ also sit on the throne in judging men and angels. Do not those, in whose hearts Christ is formed, stand higher than angels in the order of being? But at this we need not be surprised. For saints are "partakers of the divine nature," (2 Pet. 1 : 4), are united to him and animated by his life, and made in all things like him. We can, therefore, not hesitate to conceive of them as judges with Christ. They concur with Christ; and as their whole nature and will are in full and perfect harmony with his, whatsoever he judges they judge and what he wills they will. As they are joint-heirs with Christ, so they are joint-judges with him.

The judgment past and all things consummated, the saints will be *forever with* the Lord and *glorified* with his own glory. Time is no more, and the earth and heavens which now are have passed away. The saints have now all "come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God, the judge of all, and to the spirit of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than the blood of Abel." Heb. 12 : 22-24. All in union with Jesus have come home, reconciled in Jesus' blood to God. They are now in all things adapted to the new eternal state and to all the surroundings of a world of perfect and surprising glory. They are fully assimilated and transformed into correspondence with the state of things and beings, now associated with them.

They are like Christ, and joint-heirs of all the glories and excellencies of God and of Christ, with whom they stand in inseparable union and communion forever. Is Christ "the likeness of his Father's glory" (Heb. 1: 6), and the light of the celestial world (Rev. 21: 13);—then the saints also "shall shine as the brightness of the firmament," and "as the stars forever and ever." Dan. 12: 3. Was Christ all-glorious, when transfigured on the mount (Luke 9: 28–36), and when he appeared to Paul on the way to Damascus (Acts 22: 11)? What is then his infinite glory in the eternal world? Whatever it is, the saints are like him, for they are in union with him, and partakers of him, and "also glorified together with him." Rom. 8: 17. "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me." John 17: 24. The saints are with their Lord in glory. "Then shall the righteous shine forth, as the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Matt. 13: 43), and enjoy and be filled with a bliss and glory such as "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man" (1 Cor. 2: 9), for in "his presence is fullness of joy; at his right hand are pleasures for evermore." Ps. 16: 11. The glory and blessedness of the exalted God-man is the glory and blessedness of the saints forever. They are joint-heirs with Christ of all things, heirs of God (Rom. 8: 14–17) "to an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away" (1 Pet. 1: 4), "a kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world." Matt. 25: 34. They have with Christ a common interest and share in all the greatness and glory of the universe of things and beings.

Hence, over all, the saints *reign* with Christ, as kings and priests forever. "If we suffer, we shall also reign with him (Christ)" (2 Tim. 2: 12); for he "hath made us kings and priests unto God his Father" (Rev. 1: 6), "and we shall reign for ever and ever." Rev. 22: 5. As the saints shall reign with Christ, they will be crowned as kings, will receive a crown, a crown of righteousness, a crown of life, "a crown of glory that fadeth not away." 2 Tim. 4: 8; James 1: 12; 1 Pet. 5: 4. They shall wear the emblem of royalty, corresponding with their dignity, and indicative of their exalted character and position in the scale of being. They are sons of God, and in glory are

crowned with an eternal weight of glory. They constitute a kingdom of priests, all holy, and all offering the pure sacrifices of thanksgiving and praise to God and the Lamb. They are "clothed in white raiment" (Rev. 3: 5), indicative of their purity and expressive of their holiness and joy; for they "have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of water: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes." Rev. 7: 14-17. "There shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away, God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And he that sat upon the throne said: 'Behold, I make all things new; Write, for these things are true and faithful.' And he said unto me, 'It is done. * * * He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.'" Rev. 20: 4-7. It is done; all former things are passed away, and all things have been made new; and having overcome through Christ, the saints inherit all things in him. Time is no more: eternity rolls on, and the unbounded field of God's domain in endless variety of glory lies open to the unobscured vision of the glorified saints, and time and subjects are given for an unlimited and ever-advancing development of their powers for an increase of perfect knowledge, and, therefore, of unlimited and perfect happiness. They shall ever receive, and as so many stars forever reflect the glory of God in endless variety, and their glory shall blend in sweet unison in the face of Jesus Christ. In harmony with each other and all in union with the God-man, they shine brighter and brighter and rise higher and higher for ever and ever. But who can conceive the full meaning involved in the blessed union of Christ and saints in glory! Only onward in union with Christ in all things forever onward, onward,!

As Christ is God manifest in the flesh, and as no one can see God, may we not suppose, that the vision the saints

in glory have of God is through Christ, the God-man, in whom the glorified human nature is combined with the Divine on the throne of the Father. And as the fruits can never attain to a true conception and perfect knowledge of the infinite, does not God discover his perfections and glory through the incarnate Son, so that the saints behold the brightness of the glory of God "in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. 4: 6), who is the image (or visible representation) of the invisible 'God;' (Col. 1: 15); "for in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." Col. 2: 9. Christ the God-man, to whom the saints are most closely united, fully and fairly reveals the Divine nature and perfections, and as the Godhead dwells in him permanently, essentially and substantially, the saints have a vision of God in and through him. Luke 10: 22. In union with the Son, they are in union with the Father; and in beholding the Son, they behold the Father. John 14: 8-11. By faith they commenced a union of life with Christ on earth; by faith they advanced in that union of life with Christ in time; in unclouded vision they are glorified in that union of life with Christ in heaven; and in full perfection they live in that union of life with Christ through all eternity. The union of Christ and believers is all-embracing.

We learn the *necessity* of "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." Acts 20: 21. For without sincere sorrow for sin and evangelical faith in Christ, as our only Saviour, there can be no union with him, and therefore no eternal life in us. Only he who has, by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, been led to forsake sin, to relinquish all self-confidence, and to receive Christ in true faith, is united with Christ and has eternal life. As the branch must perish without the vine, so must the impenitent and unbelieving perish without Christ; and as the branch lives by abiding in the vine, so shall he live who continues by faith in union with Christ to the end. He who liveth, and believeth in Christ, shall never die.

The *source* of the believer's fortitude and power. Christ in him is his strength. He may be assailed, persecuted and afflicted; he may be cast out and led to the lions' den, the fiery furnace, or the burning stake; and yet he maintains his fortitude unshaken, his death is life to him, and he conquers though he dies. He has power with God,

and, like Jacob, shall prevail. He is united to him who has all power in heaven and on earth (Matt. 28: 18), and therefore fears no ill. Christ will not leave him. Such faith the martyrs and reformers had; they were strong by faith in union with Christ, and in the strength of Christ had power to face their foes, every danger, and death itself. In Christ we are strong; without him we can do nothing. Every trial, if endured patiently in reliance on Christ, will tend to unite us closer to Christ, and thus fit us better for heaven.

The *dignity* and high position of the believer in Christ. He is in the world, but not of the world. He is a son of God, an heir of God, and all things are his. He has a title to all in heaven and all he needs on earth. He is a king and a priest, and shall reign forever, giving glory and praise to God and the Lamb. Honoring Christ, the Father will honor him. He shall vie in glory with angels, and in Christ far out-shine them. He is exalted with Christ on the throne, on the right hand of God, and shall judge the world and angels, and reign with Christ, world without end. Believers are happy here and shall be forever in their union with Christ. "Theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5: 3); "for their conversation is in heaven; from whence also they look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ" (Philip. 3: 20), from whose hands they shall receive an unfading crown of glory. They "count all things but loss in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ." They have peace, and will have peace and rest forever. They are God's own children in Christ Jesus.

The transcendent *excellency* and glory of the plan of salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. This plan, like its Author, is all radiant with glory and in infinite wisdom adapted to our wants as sinners and to raise us up, sanctify us, and in union with Christ exalt and glorify us. Who would not be a believer in Jesus Christ? who would not live the life of heaven on earth? who would not strive to gain the world of surpassing glory, What is there greater on earth or in heaven than union with the Lord Jesus? to whom, with the Father and Holy Ghost, be given praise and honor, thanksgiving and glory, both now and forever! Amen.

ARTICLE V.

EXPOSITION OF MARK IX: 49.

For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt. Mark 9 : 49.

This has always been regarded as a difficult passage of Scripture. A diversity of opinion exists, and various interpretations have been suggested. Its precise meaning cannot, perhaps, be satisfactorily ascertained. The most common exposition is the reference of the passage to the words, which immediately precede, as an additional illustration of the truth, previously presented. A reason is assigned why the impenitent, every one that lives and dies in sin, will be tormented in the regions of eternal despair. The verse in immediate proximity repeats the solemn and terrific enunciation, "where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched," representing fire as an element of the endless sufferings of the condemned, the infinite torture of the lost. The question then, according to this interpretation, naturally arises, how can the victim under the influence of these sufferings, be exempt from utter annihilation. The reply is by being maintained in being for the very purpose of enduring them. Every one must be sprinkled or rubbed with salt, the emblem of purity and preservation. As salt preserves from putrefaction the flesh, which is brought in contact with it, so fire applied to the wicked in a future state, will have the property of keeping them in existence, and not only of assimilating them to its own nature but of making them like itself indestructible. The Divine wrath will preserve them from annihilation, keep them, not from suffering, but for suffering. The lost sinner will be burned, but not consumed, salted with the fires of perdition as a subject of retributive justice, in his sufferings a continual sacrifice to God.

The great objection to this exposition of the passage is, that it requires us to give a sense to the word *πᾶς*, *every wicked one*, as is unusual, such as the principles of true exegesis do not warrant. The difficulty in interpreting

the words arises from their position in connexion with the verses immediately preceding.

Others consider the verse, as it here stands, an independent or isolated thought, belonging to some other part of the Gospel. They explain the passage in the sense of *πᾶσα θυσία*, *every one consecrated to God*. The salt is thus taken to signify the salt of grace, the gift of heavenly wisdom or spiritual blessing. *Every sacrifice*—every one, who consecrates himself “a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God” (Rom. xii. 1)—*shall be salted with fire*, “an offering made by fire, of a sweet savor unto the Lord,” (Lev. i. 13). There would then be an evident allusion to the ritual precept, “And every oblation of thy meat-offering shalt thou season with salt, neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meat-offering: with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt” (Lev. ii. 13). The idea would be that every sacrifice shall be salted with salt, which is antiseptic and conservative in its effects, a symbol of incorruption and of the inviolability and faithfulness of God’s covenant with his children, preparatory to its being acceptably devoted to the Lord; every believer shall be salted with fire, seasoned or purified by the fire of the Holy Spirit, (Matt. iii. 11), cleansed from his sins and, as a suitable offering, made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light. To this exposition there are also serious objections. To ascribe such a meaning to *πυρ* seems harsh and unnatural. It cannot fairly be derived from the words. It is not justified by the ordinary rules of interpretation.

The passage, we suppose, applies to the children of God, to Christians in every age, and refers to the trials they are to encounter and the tribulations they are to experience in this life. “The fire shall try every man’s work, of what sort it is” (1 Cor. iii. 13). The words are to be taken in connexion with that which went before, not the words immediately preceding. They contain no allusion to the punishment of the wicked in the future world. *Every one*, every believer, *shall be salted*, seasoned, made fit for everlasting bliss *with fire*, the fiery trials of life, with such sufferings, adversities, calamities, conflicts and sacrifices as cleanse and purify the soul, just as gold is tried in fire, as metals are cleared of all impurity or base alloy. It is in accordance with God’s plan, that his children should be tested by such a searching

ordeal, that every thing impure and selfish and earthly should be, as it were, burned out of the Christian before he enters into eternal life. The opposition of men, the temptations of the adversary, the afflictions and sorrows of life serve to prepare us more fully for that existence, which is to come. This is the season of our probation. We pass through a purifying process. We must suffer loss, even of the members of our body; we must part with those most valuable, the hand or the eye, rather than yield to the corrupting influences of sin, that thus being tried, we may at last reach the prize of our high calling. Every true Christian will be seasoned and fitted by a fiery process for eternal bliss and glory, just as every victim is seasoned with salt for the sacrifice. The design of the Saviour is to show that there are in this life for every believer trials and sufferings, persecutions and conflicts, sorrow and anguish which are as necessary to qualify him for the society of the redeemed, and the Paradise of God, as the seasoning in the literal sacrifice was necessary to render the offering acceptable. "We must through much tribulation* (*διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων* pressure, compression),

*"Tribulation is derived from the Latin *tribulum*, which was the thrashing instrument or roller, whereby the Roman husbandmen separated the corn from the husks; and *tribulatio* in its primary significance was the art of this separation. But some Latin writer of the Christian Church appropriated the word and image for the setting forth of a higher truth; and sorrow, distress and adversity, being the appointed means for the separating in men of their chaff from their wheat, of whatever in them was light and trivial and poor from the solid and the true, therefore, he called these sorrows and griefs "tribulations," thrashings, that is, of the inner spiritual man, without which there could be no fitting him for the heavenly garner."

TRENCH.

We find in the productions of an old English poet the same idea :

"For till the bruising flails of God's corrections
Have thrashed out of us our vain affections ;
Till those corruptions, which do misbecome us
Are by thy sacred Spirit winnowed from us ;
Until from us the straw of worldly treasures,
Till all the dusty chaff of empty pleasures,
Yea, till His flail upon us He doth lay,
To thrash the husk of this our flesh away ;
And leave the soul uncovered ; nay yet more,
Till God shall make our very Spirit poor,
We shall not up to highest wealth aspire ;
But then we shall."

enter into the kingdom of God (Acts xiv. 22). "These are they which came out of great tribulation, *ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως* and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (Rev. vii. 14). Thus are we preserved from self-confidence, habitual disregard of God, wanderings into forbidden paths and violations of duty. A fiery work though it be for the righteous, it will end in their purification and conversion. To accomplish salvation, to obtain eternal life, sin must be renounced, lust subdued, numerous trials endured, deep anguish often borne, self-denial practiced, offences removed; our principles must be tested. As we pass through the furnace of affliction, suffer the fires of persecution, encounter discouragements and losses, or contend with fierce opposition in own progress in the Christian life, we will be prepared as a sacrifice, an offering to God; we will be purified and saved. "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you; but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy" (1 Pet. iv. 12, 13). We may through grace glorify God in tribulation, in the fires, even the hottest fires, in the fires of agonizing, burning pain. Our faith in Christ will sustain us, and we will be able to bear the most ample testimony to the sufficiency and purifying character of our Christian principles.

ARTICLE VI.

CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS.

Translated from the German of Dr. Harless,

By Rev. G. A. Wenzel, A. M., Philadelphia.

There are those who maintain, that Christians should take no part in political questions. It can, however, scarcely be supposed, that by this they contend, that the department of politics should be entirely resigned to those who are averse to Christianity. They, at least,

reserve to themselves the right to weigh political affairs in the scale of Christianity and judge of that, in which they do not take an active part, from the stand-point of Christian enlightenment. But why should the Christian enjoy only the right of opinion in this department, and not that of acting in accordance with it? Is this consistent with the nature of Christianity? No, reply others, the Christian's duty requires him to employ his Christian knowledge also for the benefit of civil society. According to this knowledge he must not only decide on which side, in questions affecting public life, the right or wrong is to be found, but he must also use his active endeavors in support of the right and in the suppression of the wrong. But is Christ's kingdom of this world? Does Christianity furnish us with a canon of political orthodoxy? Does it prescribe to the Christian a rule by which to determine questions relating to political wants and laws? Is the sphere of political life the absolute exponent, the express embodiment of questions relating to Christian life? This can as little be maintained. We may examine, from the stand-point of Christian morality, the means employed for the accomplishment of certain ends, as well as a real or imaginary re-action produced upon religious life by questions touching civil life, but questions relating to civil wants, and still more questions relating to civil laws, cannot be determined by a direct and purely Christian knowledge. From this it might be inferred, that the Christian, as such, should, in all matters pertaining to politics, not only refrain from acting, but even from expressing an opinion. And yet, it will be found impossible to do either. Why not, if the inference is correct? And if not correct, where lies the error? The error lies in the leaving out of certain important premises. It is, on the one hand, an error to consider the Christian as such, only in the relation he sustains to Christ and his kingdom. For the Christian is also a member of a church which, as a legal institution, has a real temporal existence, whose public recognition established altogether concrete relations of itself to the State and of the State to it. On the other hand, it is an error to regard the Christian as sustaining no relation to the State. For the Christian is a member of that community, of whose benefits he will enjoy but a small share, unless actively engaged in the promotion of its welfare.

And this obligation increases in proportion as the State has declared its willingness and is using its endeavors, to promote not only the prosperity of the State, but also that of the Church. Hence the Christian in his two-fold capacity as member of the church and citizen of the State stands essentially related to that department, to which whatever enters into the subject of politics, refers. And he neither should nor can decline participating in them on the ground of being a Christian. For the Christian has religious as well as civil obligations, and though their tenor is indeed not determined by Christianity, as such, yet their existence as a divinely ordained system of order affects him, and he is therefore not at liberty, just because he is a Christian, to stand aloof from them.

Yet I dread nothing so much as that which some feel themselves authorized to define and even to require as the political deportment of Christians. For this is calculated, either to prevent us from forming an opinion in regard to politics, or to lower our appreciation of, and regard, for Christianity. And this is done, wherever the supposition prevails, that political theories, which are to regulate our political conduct, may be deduced from so-called Christian premises. For these premises could only be sought in our inner spiritual life's relation to Christ and his gospel, as the basis and mediation of the relation, in case Christ being received as our law-giver and his gospel as our law, to whose final decision all questions pertaining to ecclesiastical and civil life are ultimately to be referred. But the gospel of Christ presents us only with principles, rules and eventualities in regard to our religious-moral conduct in both departments of life. Their practical application in the shape of constituted laws is left to the ecclesiastical or civil-political sense of mankind; guided by which they have ever, as necessity and circumstances required it, endeavored to enclose by legal enactments, within certain limits, and guard against violence a department of life within which the Christian, in his capacity, both, as member of the Church and citizen of the State, seeks to verify both his religious and civil deportment. The basis and essentials of this are at all times the same, because originally declared by the word and spirit of the gospel. But the peculiar form of laws, under which the Christian spirit is to act, has

not originally been fixed by the Gospel, either for the Church or the State, but is left to historical development, dependent upon all those different agents of civilization, as they impart in various ways to the different stages of national development their peculiar forms. The progress of development and the necessary mutations of law-regulations, connected therewith, is in this instance just as much in accordance with the nature of things, as the eternal uniformity of the truly Christian spirit is most consistent with the nature of Christianity.

This being so, how is it possible to establish this eternal uniformity as the only constitutive factor, the alone determinate rule for the mutable formations of political law-questions, without, at the same time, altering the spirit of Christianity, or of mistaking the natural sources out of which laws proceed? Christianity is no theocracy in the sense of the giving of the law by Moses, and the professors of Christ possess, in the gospel of Christ, no code of laws for the formation of their political life. If the gospel was such a code, then, indeed, might every political question be viewed in a christian or un-christian light, and every difference in political opinion would, at the same time, vitally affect our relation to God. But is it really supposed, that the gospel does decide, as to whether a man can be a Christian and maintain his character, as such, under a republic, or under an absolute monarchy, or under a constitutional monarchy, or under allied States, or under a Union of States, in short, whether he can under this or that form of government be a Christian and conduct himself as such? Does any one imagine, that one look into the word of God is sufficient for clearly ascertaining, whether this or that alteration in the existing laws is judicious and proper? Does my Christianity tell me, whether the existing state of things ought to be continued, or whether it ought to be changed or improved? Whether it is in accordance with the will of God, that all power should concentrate in the supreme executive, or whether his authority should be confined within these or those limits by the representatives of the people and the States? I am utterly unable to point out how and in what way a conclusive answer to any and all of these questions is to be found in the gospel. Yet it is often demanded of us in the name of the gospel, now to be liberal, then to be conservative, then again to act in

support of existing institutions, and still again to aid in bringing about reforms, just as if the ends and objects, for which reforms are brought about or existing institutions preserved, had in every instance its prototype in the Divine Word or in christian knowledge. If the legitimation of law is already included in the existence of legal obligations, then the expunction of whatever is established would, of course, be wrong; and if the introduction of reforms is conceded as a right only when special cases call for it, then the suspicion of incompleteness attaches to every established system of laws. But the fact, of anything being permanent or of undergoing changes, proves it neither right nor wrong. An established right may become a wrong, if it prove a hinderance to the actual power of those relations and institutions which constitute a community, in its active promotion of the welfare of the individual or the State. And the best intentioned reformation becomes unlawful, if, as an absolute power, it does not respect, but arbitrarily destroys the continuity of those established fundamental conditions, upon which depends the progressive development of new formations of law, conducive to the welfare of the individual and the community at large. For in both instances we have only an extemporized law in contradistinction from the regular expression of that common system of order, as it is ever growing anew out of certain given interests and necessities, which are sometimes supposed to be such, as others are, independent of the actual formation of people and nations, and occurring in the natural development of human affairs. Since, in this respect, whatever is new proceeds from something which had a prior existence, out of which it grew germ-like, no reformation can, of course, be imagined without linking it to some law existing before, and no existing law can be conceived without the tendency to further development. Only that which forms the basis and is the common prototype of all law, such as property, marriage, the family, &c., has an immutable basis of continuity. All other forms regulating business and life as well as community of business and life are dependent not upon immutable Divine laws, but upon mutable human laws and conditions, susceptible of development. Whatever becomes a law in this, becomes so as the opposition which order keeps up against the blind force of men and circumstances. It is an exhi-

bition of man's control over himself and the relations which condition him. For the *modi operandi*, however, to legalize this control, there is again no general law, except this, that within a community which has become such in the providence of God, force is not to be opposed to force, but law and order. This is both in accordance with common sense and the teachings of Christianity. But in what manner and to what extent the few or all are called to labor for the establishment and maintenance of this law and order,—for this, Christianity does again not lay down *a priori* any general rule, except, that from the time in which law and order are established, none are to resist, but all are to submit to them, and that the distinction which is made between the governing and the governed is not owing to the superiority of the one over the other, but is rendered necessary only for the maintenance of order. In regard to whether the establishment of these laws belong only to one, or to many, or to all, I am unable to state anything generally binding, from specific christian knowledge. The gospel does not codify laws. That all cannot be equally called to the executive maintenance of right and law, I only know from the general truth, that none obey where all want to command. But as to whether the right to command is to be conferred upon one or upon many, I am equally unable to produce a general rule from the gospel. For such positive legal establishments have their root in the history of nations, and not in the manifestations of the grace of God concerning the redemption of mankind.

What, therefore, can be more preposterous than the assertion, that a Christian, as such, must be a royalist, or a republican, or a constitutional monarchist, &c., &c. His Christianity binds him to nothing, except not to attempt to subvert the existing government by force, showing himself in conduct a royalist in an absolute monarchy, a constitutionalist in a limited monarchy, and a republican in a republic. His duty under all these different forms of government consists in obedience to the law, for the rendering of which he will find opportunity in each. In this legitimate obedience he enjoys the rights and the duties of freedom; and it is his right and, moreover, his duty to oppose every infringement of the laws, on the part of the executive, by every lawful means, short of force, in his power. As to whether he regards an ab-

solate monarchy, or a limited monarchy, or a republic, best adapted for the free exercise of this duty, and even as to which of these particular forms he regards the most desirable, his mind must be left entirely free, free, at least, from the idea, that Christianity decides positively in favor of one or the other. Or what can be more absurd than the attempt on the part of some, to deduce arguments in favor of an absolute monarchy from the sovereignty of Christ, as Head of the Church, or of others, in favor of a republican form of government from the liberty and equality of Christians, or of a third, in favor of a constitutional monarchy from the mediatorial office of Christ between God and man. These absurdities are no inventions of mine. They are the natural offspring of that perversity which pretends to be able to find decisive declarations in the gospel of Christ in regard to questions pertaining to the regulation of civil government. I call this perversity. For from the gospel in itself considered, nothing can be deduced in reference to absolute right, either as it affects royalty, a limited monarchy, or republicanism. Where and how the one or other form exists, I only know from the positively established historical construction of the laws among this or that nation. But where and how one or the other form is to be considered as the most suitable in view of existing facts and relations, concerning this, neither the gospel nor the abstract form of government tells me anything, but I can only ascertain it by a reference to the prevailing condition of the nation itself. Christianity does not forbid me to attach, under expressed conditions, to one form of government a relative value over the other. Political reason only forbids me, to ascribe any importance to the existing condition of a nation apart from its constitutional form. It is not opposed to Christian intelligence, which in fact has nothing at all to do with it, but opposed to political intelligence, to make the prosperity of a nation dependent upon this or that form of government. If, in consideration of the present condition of things, I regard our existing form of government the best, not only because it has in fact a legal existence, but also because it is the most judicious, I do not do so in accordance with any definition, given by Christianity, as to what form of government is the best, nor in accordance with an abstract political theory, but in accordance with the light in which

I view the wants as they now appear and the nature of things as I find them. If these do not appear among other nations, it seems to me folly, to call their government a failure, simply because it has not the same constitutional form. Supposing, however, our antecedents changed, neither my political reason, nor my christian intelligence would prevent me from regarding an alteration in our present form of government possible and admissible. To labor for such an alteration, would appear to me at variance with duty and law only, if done in accordance with an abstract political theory, in opposition to constitutional law, outside the limits appointed for the proper regulation for the formation of new laws and by the application of force. But to assert positively, that the Christian must only recognize the stability of whatever exists and render submission to it, is a point concerning which I am unable to produce from the gospel any satisfactory proof. If the real condition of things is undergoing such a change, that an existing constitution becomes the occasion of disorder, our efforts cannot be directed towards the preservation of that which exists, but rather towards the restoration and preservation of order. The Christian should not be prevented from co-operating in this by being told that his christian duty consists only in preserving whatever exists. This is that perverted conservatism, which is blinded by false dogmas, instead of clearing its vision and thus enabling it to discern, what may be retained for the promotion of order, and what ought to be rejected. But for such a discernment we do again not become fitted by a mere theory, whether we call it christian or humano-political construction, but by the closest observance and examination of all those real factors which, in the different stages of the development of national life, compose the really established fundamental conditions, upon which a nation is to work out its peculiar destiny. These, however, are not always the same, nor do they remain so. And if in consequence of recurring changes, a disposition to introduce reforms in one or another direction should manifest itself, they must not be summarily discountenanced as unchristian tendencies, but examined, whether they are founded in an historical necessity. If they are not, then they are in themselves unjustifiable; but if they are, the attempt at reform in itself is to be admitted, and it only remains,

to examine carefully the means to be employed in bringing it about, that these may not be repugnant to the principles of christian morality. Further than this Christianity does not meddle.

And now let us compare with this the adverse position of political parties to each other. According to these the Christian is to take for granted, that Christianity furnishes him with a satisfactory and decisive criterion in all matters pertaining to political conduct and opinion. In reply to this we take the liberty to say, that one may be an excellent Christian, but a very simple, awkward and perverse politician. He even stands in danger of also becoming a perverse Christian, if he attempts to judge in political affairs, according to the measure of enlightenment, which has been imparted to him in reference to the relation which he and his fellow-men sustain to God and their Redeemer. What does this tell him about the administration of justice, financial affairs, commercial and industrial relations, agriculture, assessments, the *modus operandi* of legislation, representation of national wants, &c., &c., around which all political questions revolve! What christian motive will I assign for being in favor of free trade or a protective tariff, of the right of emigration without paying the deduction money, or for limited assessments, of the division of estates, or the restriction of property, of state representation, or absolute monarchy, &c.? I do not know whether it tends more to the prejudice of religion or whether it interferes most with a thorough investigation of political questions, when Christianity is dragged into affairs concerning which christian knowledge as the Christian, as such possesses, or may and must possess it, knows nothing at all. And yet men are called upon in the name of Christianity to maintain this or that party position in politics, impressed with the belief, that they are Christians because in favor of this or that limitation of the representation of the people; or that they must be in favor of it, because they are Christians. Where such a belief prevails there, of course, all who are not in favor of this, are at once unchristianized. And is this to promote the authority of Christianity and the actual investigation of political questions? Where then are to be found the declarations of the gospel which throw light upon the extent of the rights of States? How will I, for instance, deduce from the gospel, that

he does not "honor" the king, who desires the power of the crown confined within certain limits of the power of the State? It is altogether possible, that some who desire this have not the "honor" of the crown at heart, whilst others have. If these latter wish to give a proof of this, they cannot do it simply by giving assurance of their opinion or by appealing to their Christianity, but by producing the real reasons, founded in the condition of things, from which their political postulates in the interest of the crown do necessarily follow. Then let reasons be opposed to reasons, but let them not be disposed of by asserting, that a Christian cannot entertain nor urge such reasons.

That kind of conduct so detrimental to the public good and which is ridiculed and denounced under the term of "bunkum," is exhibited, where men pretend to speak and give a common sense opinion about political questions without possessing a knowledge of the relations between facts and laws, without understanding the product of history and without comprehending the connection between what is forming and what already exists. But this sort of conduct does by no means improve, but becomes vastly more injurious, where the attempt is made to supply the deficiency of solid political discernment with the so-called results of christian knowledge. For in this way we do not only make the source of our personal conduct in reference to law the same from which we derive our knowledge of things affecting a department, information concerning which is derived from a source altogether different, but we also expose Christianity to the danger, of being regarded as the source of distorted political views, such as are entertained only too often, where men suppose themselves able, without an acquaintance with political questions, to judge and decide concerning them from the standpoint of Christianity. Christianity is, of course, the essential and indeed, in a certain sense, the only really conservative power of a well-ordered and prosperous nationality. But political conservative parties endanger its influence in the same measure, in which they seek to maintain political doctrines, which they regard as right and beneficial, not by the employment of cogent political arguments, but by appeals to Christianity. For whilst that which is intended to influence in its way all the various relations of life for good is improperly applied

to subserve the interests of only one of them, its authority is put in jeopardy also, where it is designed to be the only rule for the formation of our judgment. Yea, we even cause Christianity itself to be regarded as the source of political error, whilst the mistake only consists in the attempt, on the part of Christians, to disguise their own opinions under the cloak of Christianity. For if the question at issue only affects the correctness of a political opinion, and not that of our moral conduct in its practical application, I have only to establish this correctness by arguments, deduced from the subject. It is political reasoning, and not christian argumentation, that convinces. Whether, as they say in England, the opposition party to her royal majesty is in the right or wrong, I am not able to prove either there or elsewhere by simply laying down the nominal christian principle, that all opposition is contrary to christian obedience. I can just as well assert, that there is a sort of obedience, which is opposed to all christian duty of true loyalty and of all loyal fidelity. But with all these general assertions nothing is gained for the concrete point in question. Political questions of law are not settled by a simple reference to the opinions of those concerned in them. They must be considered in their objective character and estimated according to their own merits. This is the only way, by which we can arrive at a correct political opinion. Not even the political party position of those, who lay down any postulate, can determine me in favor of any specific case. Thus, for instance, if the Democrats in Prussia entertain a more correct opinion in regard to the entire German question, than the so-called constitutionalist, then I agree with them, not on account of their democratic tendency, but on account of the correctness of their views in regard to the subject in question. If the conservatives refuse to the State a proportionate representation in financial affairs, their conservatism can be no reason why I should agree with them in opinion. Least of all does the piety of a politician, although it be generally acknowledged, incline me to take the correctness of his political opinions for granted, because he is a Christian. For his Christianity does not preserve him from entertaining erroneous views in the political estimation of the subject in question.

Therefore, I say, be Christians in all you say and do, but leave out Christianity in the politico-judicial investigation and determination of political questions concerning right! You create in so doing a prejudice both against Christianity and political acumen.

It is true, Christianity affords in political questions a certain amount of information, of which those who stand aloof from it, do not reap the advantage. This information is derived from the moral diagnosis of the condition of nations, from the knowledge of the spiritual distempers which have prevailed during this or that period and from the ethical estimation of the cause which political institutions are to serve, or from which desires and aims of a political nature are to emanate. But even where this information is possessed we must be careful, that we do not allow an opinion in itself correct to exert an unconditional and unlimited influence upon us, in our estimation of political questions. That which is right in itself does not become wrong because aimed at through the employment of unjustifiable means or improper motives. In proof of this take the following. The prevailing spirit, which produced the first French revolution, will and must be condemned. But this does not exclude the recognition of those excessive disorders and abuses whose removal could be justly demanded, whilst in the attempts put forth to maintain the right, men permitted themselves to be beguiled into the commission of the most flagrant wrongs. Or, whilst the requirements of the German reformation must be regarded in principle as perfectly justifiable, we as little as Luther can avoid discerning the fact, that a large part of the municipal authorities, "the cavaliers and the mass of the people," who set themselves up as patrons of the reformation, were misled by false political views. But, *vice versa*, it does not follow that we can from these premises form a correct estimate of the reformation. The state of the case must first of all be examined by itself; and the question, what relation a cause, just in itself, sustains to the prevailing sentiment, be determined afterwards. That it may happen, as far as the real merits of the question are concerned, that we accord perfectly with those, who labor for its solution in an objectionable manner, or that we entertain no doubt whatever in reference to the essentially correct solution of a question, whilst it may be a matter of doubt, whether, in consideration of public

sentiment and the popular mind, it will prove a benefit, that in the estimation of political questions, in giving them currency and in bringing them to an issue, we should not only have regard to the abstract consistency of right, but, in view of the concrete conditions of the relations and dispositions, also to the consideration of practicability. But it cannot be allowed, that whatever is right in itself should be denounced as wrong in the same degree, in which it is perverted and improperly promoted by the self-willed. And just as little is it to be justified, when the nature of this or that political postulate, instead of being examined on its own merits, is designated by the aim of the party maintaining it, indicating as conservative or revolutionary, democratic or constitutional, whatever is advocated by those, whose political aim is perhaps aptly characterized by this appellation. For where questions affecting political life do really spring up, there they emanate from the objective nature of established relations, and whilst parties may and do differ in reference to the choice of the means and interests which induce them to take part in these questions, a correct knowledge of their merits can only be arrived at, by keeping out of view the manner in which parties lay hold of them, and by following up instead the real causes which gave rise to these questions. This impartiality in our investigation can, however, least be attained where, from the correct knowledge which we derive from Christianity of the human passions, we draw the inference, that the given questions are themselves the result of passionate excitement. Historical processes are nowhere merely the product of human passions. The knowledge of this fact should least of all be wanting in the Christian. An analysis of the dominant political excitements, during a given period, will show, that they were aroused either by some real calamity, for the removal of which perverted means were employed, or by some positive good, the securement and preservation of which was sought in passionate haste. For the impulse of passion ever lies beyond itself; and only by acknowledging and recognizing, and not by denying the real evil or good by which the passions are aroused, can they be met and the ways and means at the same time be found, either to remove or obtain without the excitement of passion, that about whose real nature we remain in the dark just so long, as the impulse of passion is regarded

simply as the imaginary product, and both are not carefully distinguished from one another. I can, as a Christian, form a perfectly correct judgment in regard to the morally perverted political excitements as they prevail during this or that period, and yet be mistaken in my estimation of the objective evil which produced these excitements. From this I am neither saved by the solemn earnestness with which I condemn what is morally objectionable, nor by the immoral laxity, with which I declare it as indifferent. The effectual remedy is rather to be found beyond the sphere of moral judgment, namely, in the accurate knowledge of, and inquiry into, the objective nature of things and circumstances, upon whose relation to each other the political prosperity of nations depends, during this or that period, and within the limits which mark their political existence. This can, however, not be settled from a general christian point of view, but by the most accurate acquaintance with political affairs and all that pertains thereto. If we are desirous of avoiding political "bunkum," we should also avoid the use of christian phraseology in political discussions. The use of phrases is adopted, where the knowledge of a subject is superficial and not thorough. But the material relations out of which political questions proceed have their sources in the world, and not in Christianity. Hence the danger of the use of phrases, where plain Christianity is made to engage in politics.

Godliness is profitable unto all things. Among other things also in this, that it enables us to find the proper limit, within which godliness alone does not fit us for the understanding of the real objects, whose existence lies beyond the relation of our piety in the sight of God. He who is engaged in agriculture knows, that he is indebted finally for his increase to the sunlight of heaven. But if he were only to look at the sun, and not to examine and till the soil, his conduct would meet with a poor reward, and he would be more apt to get blind than reap a rich harvest. So also those who imagine one glance at the heavenly light of revelation to be sufficient to find one's way amid the labyrinth of temporal human affairs, and to gain a perfect knowledge of and a complete mastery over them, without the employment of temporal human means and the exertion necessary for this work.

Christianity suffices in acquiring a knowledge of self and of men generally, but not in understanding events, as they form themselves in the lives of nations through the Providence of God and the actions of men. Christianity has been given us to teach us how to engage in our investigations and labors with a wise reference to God, and is not intended to supply the place of these investigations and labors. From it we are to learn whence all the blessings, attending our cares and labors, proceed, but not what particular form of labor and care results from the nature of the temporal objects of our pursuit, and what serves for the attainment of our temporal aims. Christian self-knowledge is to humble us in view of our own wisdom, and the contemplation of the consummate wisdom of that God, who holds the control of the universe in his hand, is to encourage and comfort us amid the consciousness of our own foolishness and that of others. For that spirit of inflation, that arrogant pretension to infallibility, unlimited knowledge and power, to which cunning politicians are so apt to lay claim, there is no better and more effectual remedy than simple Christianity. But to gain a clear insight into temporal human affairs requires as much practice, as is required by the enlightened Christian to gain an insight into Divine things. As little as worldly wisdom need be acquired and possessed in order to enable us to acquire with childlike simplicity a knowledge of Divine things, just so little is this required to make wise in worldly things, and apt in the accomplishment of worldly ends. That which is designed to *sanctify* all worldly wisdom and understanding, is not on that account designed to *impart* worldly wisdom and understanding. Christianity does neither produce political experience and knowledge, nor does politics produce christian virtue and wisdom. The things, which are to serve temporal and eternal ends, spring from entirely different roots. And that, which by virtue of its opposite nature possesses the power of exerting a salutary influence, should not be deprived of this power by the attempt to raise it from the same root with the other. Upon this those should seriously reflect who would make Christianity also the mother of political wisdom.

Therefore, if there is any one who in this department knows the right, let him give the credit to the true source and not say, that he owes this knowledge to his Christianity,

so that in the event it should after all be found not to be the right, the dishonor may not fall back upon Christianity. His Christianity fits him to desire whatever is right in the right way, but not to the right understanding of what in questions of civil right and civil prosperity is the right. And if he as a Christian, as is proper, gives for his political knowledge God, and not himself, the glory, let him remember, that God does not distribute his gifts for the different ends of this temporal life in one and the same way. For it is one thing to possess those natural gifts with which God endows some, and which produce those "master minds" who have particular aptitude in the administering of civil affairs, and another to be endowed with the Holy Spirit, as it fits and prepares for the kingdom of Christ and the attainment of eternal life. I thank Christianity for it, if I, in every conceivable temporal calling, be it as king or farmer, as tradesman or politician, remain an honest man, and keep my soul guarded against the temptations with which every temporal calling is surrounded. But as far as any one is from saying, that his Christianity has made him an expert farmer, tailor, shoemaker, &c., &c., just so far are we from attaining from Christianity itself, to a thorough political discernment and expertness.

All these appear to be such simple truths, that one feels almost ashamed to utter them as if they were anything remarkable. But in practical life it often happens, that those more especially who are otherwise sincere Christians act as if they had forgotten them. Those, therefore, who now and then preach a catechetical sermon on Christianity and politics will not be uselessly employed. The present generation seems to me especially in need of such a reminder, without pointing out with my finger the examples and proofs, to which I more especially allude.

ARTICLE VII.

Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman, Major-General, U. S. A., and Governor of the State of Mississippi. By J. F. H. Claiborne. In two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

THESE volumes we have read with deep interest and profit, although, as we passed along, we found much to condemn in sentiments, frequently uttered. It is somewhat remarkable, that the son of a Lutheran clergyman, born and educated in the North, so conscientious and correct a man, should, on going to the South, have embraced with apparent sincerity and earnest cordiality the most ultra Southern views on all subjects of policy and interest, at a time too when his adopted State entertained more liberal views, and political aspirations might have prompted him to profess a different creed. Many of these opinions were formed when he was yet a boy, and always maintained with great tenacity in opposition too to those of his venerable father, who was a warm Federalist, an earnest advocate for strong government, and a most ardent admirer of Alexander Hamilton. In the discussion of political questions the argument usually terminated by the old Doctor, exclaiming, "Pshaw! John you are a born Democrat." Very early in life he became deeply imbued and, we may say, fascinated with the sentiments of the Calhoun school; perhaps he more fully and intelligently represented the principles of that distinguished, but infatuated, statesman than any other Southern man. In these views he was far in advance of his State. Even as late as 1851, a State Convention, in opposition to his sentiments, declared "that the asserted right of secession from the Union on the part of a State or States is utterly unsanctioned by the Federal Constitution, which was framed to establish, and not to destroy the Union;" also "that the people of the State of Mississippi will abide by the Union, as it is and by the Constitution of the United States without amendment; that they hold the Union secondary in importance, only to the rights and principles it was designed to perpetuate; that past associations, present fruition and future prospects will bind them to it so long as it continues to be the safeguard of those rights and principles." General

Quitman's position, at this time and long before, foreshadowed the line of conduct, subsequently adopted by Mississippi and other Southern States. He, no doubt, had much to do in the moulding of public sentiment which culminated in the organization of the so-called Southern Confederacy. If he were now living, he would be a powerful champion in the interest of Secession and most probably the President of the Confederacy, if not Commander-in-Chief of the Southern army. He possessed striking characteristics, which would have admirably fitted him for either position, whilst his many sterling qualities would have rendered him a general favorite with the people.

General Quitman was born in 1798, at Rhinebeck, N. Y. His father was the Rev. Dr. Quitman, a man of great learning, who occupied so prominent a position in the *New York Ministerium*, and for many years presided over its deliberations. The son was designed for the Lutheran ministry, and pursued his studies with that end in view. For a season he was placed under the instruction of his uncle, Rev. Dr. Wackerhagen, who at the time was Pastor of the Lutheran Church at Schoharie. During the two or three years he sojourned under his roof, the Doctor writes that "his conduct was mild, gentle and courteous, obtaining for him the love of all. He applied himself diligently to the classics and paid laudable attention to the religious and moral instruction connected with his daily studies. He was then in his twelfth or thirteenth year, and I do not remember a single instance of improper conduct or disobedience." He subsequently continued his studies under the immediate direction of his father, and thence was transferred to Hartwick Seminary, of which the Rev. Dr. Hazelius, at the time, had charge. The Professor became very much attached to his young pupil and, so long as he lived, maintained with him a regular and pleasant correspondence. Quitman took high rank as a student, and on the completion of his course was appointed a Tutor in the Classical Department of the Seminary. This was in 1816. Rev. Dr. Pohlman was cotemporary with him and his intimate companion. In a letter, recalling the reminiscences of the past, he says, "I never met with a nobler character. He was the soul of honor, truthfulness and integrity; and though sustaining towards many of the students the relation of Tutor, always an invidious one, especially when the Tutor is the junior of many of his pupils, he never failed to acquire their confidence and love. In 1818

he received and accepted the appointment of a Professorship in Mount Airy College, Germantown, Pa., at the time a very prosperous and popular Institution. His correspondence with his father, during this period, gives evidence of great excellencies of character, and indicates his success in acquiring habits of self-reliance and of independent and resolute effort. His mind now becomes very much exercised in reference to his future profession. He well knew his father's wishes on the subject, yet his inclinations were in another direction. To assume the functions of the sacred office, as he would, any secular business he felt persuaded would be degrading to himself as well as the office. He, therefore, abandons the study of Divinity for that of the Law. Although the father was disappointed, he cheerfully acquiesces in the result, and in reply to the son, announcing his decision, he writes, "You have arrived to years of discretion, and ought to know what is for your own good in the choice of your profession. I shall never compel my children to enter upon any occupation against their own inclination. I am no friend to the profession, which you prefer. You have, however my consent and blessing upon the step you meditate, under the full assurance that you will never deviate from the principles of rectitude and honor."

We next find our young hero, in 1820, at Chilicothe, diligently engaged in the prosecution of his professional studies. The year following he was admitted to the practice of the Law. Soon after he "pulled up stakes, and "pitched his tent" in the South, for which he had long had a strong predilection. He settles at Natchez, and, although without means or friends, entertains, no doubt, of his success. In a letter to his father, he says: "I write, dear father, because I know your solicitude for me. From the cares that I have had, I can estimate the feelings of a parent, who has the happiness of his children at heart, and to whom Providence has denied the means of setting them up in the world. You have given your example, your instruction and your blessing, worth far more than money; and with these I can fight my battle of life, and have no fears of the result. * * I shall be upright and honorable, whether I die, rich or poor. * * Continue to give me your blessing, dear father, and your son Jack will never disgrace you." He frequently wrote to his father, and the tenderness and affection which the correspondence exhibits is truly refreshing. He cher-

ished until the last hour of his life the most pleasing recollections of his father's instructions and counsels, and always referred to him with the most affectionate interest. In a communication we had from him only a few weeks before his death, whilst we were engaged in preparing a brief sketch of the life and services of his deceased parent,* he wrote in most touching strains, and seemed very grateful for the effort to rescue from oblivion the memory of one, whom he so much loved and revered.

He now gives himself assiduously to the duties of his profession, and seems to be incessantly employed. He soon acquires a high reputation for skill and success in business. The following letter, addressed to him about this time by his step-brother, Rev. Dr. Mayer, of Philadelphia, will be read with interest by many of our readers. It is written in the Doctor's playful, characteristic style :

"I have often heard Natchez described as seated on a high bluff, and, of course, likely to be as healthy as any other spot within 1000 miles of New Orleans. Still, I would advise you to make a frequent use of Lee's anti-bilious pills, two or three a day, as a preventive against the fall diseases of that climate. How shall I send you a dozen boxes? A pretty thick net is, I suppose, an indispensable defense against mosquitoes. How do they differ from gallinippers? How do Yankees thrive with you? I have been told that girls of decent appearance and good education are sure to be snatched up as wives, in three months after their first exhibition among you. Is this really so? If it be, I should wish to disseminate the information on your warrant among some friends of mine. Rumor has it, that ministers rarely fail to marry rich wives in that country, that they fall off gradually in their devotions, and become the most rigorous task-masters and cotton-makers. This, surely, must be scandal.

"Are you permanently fixed, or will you roll on? Is your ambitious eye fixed upon the mines of Mexico, or do you expect to go to the mouth of the Columbia? How does the capital of Mississippi please you as a resting-place? A resting-place only, I fear it will be, unless one of its fair sirens enchant you. Another foe, not a fair one, is to be guarded against. I suppose every body is down with high bilious fevers from July to December. Stick to your pills, and cheat the adversary. Some of your fellow-adventurers at Mount Airy have at length found places, and others are tossing about. Haslam has the Lutheran Academy at Charleston. Goodman has gone to take charge of the churches near Troy. Backus has sailed for Pernambuco. Promotion is rapid, I hear, in your new country. When you shall have risen to the office of judge or member of Congress, let me know, that I may write you with becoming dignity. There is a colony of Germans near Natchez somewhere. Look after them, make them your clients, and keep them in the true Church."

General Quitman was a man of generous emotions and kind heart, pure in character, fearless and brave. He never

* *Vide Evangelical Review*, Vol. X, p. 183.

evaded a duty ; stooped to no artifice ; he was incapable of a mean action. He was an earnest and able supporter of any views he adopted. He soon gathered around him a large circle of devoted friends. He became a public man, and identified himself with various leading interests, designed to promote the mental and moral improvement of those around him. He was interested in education, and served as a Trustee of the Academy, and of the State University ; he was also President of an Anti-Gambling Society, of an Anti-Duelling Society, and numerous other Associations, established to ameliorate the condition of his fellowmen. He contributed liberally to the education of some of his relatives. The following letter, written in 1825, to his nephew, then a student in Hartwick Seminary, gives an insight into his character, and an illustration of the principles by which he was himself influenced :

"I am much pleased to hear of your arrival at Hartwick, and that you are determined to employ your opportunities to the best advantage. Write freely and often, and tell me what profession you wish to adopt. Treat me with the utmost candor, and without reserve. Upon the profession must depend your line of studies. I wish you to be thorough in all you undertake. I have not offered you my assistance to leave you on the threshold. Be industrious, be economical, be virtuous and honorable, and I will stand by you always. I have been led to believe that you prefer the law. My partialities are in its favor. In our country it opens the road to distinction and wealth. Remember, however, it is laborious, and requires unremitted industry. There is no position in society so abject and mean as that of a mere pettifogger, and none more elevated and noble than that of the honest and distinguished lawyer. Persevere ; few men of good intellect have ever failed of success in any pursuit to which they have given their whole mind and heart. There is a very seductive kind of mental dissipation, to which young men too often give way ; it consists in changing their aims and objects too often—a kind of waiting upon Providence. They make as little real progress as the mariner who sails about the ocean without a chart, driven by the shifting winds ; they pursue every shadow that flits across their path. Such persons, always, fail, because they have no ultimate aim. The young man who sets out upon the journey of life should fix his eye upon some great object, and then resolutely and perseveringly exert all his energies to accomplish it. If the tide of adversity sets against his progress, he should row the harder ; if difficulties intervene, grapple with and overcome them. Keep this in view, and you may commence your career with many advantages. In the mean time, consult your venerable instructor in all things ; determine to be first among your fellow-students ; write me once a month ; choose your topics ; do not try to be stiff and learned ; any thing that amuses and interests you will be pleasing to me ; above all things, be unreserved. I would not have you an imitator or a parasite,

but it is a good plan for a student to select some model from the great men of the past, or from those that figure in cotemporary history, and resolve to be equal to him. Epaminondas used to engross my affections, but of all the great republicans that history has handed down to us, I now most admire Cato; he was willing to sacrifice not only his person but his reputation and character in the cause of liberty."

General Quitman married now into one of the oldest and wealthiest families of Mississippi and by this relation came into the possession of a large estate. He also early entered political life and was elected to various offices of honor and trust, first as member of the Legislature, then as Chancellor of the State, delegate to the Convention to frame a new Constitution, Governor and Representative in Congress. He was never a rigid politician. He could not be said to have a very close affinity to either of the leading political parties. He was often in disrepute with both. More devoted to principles than party he would sustain no measures, no matter from what source they emanated, if they conflicted with his convictions of right. Yet he possessed a strong hold on public confidence, and was often supported by those who differed from him in their political views. In the National Democratic Convention that assembled in Baltimore in 1848 he was named for the Vice-Presidency and, it is said, had more personal strength and popularity in that body than any other man placed in nomination; at the Convention which met in Cincinnati in 1856, he received for the office the highest number of votes on the first ballot; but in both instances he was defeated by one of those combinations, that seem unavoidable when there are so many conflicting claims to reconcile and a platform must be constructed for the concentration of discordant opinions.

At a very early period in life he gave his adhesion to the doctrines of State-rights or independent sovereignty, and clung to them with a constancy which no opposition could shake, and with a fearlessness which no power could intimidate. He regarded "the government of the United States as the creature of the States," "the federal Constitution as a compact between independent political communities, acting in their character as sovereigns," and frequently asserted that "over all political powers, not delegated, the States retained an absolute and exclusive

control with all the rights and powers necessary to maintain and preserve their sovereignty." In a letter, written in 1852 he thus defines his position on the subject :

"By *sovereignty* I understand that political power which can ultimately control all other powers. This power in our system resides alone in the respective States, and not elsewhere. As sovereigns, the States have merely delegated to their State governments and to their common government certain specified powers to be exercised for their benefit. These may be resumed by each sovereign at pleasure. There exists, however, a moral obligation on the part of each not to resume the powers delegated in the federal compact, unless the compact be violated by the other parties, or used to oppress the people. As this right of secession exists in the States, it would be as absurd on the part of the Federal Government to claim the right of using force to bring back a seceding State, as to attempt by force to bring a neighboring State, Mexico, for instance, into the Union."

Here was his fatal mistake. Although the expression of these views at first brought down upon him the opposition of prominent men in his State, yet he lived to see the same doctrines accepted with singular unanimity by his own State and by nearly the whole South. These false views on State sovereignty so prevalent of late years in the South have been, in a great measure, the cause of our national troubles. Their adoption have implicated many good, but misguided and deluded men, in the crime of murderous treason and secured their co-operation in the present causeless and wicked rebellion.

Gen. Quitman was an early advocate of Secession. He thought the Southern States could not remain in the Union and preserve their sovereign rights and their domestic institution. As early as 1850 in a communication to General Seabrook, of South Carolina he says he had "no hope of an effectual remedy for existing and prospective evils, but in separation from the Northern States," and he suggested "the call of a regular Convention to take into consideration federal relations, with full powers to change or annul the federal compact, and establish new relations with other States."

Slavery he regarded as a moral, social and political good, as the natural and normal condition of the negro, ordained by Providence, as the only condition of the negro, in which he can be civilized and instructed. He ever defended the institution and desired its perpetuity. In his Inaugural Address, as Governor of Mississippi, he uses the following language :

"This institution is entwined in our political system, and can not be separated from it without destruction to our social fabric. It was recognized in the formation of the Federal Constitution, and to its existence among us, as much as to any other single cause, is attributable the rapid advance of our country in its career of prosperity, greatness and wealth.

That Supreme Being, whose all-seeing eye looks down upon the nations of the earth, has beheld and tolerated its existence among us for more than two centuries, and has poured out upon us the choicest blessings of his Providence.

We do not regard it as an evil; on the contrary, we think that our prosperity, our happiness, our very political existence, is inseparably connected with it. We have a right to it above and under the Constitution of the United States. We can not give up that right. We *will* not yield it. We have a right to the quiet enjoyment of our slave property. We can not and will no longer permit that right to be disturbed. It is of those essential rights which can not be yielded up without dishonor and self-degradation. None who believe that we have inherited the free spirit of our fathers can doubt our determination, at all hazards, to maintain these positions so essential to our security."

In his message to the Legislature in 1850 he thus speaks of the progress of the anti-slavery element:

"This hostility to slavery has now become the all-absorbing, all-controlling element of political action and party movement, both in Congress and throughout the Northern States. Political parties unite, separate, and are modified with reference to it. Political platforms are built upon it. It is the main question in the selection of candidates for all offices. It is the active element of religious, benevolent, charitable, and even literary Associations, and the spice which seasons private society. The Constitution of the United States, the rights of the States, the gravest questions of public policy, all are construed and determined with reference to this question of domestic slavery." * * * * "There is nothing to encourage the hope that there will be any respite from aggression. Never has hostility to slavery been more distinctly marked or more openly asserted. Shades of difference in opinion may distinguish Northern statesmen, but all unite in stern opposition to the extension of slavery, and in declarations of their fixed determination to confine it to its present limits, and forever to close the public territory against us."

In 1858, on the same subject he writes thus:

"National Democracy will almost cease to exist in the free States. Every man who votes with us will be swept off at the next election. The Black Republicans, or the Anti-slavery party under some other name, will sweep every free State at the next contest for President. Parties will become purely sectional, and no remedy left to us of the minority but separation. On the other hand, should the Constitution be rejected, the South must regard the plighted faith of the Northern Democracy violated. It will assure us that no more reliance can be placed on them to aid in protecting our rights; that National Democracy is worthless."

We give one more extract from a letter addressed to Col. Preston of South Carolina in 1851, showing that at this early period a programme was actually prepared, and that the last Presidential election was only the pretext of executing that which had long before been contemplated :

"If, therefore, the people of South Carolina have made up their minds to withdraw from the Union at all events, whether joined by other States or not, my advice would be to do so without waiting for the action of any other State, as I believe there would be more probability of favorable action on the part of other Southern States after her secession than before. So long as the several aggrieved States wait for one another, their action will be over-cautious and timid. Great political movements, to be successful, must be bold, and must present practical and simple issues. There is, therefore, in my opinion, greater probability of the dissatisfied States uniting with a seceding State than of their union for the purpose of secession. The secession of a Southern State would startle the whole South, and force the other States to meet the issue plainly; it would present practical issues, and exhibit everywhere a wider-spread discontent than politicians have imagined. In less than two years all the States, south of you, would unite their destiny to yours. Should the federal government attempt to employ force, an active and cordial union of the whole South would be instantly effected, and a complete Southern Confederacy organized. All these results are problems which the future alone can solve."

General Quitman, also, served with distinction in the field. He was one of our gallant Generals in the Mexican War and the first to unfurl the Stars and Stripes of his Country from the Halls of the Montezumas. He was appointed by General Scott, with high civil and military powers, Governor of the City of Mexico, and with so much moderation and success did he conduct his administration, as not only to elicit the warm commendation of his own country but to secure the respect and love of the conquered people. We are glad to find in the work so favorable an opinion, expressed in one of Gen. Quitman's letters, of General Scott, whose military operations in Mexico have been so severely criticised. He accords to him the highest military distinction. "His Mexican campaign," he says, "from the first gun at Vera Cruz to the fall of the Capital was one of the most brilliant on military record."

General Quitman favored the annexation of Cuba to the United States and warmly sympathized with the military expeditions, undertaken for the invasion of the island. He maintained that Cuba was oppressed by the mother country, and justified her demand for aid on the same principles which prompted France to extend sympathy and assistance to the American colonies, during our Revolu-

tionary struggle. He thought, that so soon as the first gun was fired with the view of throwing off the Spanish yoke, it was legitimate for the Government or for private individuals to extend relief. The Cubans, through General Lopez, offered him the leadership of the Revolution and the supreme command, provided their arms were victorious. General Quitman's whole course on this question was wrong, and must be condemned. Spain was a friendly power, and, at the time, sustained peaceful relations with our country. It was highly improper for us to interfere in any difficulties, which existed between her and her colonies. From the beginning our Government, in all such instances, has occupied a neutral position, and the wisdom of President Washington, in his famous Proclamation on this subject, cannot be questioned.

But we must hasten to a close, having already occupied more space than we intended. General Quitman died in the 60th year of his age, July 17th, 1858, soon after his return from Washington, that exciting and memorable session of Congress. In the volumes before us, very little is said respecting his religious character. He worshipped with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and held the office of Vestryman. His Rector, on the occasion of his funeral, expresses hope in his death. He refers to his early Christian training, to his reverence for religion, his generous support of the Gospel, his kindness to the poor and sympathy with the afflicted, and gives, as an illustration of his pious character his dying words. A daughter, when death seemed near, approached the bedside of her father and said, "My father, look to Jesus; He is your only hope." "Yes, yes," replied the dying parent, "I know it; *He is my trust!*" He has gone to render his account. We indulge the hope, that through the merits of that Saviour, in whom he trusted, he is at rest, in the enjoyment of everlasting peace and blessedness. If his emancipated spirit can from the realms above behold the scenes that are now transpiring, the crimes that are perpetrated among us, this carnival of death, what must be his thoughts? How different must he now regard the work which he encouraged, the part he played in bringing about present results? His thoughts, it may be, are occupied with other topics, with the wonders of redeeming grace, and he is surprised that, when on the earth, his attention was so much absorbed with the things that perish to the exclusion of those that are enduring, the immortal interests of the never-dying soul.

ARTICLE VIII.

AN EFFICIENT MINISTRY.*

By Rev. A. ESSICK, A. M., Gettysburg, Pa.

WE have chosen a subject of wide scope, demanding, for its discussion, rather a treatise, than a single address. It will be necessary to confine our remarks to a few of its prominent features. As we are addressing ministers, and not candidates, everything will be taken for granted, that should precede their induction into office, such as, natural talent, a change of heart, aptness to teach, thorough training, etc.

1. The fundamental requisite is *a proper appreciation of the nature, dignity and importance of the ministerial office*. Efficiency will be proportioned by the estimate put upon the work. The man who underrates his calling will never give all his energies to it. We degrade the Christian ministry by depressing it to a level with any human institution. Men talk about choosing a profession, and some express a preference for Theology, as others do for Law or Medicine, thereby implying a comparison or competition, in their minds, of one with the other. The fundamental aim of a profession, is, the means of obtaining a livelihood. It incidentally furnishes a field for delightful mental culture, and a theatre for exerting the powers of the mind in a contest for eminence and fame. It also affords opportunities for usefulness to such as are so inclined, and, occasions for the exercise of benevolence. But the primary idea, which usually decides the choice, finds its main-spring in the selfishness of human nature. Properly speaking, the clerical office is not a profession, but a *calling*. Its incumbents are a distinct class, divinely set apart. They have not selected their vocations from among others, but have yielded, under a sense of duty, to the power which has distinguished them as chosen vessels. "Ye have

*An Address delivered to the Alumni of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, August 12, 1862, and published by request of the Association.

not chosen me," says the Master (John 15: 16), "but I have chosen you, and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit."

The *nature* of this office, therefore differs, in its essential features, from all others. We are ambassadors for Christ. The ambassador has no authority to go without being sent. He never has the privilege of abandoning his mission, until recalled. Some there are, with spurious credentials, who give up their office at pleasure, and go back where they belonged. But the "chosen vessel" quiets every dissuasive suggestion by that overwhelming reply, from which there can be no appeal, "*Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel.*" An appreciation of the nature of the office, such as this, would give to the Church a pure, and, therefore, a zealous and permanent ministry.

In point of *dignity* the Christian ministry towers above every other calling. No appointment in the gift of the people or the president, of kings or parliaments, is worthy of being compared with it. This is the highest office in the gift of God among men. Such should we feel it to be. Then will this sense of appreciation be diffused among the people, and our efficiency will be in proportion to the estimation in which the office is held. "Like priest, like people," is a true adage. Wherever the clergy have estimated, by too low a standard, the dignity of their calling, the leaven of their example has wrought with the masses. Wherever they have failed, through lack of attainment or propriety of bearing, to elicit due respect, the sacredness of the office has vanished and its power for good likewise.

The age of Charles II. of England, furnishes sad illustrations of the truth of these remarks. In London and other prominent places we find clergymen eminent for their learning and piety, and, therefore, holding the position to which their calling entitled them; such as Barrow, Cudworth, Prideaux, Whitby, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, South and Jeremy Taylor. But the rural clergy, according to Macauley, ranked no higher than menial servants. The country gentleman, who deemed it essential to his dignity or his salvation, to have grace said at his table by an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, made use of his reverence to save the expense of a groom or a gardener. "Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach horses. He cast up the

farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or with a parcel." Often he toiled on the glebe, fed swine or loaded dung-carts, to obtain his daily bread. His library, under favorable circumstances, contained from ten to a dozen of volumes, which we may imagine to have been gracefully arranged, among the pots and the pans, either in or near the culinary department of the mansion.

Much of this reproach, which lay upon the clergy, was doubtless due to the peculiarity of the times. But who so capable of creating and directing public sentiment, or so abundantly furnished with the means of doing so, as the clergy, provided they be of the right stamp? "Let no man despise thy youth," said Paul to Timothy. "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed." There is no other medium of access to the hearts of the people, worthy to be mentioned in connection with the pulpit. If the men, who possess this advantage, fail to make themselves respected, they deserve to be sneered at and trodden upon.

In this connection allow me to make a practical suggestion, which is fully endorsed by the state of the times. Ecclesiastical bodies are sometimes eager to hurry candidates into the ministry, to fill up vacancies and supply urgent wants, with a criminal unconcern about the character and qualifications of the applicant. Numbers are by no means the chief element of strength. Where the ranks are already comfortably filled, accessions, unless they be very choice, impair efficiency. Each addition to the ministry of the Church affects its character as a whole, and every unworthy admission depreciates the value of the office in the minds of a discerning people. Let us be jealous of the dignity of our calling. Its efficiency will be promoted, if we aim at elevating, rather than suffer any depression of the standard of admission to its ranks.

A due sense of the *importance* of the Christian ministry is essential to success. Each man's efforts will be in proportion to his estimate of the results. It is but natural that the crew of a ship should labor and hazard more in capturing a prize, worth a hundred thousand dollars, than they would for one which they knew to be worth only ten thousand. As we value life more than gold, and the soul infinitely more than the body, so should we esteem the work of the ministry infinitely above every other calling.

In view of its results this office looms up among the other vocations of men like St. Peter's above the churches of Rome, or Mt. Blanc among the hills around its base. The school and the press, to be productive of good at all, must be handmaidens to the pulpit. Law finds her best advocates, and medicine her best practitioners in the Church, fostered and moulded by her. Christianity, made effectual through the living ministry, is the heart of all institutions and enterprizes among men for good. This is the magic stone, which transforms these earthen vessels, whatever be their ordinary use, into pure gold—makes them vessels of honor, polished and meet for the Master's use.

We have great reasons for magnifying our office. How enduring are its results! A painter who had spent most of his life over a single picture, was reproached for his excessive pains. He silenced his upbraider by saying, "I paint for eternity." His work, nevertheless, has faded and passed away. And such will be the fate of all the productions of art. The palaces of the rich and monuments of the great, will all be brought down into the dust. But that temple, not made with hands, which the Christian ministry is rearing upon the foundation of Christ and his apostles, is a house of God and will stand eternal in the heavens.

Let us, therefore, be zealous to magnify our office! The field of our labor is as wide, as the results are enduring. The canvas, on which we trace the images of the divine original, is as broad as the heavens. This world is to be transformed into a Paradise through the instrumentality of preaching. And this result will be accomplished as surely as there is a God, that cannot lie. Here is the glorious peculiarity of Christianity. Other religions will not suffer to be preached. They have temples, shrines and books, but no pulpits, and could not bear to have them. Mohammedanism would fall into disgrace, were it put to such a test. Her mosques would speedily crumble into dust, were her doctrines expounded in them weekly, as the Gospel is preached in our churches. Paganism can live only in seclusion and mystery. The Emperor Julian attempted to revive idolatry by restoring its ruins after the model of a Christian church. He ordained his preachers and sent them out. But it was an attempt to build upon a foundation of fire. The materials were consumed as fast

as they were collected. Preaching idolatry was as destructive to her life, as the torch to the temples of her worship. But Christianity has the seal of heaven to authenticate her doctrines. Her ministers are commissioned to "Cry aloud and spare not." Appreciating the nature, dignity and important results of this commission, our thoughts will be living thoughts, and our utterances, words that will burn upon the heart of humanity. We will be prepared to make the very best use of all our endowments.

2. The next thing, necessary to efficiency, will be a *happy combination of what constitutes a good preacher and a good pastor*. There is a respectable number of excellent preachers, and, perhaps an equal number of good pastors; but the cases in which the two are combined and both qualifications possessed in a degree approaching eminence, are deplorably rare. The ability to excel in either is attended with a strong inclination to cultivate that, and rely upon it, to the neglect of the other. Hence the complaint in one quarter is, that the minister spends all his time in the study, and none in the parish; from another we hear that he is all the while in the parish and never in the study. Or the apology for one is that he is a poor pastor, but an excellent preacher; and for another, that he is an indifferent preacher, but makes up the deficiency, as a pastor. A clergyman of either description is a distortion from the best type of his species. The symmetrical man has a uniform development of all his parts. An over-grown head taxes the whole body to keep it erect; and a heart too much enlarged is attended with shortness of breath. Fowls, cooped and stuffed, get enormous livers, but are sadly disabled in their attempts at flight; while birds that are always on the wing have empty stomachs and bare skeletons.

A minister's chief work is doubtless to preach the gospel. Efficiency here will depend upon the subject-matter of his sermons, and also upon the manner of their delivery. There are several classes of preachers, more or less characteristic of the several systems of Theology which they represent. We notice first that style of preaching which is sometimes called the *priestly*. The system, which this style represents, is punctilious about forms, elevates uniformity in ceremonials to the rank of a fundamental, and is slow to recognize any orthodoxy, which does not express

itself according to certain peculiar forms. The adherents of the system, however, do not all hold or practice its peculiar tenets with the same rigor. In practice, therefore, it can scarcely be called a distinct style of preaching, but rather a peculiar mode of worship. Some preachers of this class, magnifying the prescribed service to an undue importance, make the sermon of little consequence; others, adapting their language to the sacred vestments that adorn their saintly persons, prophesy soft things to their hearers; others again, rising above every peculiarity of form and vesture, deliver themselves in a style of impassioned eloquence, which is direct and, pungent. Usually you will find in the congregations, served by these preachers, an orderly, devout and patient people. Such is the class suited by this style of ministry. It has, therefore, its place among the diversities of gifts.

The second class we style *sentimental preachers*. Their Theology is touchingly set forth in poetic forms. Their Bible is chiefly admired as a treasury of beautiful thoughts, finely expressed. Here they find touches of the delicate in taste and of the sublime in description—pencillings of the softer hues of nature and dashes of its rougher features—outbursts of sublimity, heralding the Almighty in a storm, and gentler scenes, animated only by his still small voice. This precious book speaks to them, and through them, of mountains and hills and valleys, of seas and lakes, rivers and brooks, fountains and rills—of the noise of water-spouts and the hum of gentle showers—of the dew of Hermon and floods of Carmel—of vines and fig-trees, cedars and palms, grapes of Eschol and dates of Hebron, lillies in the field and grass in the meadows—of the cattle upon a thousand hills and of the beasts that roam the forest, of shepherds and hunters and tillers of the ground, of ships of the ocean, and caravans of the desert. It speaks of love also, filial, parental, sentimental and conjugal, and even contains a complete love-song. It abounds in word-painting, in poetry and prose and has apples of gold set in pictures of silver. But these are only the enamelling of the walks that surround Eden—the flowers only that fringe the borders of the fruit-orchards and the wheat-fields. They are silly guides that never lead their people into the midst of the garden—despicable preachers that gather only the flowers for the entertainment of their hearers!

Dr. South has administered a merited rebuke to these sentimental preachers, in a severe criticism, as is supposed, upon the florid style of Jeremy Taylor.* Speaking of simplicity in preaching the Gospel, he says, “*‘I speak the words of truth and soberness,’* said Paul, ‘and I preach the gospel, not with *the enticing words of man’s wisdom.*’ This was the way of the apostle’s discharging of things sacred. Nothing here of *the fringes of the North star*; nothing of *nature’s becoming unnatural*; nothing of *the down of angel’s wings* or *the beautiful locks of cherubim*; no starched similitudes, introduced with a *Thus have I seen a cloud rolling in its airy mansion*, and the like. No these were sublimities above the rise of the apostolic spirit. The apostles, poor mortals, were content to take lower steps, and to tell the world in plain terms, *that he who believed should be saved, and that he who believed not should be damned.* And this was the dialect, which pierced the conscience, and made the hearers cry out, *Men and brethren what shall I do?* It tickled not the ear, but sunk into the heart; and when men came from such sermons, they never commended the preacher for his taking voice or gesture; for the fineness of such a simile or the quaintness of such a sentence; but they spoke like men conquered with the overpowering force and evidence of the most concerning truth; much in the words of the two disciples going to Emmaus: *Did not our hearts burn within us while he opened to us the Scriptures?*”

The third class we style the *emotional preachers*. While the former aimed too much at gratifying the fancy, these are laboring and worrying all the while at stirring the feelings. Their sermons are made up chiefly of exhortations, calculated to alarm rather than instruct the hearer. The good shepherd goes *before* the flock with corn in his hand and a persuasive voice. These prefer to put the roaring lion in their *rear*, to frighten the sheep into the fold. Of course many of them are devoured, and a large number are scattered into the woods. A few possibly may enter, if they can keep their breath long enough under such terrible excitement. The emotional preacher sees Zion in no other posture, than that of a mourner, weeping in her lodge, amid the garden of cucumbers. He prefers Jeremiah above all the prophets, and finds the spirit of the

*Vol. V. Sermon 11.

Gospel condensed in that single act of the Master, when he stood on the Mount of Olives and wept over Jerusalem, forgetting that the very essence of a Gospel is *good* news, instead of bad. His discourses have their places for stirring appeals, which usually commence immediately after the announcement of the text. During the delivery of these he cries aloud and spares not. He has also passages marked, where tears are to be shed, and these tears are often the most effective, as they are usually the most studied, parts of the sermon. Jesus wept once or twice during a ministry of three years, yet not while preaching. Washington is said to have wept once during the Revolutionary War, but his were terrible tears. The power to shed tears is, doubtless, among the diversities of gifts. We, therefore, allow them a place even in the pulpit, when they are genuine, and not too frequent.

The emotional preacher is usually a laborious pastor. He attends his people constantly in their pilgrimage through the wilderness. He is painfully alive to all their dangers, keeps them alarmed all the while with apprehensions of fearful enemies in ambush, of lions and tigers, crouching to spring upon them from every jungle, and of terrible pit-falls that may be stumbled upon at every step. In the mean while, prevented by his own fears and his untiring efforts to arouse the fears of the people, he forgets to gather the manna, sent down from heaven, and fails to hear the glad voice of the trumpet calling the congregation of Israel to their appropriate festivities.

The next class we style preachers of *Moral Reform*. They take for their model Apollos, in preference to Paul, and choose rather to water than to plant in the vineyard. They speak boldly in the synagogue, but their harangues seldom go beyond the baptism of John, and their hearers fail to learn from them, whether there be such a thing as a Holy Ghost. Though teachers themselves, they have need of some more experienced Aquila and Priscilla, to expound unto them the word of God more perfectly. They have failed to discover that important truth, without which every other is of little importance, that the leaven begins to work from within, and that moral reform is the fruit, and not the means of regeneration.

It is not strange, therefore, that texts of Scripture serve this class of preachers as mottoes merely, while the newspapers and police reports furnish the subject-matter of their

discourses. According to the humor of the times, they are clerical politicians, disguised partizans themselves, though at times, loud in denunciation of party strife; they are Paul Prys in their social intercourse, and censors upon society in general. Thus it is, that while beating all the time among the branches for fruit, they never condescend, after the example of the Master, to lay the axe to the root of the tree. They are good surgeons, but bad physicians, cutting skilfully enough in the removal of diseased members, but failing or not attempting to cure the disease that is inward. These preachers, nevertheless, *rebuke, reprove and exhort with all long-suffering*; and therefore their art, to the extent of its province, belongs to the diversities of gifts.

It remains for us yet to describe the *highest style of a preacher*. As to himself personally he is a man of good parts, not necessarily brilliant. His mind is well-balanced and thoroughly disciplined, and is not liable to oscillate from extreme to extreme. His best training was acquired in the school of experience. His Theology, is therefore, a living thing, compacted with his own life and speaking to the world in deeds as well as words. As for the substance of his discourses, they are eminently, if not exclusively, scriptural. His great business is, *to expound the divine word and apply it*. He, therefore, goes down to Egypt with the rod of God in his hand. By means of this he confounds the magicians and makes Pharaoh tremble. Doctrinal discussion, from a Biblical standpoint, and practice deduced therefrom, are the means, with which he assails the hosts of idolaters. Bowing himself between these two pillars, he buries the Philistines in the ruins of their own temple. As regards his *style*, it is priestly in a sense, becoming the universal priesthood; it is seldom sentimental, but does not wholly reject ornament; it is emotional, with a genuine, but not excessive pathos and fervor of appeal; it embraces moral reform, as an incident or necessary consequence, but not as the chief aim of the discourse.

It is a mistaken prejudice to suppose that discourses, which are largely doctrinal, are necessarily dry and uninteresting to the people. The people prefer to hear of the doctrines, when they are presented in a form adapted to their comprehension. The opposition to such discourses,

when it does exist, is owing to a failure on the part of the preacher, as well as the people, to understand what is attempted to be explained. The old Scotch lady's definition of transcendentalism gives the real ground of prejudice. "Transcendentalism," said she, "is when the speaker *dinna ken* what he says, and the hearer *dinna ken* what he hears." Of course such preaching is dry. It is said that Dr. Popkins made himself exceedingly popular in his charge at Newburyport, by preaching, first a series of discourses in support of the doctrines of unconditional election, and then another series against it. "He first quoted," says the narrator, "what the learned Calvin and Augustine said, and then the inspired Paul, as if he would fasten it on the people's minds with rivets of iron. Then he turned around for several Sabbaths and gave the strongest objections, quoting what the learned Episcopius said, and the learned Whitby, and especially those passages of Scripture, which imply the obligation of morality and the freedom of man. Then he left them to remember, weigh and judge. The consequence was, they were in a blue maze. They said it was an awful subject; and this was, perhaps, the very impression the preacher designed to make." The popularity of these discourses, however, was due, not to the full comprehension which the preacher or people had of the doctrine itself, but to the clear and forcible presentation of the arguments for and against it. It is delightful to contemplate even the mysteries of creation, when we can do so in the light of a clear day.

The sermons of the efficient preacher, are characterized by *directness of appeal*. His doctrines are not abstractions, but living truths, directed to living men. His thoughts are expressed neither in the style of a religious essay nor in that of a Theological treatise. The end of Theology is science; the end of preaching is practice. The Cross is the motive power in the preacher's own heart, and the subject which he labors to make attractive to his hearers. The truths of the Bible are fully appreciated only in the light of experience. Their practical use is the most convincing proof of their excellence. "If any man will *do* his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God." Thorough knowledge of the doctrines of the Cross, learned from deep experience is, therefore, the minister's best equipment. The most stirring thing, which any man can utter, is that which he knows most clearly and feels

most deeply. The mere theoretical chemist may make a learned display in the use of his professional vocabulary ; but he is far from being a true chemist, until his theories have been put to the test of experiment. Such a naturalist may be said to have taken an outside view of the temple of nature ; but he has never entered, and knows not where to find the door-way. Not a few Theologians have learned their Theology in a similar manner. They are familiar with the phraseology of the books. They go round about Jerusalem, with no evident design or prospect of entering either the old or new city of that name. As Levites they are guides in your walks about the magnificent temple of truth, keeping you always in the outer court ; but, as true priests, they never conduct you into the tabernacle itself, or show you the glory of Him who dwells in the holy of holies. They can give a history of its structure, its founder, and of the devoted men of all ages, whose tears have watered its pavements, and whose blood has consecrated its altars ; they can describe its marvellous walls, its golden gate, its broad arches, and its heaven-directed spires ; but then they leave you defenceless on the outside, neither entering themselves, nor showing the way to enter.

The best test of effective preaching, is the impression which the hearers carry with them from the service. Sometimes the audience come from the church as from an undisturbed repose, nothing having occurred there to interrupt the train of thought or feeling, with which they entered. Sometimes the trumpet, to which they have listened, has given an uncertain sound, and then they leave in a maze of bewilderment. Some are full of praise or censure for the preacher, utterly oblivious, however, of the substance of the discourse. Longinus illustrates this subject forcibly in a criticism upon the impressions left by the harangues of Cicero and Demosthenes. "The people," said he, "would go from one of Cicero's orations exclaiming, 'What a beautiful speaker ! what a fine voice ? what an eloquent man Cicero is !' They talked of Cicero. But when they left Demosthenes, they said, '*Let us fight Philip !*' Losing sight of the speaker, they were all absorbed in the subject ; they thought not of Demosthenes, but of their country."

Having impressed the people's minds deeply with the power of truth from the pulpit, the efficient minister will

follow these impressions with assiduous attention to his duties in the parish. His success, after all, will be measured by his bearing as a Christian man, and his labors as a faithful pastor. Lack of prudence, eccentricity or inconsistency of character, will neutralize the effect of his preaching, however good that may have been. One faulty stone will mar the beauty and impair the strength of the most perfect wall.

The minister must be in close sympathy with his people ; otherwise his discourses will be, to them, dull abstractions. Frequent intercourse will make him acquainted with their feelings, views and wants, and interest his heart in their welfare. The recluse may become a profound Theologian and splendid sermonizer ; but his profound Theology and splendid sermons will fail, for want of adaptation to the hearers. A church served by such a ministry will be powerless, though, in itself considered, the preaching may be powerful. The Master made himself one of the people, and scrupled not to mingle with publicans and sinners for their good. His heart beat responsive to the heart of humanity, both in its joys and in its sorrows. He was touched with the feeling of their infirmity, and hence drew them to him, because he was first drawn toward them. The servant must follow the example of the Master in this respect. No man is thoroughly furnished for every good work, who expects to make up lack of attention to one part of his duty, by extra devotion to the other. The accomplishment of this is an impossibility. The hands cannot do the work of the feet, neither can the tongue compensate that neglect or indolence, which fails to bring into service the eyes and the ears. The ministry must neglect no gift that is in them, and no opportunity, out of the pulpit as well as in it, to do the work of evangelists.

3. A third requisite is, *Faith to expect immediate results and patience to wait for them.* Much preaching, as well as most of the hearing, is performed without any specific aim or expectation of good. Both preaching and hearing are apt to degenerate into a lifeless routine. Some one has said that every sermon should contain instruction enough to furnish an inquiring soul with all that is necessary for its salvation. Like the shield of Achilles, it should present the circle of truth in a small compass. This truth, like a mighty weapon, is not to be brandished in

the empty air, but aimed at the enmity of the human heart. Thus directed, it will surely accomplish its purpose. How faithless and slow we are to believe this! Our Methodist brethren seem to labor far more than we do with expectation of immediate results; and the world is acquainted with the history of their success. But then we must have patience also to wait, when the rain does not come down speedily to give success to the work of our hands; and here, perhaps, they fail more than we. A sovereign God will choose his own time. Our concern is chiefly about the faithful performance of duty. The responsibility of the results rests with God, and he will not disappoint the faithful and patient laborer. "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days." "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thy hand: for thou knowest not, whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether both shall be alike good."

This faith and patience are calculated to give the ministry, at all times, a fresh and hearty relish for their work. Nothing depresses energy so much as want of success. If we can keep alive our anticipation of good results, whether they be immediate or remote, zeal will never languish. For this we have abundant means in the assurance that the word of God is destined to accomplish his purpose, and in the history of its accomplishment. Some of the most laborious preachers have seen small success; but, after all, the deferred fruits have been most glorious. Noah preached a hundred and twenty years, without making a convert; but he saved his own family, and saw the Church of God, at that time truly a *little flock*, borne triumphantly over the waters that drowned a faithless and impenitent world. Isaiah asked despondingly, "Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" But his prophecies were nevertheless fulfilled, and the execution of predicted judgments justified the ardent zeal of the earnest prophet. Jesus preached three years and made few converts; but the labors of these few have filled the world with the Gospel which he preached. In none of these cases do we learn that the deferred fruits of their labors abated the zeal of the laborers. They had faith to believe that God would crown their mission with success, and patience to wait for the result. Jonah, with far less faith and almost no patience, saw the Ninevites

repent, even contrary to his expectations. The immediate effect of his preaching surprised even the preacher, as much as the sudden appearance of the gourd that sheltered his tent; but the fruits of this revival were scarcely more enduring than the miraculous vine; for, while the gourd suddenly withered, Nineveh, returning to idolatry, was totally destroyed. In the Church, as in nature, the silent workers, though slow, are productive of the most enduring results. The unseen and inaudible chemistry, concerned in the process of growth, covers the earth with forests, which all the tempests and thunderbolts of ages have failed to destroy. And who can compute the silent influences of the Gospel—the growth, in secret, of Christian life, and the undeveloped fruits of religious awakenings—effected by preaching!

4. *The Minister should keep a steady eye upon the great object of his ministry, and give himself wholly to the work.* To the educated man there are many tempting fields of literature and science, and, in the stirring scenes of the age, much to call his attention from the proper work of his mission. We would not bind up the minister of the Gospel in a strait jacket, to prevent him from relaxing the severity of his carriage in any direction aside from that which is perfectly erect; nor would we place him on stilts to induce the impression, that he is head and shoulders above his fellow-men. Such postures are unnatural; therefore, uneasy and dangerous, while they impair efficiency. The minister is one of the people, and may go, cautiously, where other good men go, and as they go. He may regale himself in the delightful walks of literature, or withdraw occasionally into the pleasant retreats of science. He may spend his May-Day with his selection of choice poets, in the groves among the birds and the flowers, his leisure hour with Blackstone, or the orators and statesmen, and, if his taste calls for it, he may make his dessert of daily news after each meal. But, in all this, he never forgets that he is a minister, or suffers himself to be drawn aside from his proper sphere. He fills his budget from all departments of knowledge, as the ox crops grass from every nook of the field, or even from the borders of the highway; but then he digests and assimilates the whole into muscle, to be used in breaking up the fallow-ground, and preparing for the seed of the husbandman. Thus are his pastimes and amusements, as well as his more serious labors, made to contribute to the great end of his calling. The traveller keeps the end of his journey in view,

and the main road under his eye, though he turns aside to visit many a lake and river, city and village, before reaching his destination. Paul was all things to all men; yet, in the prosecution of his ministry, there was unity of purpose and singleness of aim. Whether working on his tents or reading the poets, commenting on the powers of Cæsar or instructing Timothy how to regulate the churches, thundering against the shrines of Diana, or lightning on Mars' Hill, among barbarians, abroad the storm-driven vessel, or exposed to wild beasts at Ephesus, in prison or at large—still *for him to live was Christ*.

No man can become eminent in any calling without singleness of aim, and entire devotion to it. Demosthenes made everything tell in the line of his oratory. Napoleon was always studying how to be a general, and it is said, that he never visited a city or village, without learning its means of defense or exposure to attack. A greater than either of these said, "*My meat and my drink is to do the will of Him that sent me*;" and his whole time and soul were directed to that.

Let us give ourselves wholly to the work of our ministry. Let our natural talents, our acquirements, spiritual gifts, recreations, conversations, meditations and reading, all help to qualify and dispose us for it. Let us learn when we cannot teach, and glean when we cannot reap. Like busy bees, and thoughtful of the future, may it be our endeavor to gather the honey from every species of flower, and bring it all into the hive. Then will we have a treasure out of which things new and old—all sweet and luscious and wholesome—may be dispensed to the needy.

To this end, and for our own comfort, let our *whole heart* be in the work. Preaching the Gospel merely from a sense of duty, is a noble sacrifice for the sake of principle. But it is a needless sacrifice, and, by no means, the most acceptable. "If there be first a *willing mind*, it is acceptable, according to that a man hath." The walls of Jerusalem went up with astonishing rapidity in the days of Nehemiah, because the people *had a mind to work*. "The love of Christ constraineth us," is the sentiment that makes our willing feet move in swift obedience. Then will love of filthy lucre, applause, or popularity, not warp our minds. Then will we enjoy a heaven below, while preparing ourselves and others for the heaven above.

ARTICLE IX.

THE DIGNITY OF THE MINISTERIAL OFFICE.

By REV. WILLIAM HULL, Ancram, N. Y.

The Great Apostle of the Gentiles was a chosen vessel to carry the Gospel to the heathen world. God conferred this mission upon him, and referring to it he says, "*I magnify mine office.*" The position he held was the ministry of the word. He went from city to city and from country to country, preaching "Christ and him crucified," as the only hope of a lost world.

St. Paul felt that his office would admit of magnifying; he was convinced that its *dignity* and importance could not be over-estimated. In contemplating this theme let us consider the office under the following points of view:

I. *The authority represented by it.* A true minister of Jesus Christ holds his office by appointment of the King of kings. St. Paul says to the Corinthians, "Now then we are *ambassadors for Christ*, as though God did beseech you *by us*; we pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God." The call to the work comes from the Holy Ghost, and the laying on of hands is but a human endorsement of the *great commission* already given by Jehovah.

To be an ambassador of the Russian Empire confers more *dignity* upon the incumbent than if he represented the much less important kingdom of Greece at a foreign Court. *The authority represented* adds very much to the *dignity* of the office. The Governor of a State may be superior in every respect, as a man, to the President of the United States, but the latter holds his position from ten times the population, and therefore the Presidential office far surpasses the other in dignity. An ambassador, who serves the Emperor of the French, can point to his master with much more pride than he who serves in the same capacity the King of Portugal.

Viewed in this light we assert that the *Ministerial office* surpasses all others in *dignity*. What is the throne of Great Britain, France or Russia in comparison with the throne of God? The former are crumbling seats, held by mortals who reign one day, and the next slumber in

death. Throw the whole world into one kingdom or republic, and let any individual hold the highest office and he enjoys it at the call of the people. He can only point to them as his authority; he serves them. But the minister of Jesus Christ enjoys a more sublime authority; he is an ambassador of the court of heaven; he points to God as his direct employer, before whom all the nations of the earth are as grasshoppers.

Of the transcendent greatness of Jehovah we can form but a feeble conception. Before Him all human greatness and dignity is less than vanity. He sits upon the throne of universal empire and we can gather only a faint idea of His jurisdiction. His presence is illuminated by a glory which no mortal could endure. Angels and arch-angels are His swift messengers and wait around His throne to do his will. Ten thousand times ten thousand serve Him day and night in His temple. His moral and intellectual powers are infinite; He wields the sceptre of Omnipotence; His being is without beginning, and endless years are His heritage.

Though but an earthen vessel himself, yet with a proper pride the minister of the Cross can point to his commission, written by the divine hand and sealed with the great seal of heaven. He can point to the King of kings and His more than royal court, of which he is a representative, and for whose glory and interest he labors. No other office here upon earth is instituted by such an authority and none approaches it in *dignity*.

Jesus Christ himself was the first preacher under the new dispensation, and He instituted the *Ministerial Office*, so that the great work might go on after He had ascended to the Father. One great characteristic of His ministry was, "Unto the poor the Gospel is preached." He said in the synagogue at Nazareth on the Sabbath day, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor." On sending out His disciples to proclaim the word He said, "He that hearth you heareth *me*, and he that despiseth you despiseth *me*, and he that despiseth *me* despiseth Him that sent me.

The Ministerial Office has been dignified by being appointed of God, and by being held by Jesus Christ himself, and by a host of men, of whom the world was not

worthy, and in this respect its glory and dignity is increasing.

II. *The importance of the business transacted.* No great *dignity* attaches to an embassy sent on comparatively unimportant business. But let the adjustment of great difficulties of vast importance to nations or mankind be entrusted to it, and then thousands of eyes are directed to the ambassadors with fear or hope.

The Ministerial Office was instituted of God, that a world in rebellion to Him might be reclaimed. Of the importance of this we may form some idea by remembering the importance we attach to the suppression of the political rebellion to which the energies and resources of our country are now directed. We deem the effort necessary to save our land and institutions, and hence this mighty uprising. To save a world from treason against God and His government is a work infinitely higher and more important.

The Apostle says in his epistle to the Romans, "For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent, as it is written, 'How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace and bring glad tidings of good things.' "

The most important work going on in the world is that which is to secure its redemption, and restoration to Christ. God makes all other objects accessory and subordinate to this. The rise and fall of kingdoms and empires, the vast political changes made by diplomacy and wars, the social phases, the march of material improvement, the triumphs in science and art, the many inventions, by which mankind gain advantages over the physical world, are all subordinate to the great object which overshadows all. God has therefore intrusted to the ministry the greatest and most important work which is to be performed in this rebellious world. The minister of Jesus is to beseech men in Christ's stead to become reconciled to God; to lay down the weapons of their rebellion and return to their rightful allegiance; he is to go forth, scattering God's seed of truth until this thorn-covered and thistle-covered earth shall yield a harvest of righteousness; he is to take

the torch of Gospel light and carry it among the nations, until the whole earth shall become luminous with the truth.

Through the instrumentality of the ministry every heathen idol must be cast aside and every pagan altar must be overturned. Under their labors every knee must yet bow in submission to the Lord Jesus. The glad day will surely come when the sword shall be beaten into ploughshares and the spears into pruning hooks, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. The preaching of the everlasting Gospel will in due time produce this glorious result. Then "the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fattling together, and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

This is the magnificent work which God has assigned to the agency of the Ministerial office. Under their preaching, aided by the Spirit, the world is to be changed from a habitation of cruelty, from a realm of darkness and ignorance; from being a suburb of hell, to be a heritage of light and love and joy and prosperity, and to be a loyal province of the Court of Heaven. Before this all schemes of ambition, all questions of conquest and territory and commerce and finance and invention and science and art are comparatively of little consequence. The preaching of the Gospel is to produce the greatest revolution the world ever saw; it is to bring about a magnificent restoration; it aims at the most stupendous results and it produces a transformation of the grandest and most beneficent character.

The temporal welfare of men bears no comparison to their spiritual and eternal weal. He who labors to promote the comfort and well being of men in this life is doing well, but he who labors directly to bring men from the service of Satan does better. Eternal interests are above temporal interests as the heavens are higher than the earth. He who is instrumental in saving one soul from the death of sin produces more happiness when

we take the endless years of eternity into account, than he who proves a benefactor of many generations in a mere temporal respect.

Preaching the Gospel of the everlasting kingdom is an arduous, responsible, solemn and glorious work. To rescue men from the horrible pit and the miry clay, that their feet may rest upon the Rock of Ages, is work which the angels might desire to do, as they watch its progress with intense interest, and fill heaven with hallelujahs, as one sinner after another, under the instrumentality of the preached word, turns from the error of his ways.

Comparatively few in the world are honored with the Ministerial Office, and yet the work of these few outweighs in importance all the other avocations and business of men. A writer in *Hall's Journal of Health* says truly, "The life of a single, earnest worker in the ministry, fit for his place by education, piety and a prudent mind, is worth more to the great world at large than the lives of a dozen Senators, Governors or Presidents. *It is by the labor of such men that civil governments stand.*"

The Lord said to his prophet Ezekiel, "So thou, O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel: therefore thou shalt hear the word from *my* mouth and warn them from *me*." St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, speaking of himself and Apollos, "We are laborers together with God." The Almighty highly favors that man whom he calls to be a co-laborer with Himself in that more than sublime work of drawing men to a life of holiness. The labor of a faithful pastor is imperishable. He works for eternity. The pyramids shall crumble, the proudest monuments of human ambition and applause must fall, the most magnificent achievements of human ingenuity must perish, kingdoms and empires shall be broken and dissolved, the charm of eloquent lips must fail, the grandest cities, like their predecessors, may become a place for fishermen, in which to dry their nets; nay, we have the unmistakable assurance of Scripture, that the world and all that is therein will be burnt up by the coming deluge of fire; the possessions of men will then be of no account, as all earthly glory vanishes like vapor before the morning sun; but outriding all this storm of desolation the work of the true minister of Jesus Christ will endure. Like gold, tried in the fire, it will

remain when the hay, straw and stubble of worldly avocation shall perish.

The labor of the sculptor, the painter, the architect, the artisan, the agriculturist, though useful temporarily, will all be swept away; but the moral handiwork, through the instrumentality of the humble minister of the Cross, will remain a joy forever, reflecting glory upon the Great Author and all the agencies He employed. The minister works directly for eternity, although his labors tend also more than those of any other men to produce comfort and happiness here. But in the future world the importance of the service will more clearly be manifest in its glorious and imperishable results.

Here we can never realize the surpassing importance of the work. Could we conceive of the felicity of a redeemed soul, and the misery of one banished from God, we might estimate the value of the efforts made to save men. The exceeding importance of the work, which is transacted for endless years, confers a matchless *dignity* upon the *Ministerial Office*. Never were ambassadors entrusted with so momentous business.

III. *The vast field for its exercise.* The dignity of a mission from a great power depends in a measure upon the importance of the nation, to which the ambassador is sent. To be minister of the United States to Great Britain or France renders the office one of much more dignity than it would, to be minister to Holland or Denmark. The field, to which the standard bearers of the Cross are sent bears no proportion to the authority by which they are employed, or the importance of the business entrusted to them; yet it embraces the whole world, and as no other enterprise covers so large a field, the extent of the labor adds to the dignity of the office. Earthly ambassadors are sent to only one nation; but Christ sends his to all nations. "*The field*," says the Saviour, "*is the world.*" The commission of every Gospel minister reads, "Go ye therefore and teach *all nations*, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost." He is not confined to one people or nation or tongue, but anywhere in the large field he may begin to scatter the good seed of the word. He has no contracted sphere of operations. He may penetrate the Arctic zones and teach the benumbed dwellers there the sublime truths of the Gospel; he may go to the savages of

the forest and treat with them in the name of Jesus; he may penetrate benighted Africa and tell the Ethiopian of a Saviour; the countless myriads of China and India are before him and the islands of the sea belong to his jurisdiction. Never was ambassador assigned so glorious a mission—never was one sent to so vast a field. The magnitude of the work adds a *dignity* to the *office*. The ambassadors of Jesus are to preach and labor until the Gospel of the kingdom is proclaimed to all tribes and tongues and nations under the whole heavens. When this glorious result is achieved,

“Then shall Thy lofty praise resound,
On Afric’s shores—through India’s ground;
And islands of the Southern sea,
Shall stretch their eager arms to thee.

Then shall the Jew and Gentile meet,
In pure devotion at thy feet;
And earth shall yield thee as her due,
Her freeness and her glory too.”

IV. *The rewards and emoluments of the service.* The compensation of an earthly ambassador depends upon the greatness and wealth of the nation that sends him, and the importance of the power, to which he is sent. The more the compensation the greater the dignity of the office.

The ministers of Jesus Christ receive a part of their compensation here and the remainder in the world to come. That received here has always been meagre, because the world does not appreciate the importance or *dignity* of the *Ministerial Office*. Jesus Christ came as the Redeemer of the world; never did the world resound to the footsteps of one so great; never was so high an office held, or so great a mission fulfilled. Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon shrink to imperceptible dwarfs when placed beside Him, and yet the world did not recognize and appreciate His office or His work. He was despised and rejected of men. Foxes had holes and the birds of the air had nests but the Son of Man had not where to lay His head. We do not judge Him, His office and His work by the world’s erroneous standard. The Saviour Himself said, “That which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God.” The opposite proposition also holds true, “That many things which are despised among men are precious and dignified

in the sight of God." The Saviour thus esteemed among men is now at the right hand of power and has received a name, which is above every name; all things in heaven and earth having been made subject unto Him. God has exalted Him above principalities and powers, so that He is Lord of Lords and Judge of Judges. *Here* He only received ignominy and death—*there* He will forever be satisfied with the travail of His soul, as through the unending years of God a blood-washed multitude, which no man can number, sing everlasting pæans to His honor, saying, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power and riches and wisdom and strength and honor and glory and blessing."

He did not anticipate that the world would appreciate the ministry which was to follow Him; therefore He said to His disciples, "The servant is not greater than his Lord. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you, if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also."

The world has never ranked the Ministerial Office above all others. It has never regarded it in its true dignity. This estimate is comparatively of little account, for the world soon passes away and the lust thereof, but the estimate of heaven is of infinite importance. The standard of God is the true standard. Dives stood much higher here than the beggar at his gate, but in the spirit-land Lazarus was highly exalted, and the other abased.

Though receiving little here, yet the rewards and emoluments of the Ministerial Office are surpassingly great in the world to come. The apostles were men of humble attainments; they had little of this world's goods, and were scarcely known among the great of the earth. They held no worldly office; they did not sit in legislative councils; they did not move in high circles of society; they did not wield the sceptre of power. The world regarded them as fanatical men, and for their zeal and enthusiasm they only received hatred and martyrdom. No monument was erected by their cotemporaries to tell their virtues, and carry to succeeding generations the record of their fame.

But let us turn our eyes to the celestial world and see their standing and reward above. Our Saviour said to them, "And I appoint unto you a kingdom as my Father hath appointed unto me: that ye may eat and drink at my table in

my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

One of the seven angels showed the exile of Patmos, that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, with light like to a stone most precious. He saw twelve foundations upon which were inscribed the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb. From this we learn that these twelve ambassadors of Christ have been exalted to the very front rank of power and position in the celestial country. This is in consideration of their services to Christ in the *Ministerial Office*. Their rewards and emoluments above are beyond human conception. Never did king, or emperor, or ambassador receive such lavish compensation.

Upon the foundation of that gorgeous city are not the names of Nebuchadnezzar, of Cyrus, of Alexander, of Cicero, of Demosthenes, of Homer, of Virgil, of Hannibal, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon, of Washington, but the names of twelve obscure, yet noble men, who preached Christ, and laid the foundations of the Christian Church, cementing it with their blood. Upon no other office has equal reward been conferred.

If therefore such compensation has been awarded to the first incumbents of the sacred office, so that in the world to come they outshine kings and conquerors and emperors and giants in intellect, with all the great of the earth, may we not infer that Christ has a special and rich reward for all who serve Him faithfully in the Ministerial Office?

The leading of many sons and daughters unto glory is the grand work of the Captain of our Salvation, and He will highly honor all instrumentalities connected with it. The standard bearers in the Lord's host will not be forgotten in the great day of triumph. In comparison with their rewards and emoluments all the wealth and honors of this world vanish from sight, and this compensation beyond conception in its magnitude adds a weight of *dignity* to the *Ministerial Office*, and greatly exalts it in the eyes of those, who are enabled by the vision of faith to survey both worlds.

In view of all these considerations might not the Apostle exclaim, exultingly, "*I magnify mine office!*" "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever."

ARTICLE X.

REMINISCENCES OF DECEASED LUTHERAN MINISTERS.

LV.

LEWIS EICHELBERGER, D. D.

Lewis Eichelberger was the youngest son of Frederick and Ann Motter Eichelberger, and was born in Frederick county, Md., August 25th, 1803. His parents were both pious, but his mother, dying when he was quite young, his religious education devolved upon his father, who carefully endeavored to train his children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Lewis always seemed to have a most tender recollection of his father's assiduous efforts to preserve his youthful years from the dangers and follies, to which they were exposed. After he had entered upon the duties of active life, on the occasion of a visit to the old homestead in reviving the reminiscences of his childhood and youth, he refers most touchingly and with the most filial affection to the scenes of the past, around which clustered so many precious memories. "What a blessing," he adds, "it is, and how thankful we ought to be to have a devoted, affectionate and, especially, a truly pious father! To his ardent prayers and faithful efforts it may be, that I am indebted to that kind Providence of God, which has brought me to see my sins and has done so much for me, as to associate me with himself in the great work of salvation!"

At an early age we find the subject of our sketch at School in Frederick under the care of David F. Schaeffer, D. D., whose instructions, classical and theological, many of our ministers attended, before the College and Seminary at Gettysburg were established. Subsequently he was transferred to Georgetown, D. C., and, whilst, residing in the family of a married sister, became a member of Rev. Dr. Carnahan's Classical School. The Doctor, who afterwards was elected to the Presidency of the College of New Jersey, retained, in his old age, a pleasant recollection of his

former pupil, and still professed to feel a deep interest in his welfare. On the completion of his preparatory course of education he entered Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., where he was graduated in the year 1826, during the Presidency of Rev. Dr. Neill. The exercise, assigned him on *Commencement Day*, was the English Salutatory. Having devoted himself to the Christian ministry, we next meet with him at Gettysburg, in the prosecution of his studies, in the Theological Seminary, just organized, by our General Synod, under the direction of Professor Schmucker. Here he remained two years and was one of the first graduates of the Institution. He received license to preach the Gospel from the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland and Virginia, convened at Shepherds-town, Va., Oct. 21st, 1828. The feelings and purposes, with which he entered upon this important work, to which he had consecrated his life, may be learned from the following extract, taken from his *Journal*: "O Thou, dear Saviour, Thou Head of the Church, grant to thy servant, who has now dedicated himself to Thee wholly and entirely, all the strength and grace necessary to a high standard of usefulness and service in thy Church! May he not fail to declare the whole counsel of God, to be instant in season and out of season, to do the work of an evangelist and to make full proof of his ministry, so that at death and at the Judgment Day he may take his hearers to record, that he is pure from their blood! This grant, O Lord, for thine own name's sake!"

Whilst yet a student Mr. Eichelberger was invited by the Council of the Lutheran Church at Winchester, Va., to visit the congregation and to preach for them. The result was his unanimous election as Pastor of the charge. Immediately after his induction into the sacred office and the approval by Synod of the call to Winchester, he repaired to the appointed field and commenced his labors. His Ministerial Journal, at this period, shows an amount of service and a degree of fidelity, most creditable to the young Pastor and worthy of all praise. In connection with the Church in Winchester he also served three other congregations in the country. As these had been vacant for some time, prior to his settlement over them, and many of the members had become scattered, his labors were greatly increased, but through his instrumentality much good seems to have been accomplished. He continued

Pastor of the congregation in Winchester, nearly five years, when in consequence of a misunderstanding in a matter, in which he had no agency, but which at the time excited an opposition to him on the part of some influential members of the congregation he resigned its pastoral care in the Spring of 1833, still, however, retaining his connection with the congregations in the country. He also at this period opened, in Winchester, a Female Seminary, which for several years he successfully conducted. He was likewise temporarily connected, as Editor, with a weekly political Journal. This step he subsequently regretted, and, as soon as he could make the arrangement, dissolved his connection with the paper, because the discharge of its duties interfered with the work, to which he had devoted himself and seemed to many inconsistent with the ministerial office and detrimental to his influence. He also edited, at this time, the "*Evangelical Lutheran Preacher*," a periodical published monthly and containing sermons and occasional articles, designed to illustrate and defend the principles of religion, as held and taught by Lutherans. The work was received with favor by the Church, and contributions to its pages were furnished by our prominent ministers. The publication was continued two years, when its interests became associated with the Lutheran Observer.

In 1849, the subject of our narrative was elected Professor of Theology in the Lutheran Seminary under the care of the Synod of South Carolina, at the time located at Lexington, S. C. Here he labored nine years with the same untiring diligence and conscientious fidelity, with which his duties in former positions had been discharged. In 1853, whilst occupying this field of labor he received from the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, the Doctorate of Divinity. In 1858, he resigned his Professorship and resumed his residence at Winchester. His return was cordially welcomed by the whole community, in whose midst he had formerly lived, upwards of twenty years, and upon whose affections he still seemed to have a strong hold. He now devotes his time principally to literary labors and commences the preparation of a History of the Lutheran Church, a work which he had contemplated for some time and for which he had long been industriously gathering material. Although in feeble health, and frequently interrupted by attacks of illness, and dis-

abled by physical weakness, he lived to complete the work. He had been for some time aware of his frail hold upon life, and not only conversed familiarly with his friends, but evinced great freedom from all fear of death. Calm, dispassionate and collected, he seemed prepared to sunder all earthly ties ; with unwavering faith he awaited the final summons and with deep interest looked forward to an imperishable "crown of righteousness," the promised inheritance, to that haven of eternal rest, where he would see the face and sing the praises of Him, who loved him and washed him from his sins in His own precious blood. "It was a privilege," writes a ministerial brother, "which will never be forgotten, to see his heavenly countenance and to hear his dying utterances. When he had but strength to whisper a few words at a time, he remarked, 'Christ is a precious Saviour—He does more than He promised for His dying followers. Go, preach to sinners—Christ will save them all. Nothing but Christ will do in death.' Death found him with the harness on. His end was peace—triumph !" With a hope full of immortality and a heart ever living with gratitude he could cordially say :

"No ! No ! it is not dying,
To go unto our God ;
This gloomy earth forsaking,
Our journey homeward taking,
Along the starry road."

His visions have already been realized ; he has been introduced to the pure companionship of angels, to the spirits of just men, made perfect ; he now walks the golden streets of the New Jerusalem, and rejoices in the light of Heaven, in the presence of Him who sitteth upon the throne and liveth forever. How rich and abounding, the only solace of earth's woes, is the precious faith of the Gospel, which has been the guide of the wise and good in all ages of the world, which has sustained millions through the trials of life, and given them exultation in the hour of death ! Though clouds and darkness, difficulties and dangers lie along our pathway in life, these clouds will be dispersed, and all our trials and afflictions conduce to our peace and comfort in the issue. All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth, to such as keep his covenant and do his commandments.

Dr. Eichelberger's death occurred on Friday evening, September 16th, 1859. The funeral services were performed

by the Rev. Dr. Walker, of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Pastor of the Lutheran Church, Rev. W. M. Baum, was at the time absent from Winchester, and a violent snow storm prevented the attendance of the Lutheran ministers in the vicinity, and their participation in the exercises.

Dr. Eichelberger was twice married. His first wife was Mary Ann Miller. The name of the second, was Penelope A. Hay, a daughter of Judge Hay, of Virginia, who, with five children, still survives. His oldest son, John M. Eichelberger, a young man of promise, and well educated, preceded his father into the eternal world.

Dr. Eichelberger was much beloved by all, among whom he had labored, and highly esteemed, wherever he lived. In every position in which he was placed, and in all the relations of life he enjoyed the confidence and regard of the community. His duties were discharged with integrity, tenderness and affection. In his intercourse with others he was kind and courteous, imbued with the refinement of a Christian gentleman, of a meek and quiet spirit, charitable to the infirmities of those around him, ever ready to forgive their injuries, and utterly incapable of resentment. He possessed great simplicity of character, and none ever doubted his integrity. He was a good man, and illustrated in his life the doctrines which he professed, the power and excellence of true piety. His Christian walk was uniform and exemplary. He aimed habitually to live, as seeing Him, who is invisible. It was the prevailing desire of his heart to realize the precious influences of the Holy Spirit, enlightening his mind, subduing his sins, and preparing him for the inheritance of the saints in light.

He was regarded as an earnest, Scriptural preacher of the Gospel, faithful in his public ministrations, a kind, sympathetic and affectionate Pastor, an experienced and successful teacher, always acting with a conscientious regard to his official obligations. He identified himself with all the great interests of the Church, and was prominent in every good work. He was frequently elected to offices of honor and trust by the Synod, with which he was connected, and was a Trustee of Pennsylvania College, as well as a Director of the Theological Seminary, at Gettysburg, Pa.

In his Theological views he was conservative, sound and evangelical. Whilst he was warmly attached to the principles and doctrines of the Church, under whose influences he had been reared, he was no bigot. His large heart embraced

all Christians, in the common faith and love of Christ, by whatever name called. If a man differed from him on ecclesiastical polity, points of open doctrine, exposition and action, this difference did not impair his respect, or abate his regard for his character, or mar pleasant intercourse. He could not withdraw his confidence from a Christian brother, because he could not think with him on all subjects. He gave the hand of fraternal fellowship to all who loved the Saviour, and whose hopes of salvation rested on the same foundation with his own.

Dr. Eichelberger's publications were confined very much to contributions for the periodicals of the Church, and an occasional discourse. In 1830, were published two sermons on National Blessings and Obligations ; in 1851, a sermon on the death of Rev. E. G. Proctor ; in 1852, his Inaugural Address as Professor of Theology ; in 1857, an Address, delivered before the Literary Societies of North Carolina College, Mt. Pleasant, N. C. The History of the Lutheran Church, the most elaborate of all his works, has not yet been given to the public.

LVI.

JOHN ULRICH.

A few months ago, the Church was startled by the intelligence, that John Ulrich, in the ripeness of his years and in the full vigor of his strength, had been called home by the Master. Universal and deep was the impression of sadness which the bereavement produced. So recently had he been among us in the enjoyment of health, diligently engaged in the performance of his regular duties, participating with us in the deliberations of our ecclesiastical councils, that the announcement took us all by surprise. We had hoped to see him spared and usefully employed, yet many years to come. To think of him as the sick and dying man, as any other than the active, persevering, laborious worker, appeared incredible. But as friends hastened to the spot, the gloom that hung over the community, the sad countenances and subdued tones of parishioners, the sable badges of the bereaved, the useless search for the pleasant smile and friendly recognition, perhaps more than all, the newly made grave, which the hand of tender affection had strewn over with flowers, confirmed the mournful tidings and forced upon

them the solemn truth, that the godly man, the faithful and beloved Pastor, had ceased from his labors, had fulfilled his mission on earth and been gathered to his fathers. He will be missed in the Church. The ministry will feel his loss. He lived for the good of others. He faithfully labored for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom. His efforts were not abandoned, even when toil and sacrifice were required.

The subject of our sketch was born July 29th, 1808, near Annville, in Lebanon Co., Pa. He was the son of Adam and Ann Maria Ulrich. His father was a farmer, and is represented as having been a strong-minded man, active and energetic, a member of the Lutheran Church, correct and exemplary in his life. His mother was a faithful and consistent Christian, whose early teachings and wholesome lessons John held in grateful and enduring remembrance. He always ascribed his first religious impressions to the influence of parental effort and the instructions of the Sabbath School. His youth was remarkably free from those faults and defects, which arise from evil communications, from spending childhood in indolence and vanity. The foundation of his religious character seems to have been laid at a very early period. His mind was imbued with a knowledge of the great truths of the Gospel, and these truths, by the influence of the Holy Ghost, became, in the morning of life, the controlling principles of his conduct. At the age of sixteen he attended a course of Catechetical instructions and united with the Church, then, under the pastoral care of Rev. Dr. W. G. Ernst. His educational advantages, till this period had been very meagre, limited to the mere rudiments, and to the German language. Yet he was deeply interested in his books and, apt in the acquisition of knowledge. His father, with the view of extending his information and of rendering him familiar with the English, sent him, in 1826, to the Moravian Institution, at Litiz, Pa., of which John Beck, Esq., was at the time, Principal. Here he continued only one year, but his progress, during the period, was highly commendable. On leaving the School the Valedictory of the Class was assigned him at the customary Exhibition.

Now hopefully pious, having thought that he had given his youthful heart to the Lord, his serious attention is directed to the Gospel ministry. He cherishes an earnest

desire to labor in the vineyard of the Lord for the salvation of souls. When he communicated his wishes to his father, he was neither encouraged nor discouraged in his project. The sacredness of the office was presented, its solemn duties, and heavy responsibilities, and he was told that the question was one, which he for himself must decide. After a careful and serious consideration of the subject he came to the conclusion that it was his duty, whatever sacrifice it might cost, to consecrate himself to the service of God in the Christian ministry. Accordingly in 1827, with his father's full and cordial consent, we find him at Gettysburg, diligently engaged in the prosecution of his studies, and in his preparation for the great work before him. He entered the *Gymnasium*, at the time, under the care of Rev. David Jacobs, whose excellent character and kind interest in his welfare he always appreciated and held in grateful regard. Here he remained four years, passing through the regular *curriculum* of study. Subsequently when the Institution was clothed with corporate powers, he received from the College the honorary degree of A. M. In 1831 he became a member of the Theological Seminary, and completed the course in the Spring of 1833, enjoying the confidence of his Professors, Drs. Schmucker and Hazelius, and the esteem of his fellow students. Having been invited to become pastor of the Lutheran Church at Woodstock, Va., he was licensed to preach the Gospel, May 20th. 1833, after having sustained a satisfactory examination before a Conference of the Virginia Synod. Here he remained less than two years. Having received a call to Carlisle, he seemed to think that it was his duty to accept it. Before leaving he was, however, ordained by the Synod of Virginia, Rev. *Messrs.* J. P. Cline and William Scull officiating upon the occasion. He entered upon his duties at Carlisle in the fall of 1834. The charge then included three other congregations, Churchtown, Frankford and Sulphur Springs. From the beginning he appeared fully to realize the responsibilities of his position. "With fear and trembling," he writes, "I took charge of these Churches, which had been served by faithful and able ministers. I was inexperienced and had in every way much to learn." He had, however, reason to be grateful for the success which attended his labors. During the eight years of his connection with this pastorate he was favored with several

religious awakenings, and nearly four hundred individuals were added to the Church. His next field of labor was Petersburg, Adams Co. Here he continued with fidelity and success nearly thirteen years. Thence he was transferred, in 1855, to Shippensburg, Pa. During his residence in this place he experienced a severe bereavement in the death of a most interesting and accomplished daughter, just as she was opening into womanhood and, by the loveliness of her character, had taken a deep hold upon the hearts of all her friends. This afflicting dispensation of God's Providence was sanctified to his spiritual good. It proved to him a rich blessing, "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." It seemed to exert a subduing, a mellowing influence upon his whole spirit. But how painful it was to give up the joy of his heart, to whom his warm affections clung with peculiar tenderness, in whose life his own was bound! "Is it possible," he writes on his return from the cemetery, where he had just buried his fond hopes, "that we have had to leave our much loved child behind in the cold, desolate, dark and dreary grave, the home appointed for all the living? Oh! it is heart-rending to part with one so near, so dear. But hush my soul, why art thou thus cast down? There is hope, even in death, to the righteous. We trust that, in a few days, we shall meet with our dear Mary again, when there shall be no more sorrow, sickness, separation, pain or death. She has gone to meet her dear little brother. Happy children! you know of no sorrow to distress your bosom! A few more years of sadness and of affliction here, and we will, by the grace of God, meet you in heaven!" Although he cheerfully acquiesced in the Divine will and felt satisfied that all the occurrences of this life are under the control of infinite wisdom and goodness, yet he never entirely recovered from his grief. The wound was deep and permanent. His thoughts often recurred to the mournful event. Years afterwards he wrote, "How I long to meet my dear child in my father's house with her young brother and her dear Saviour! A few years more, and we will be one again. The Lord help me to be faithful, to watch and to pray, ever looking for the coming of the Master!" The few years did soon come! His wishes have, no doubt, been realized, and his hopes fulfilled. He has,

in the world of light, already met those precious children, whom he so well loved on earth and, in the presence of his Saviour, sings with them the wonders of redeeming grace. What a happy meeting! "O glorious home! O, blest abode!" Perhaps, he now more clearly sees, that that which, at the time, seemed to him a heavy affliction was a great mercy, a benediction in disguise. His loved ones were taken from the evil, the toils and sorrows of this ensnaring world. He was fitted for increased usefulness in the ministry and more rapidly matured for heaven. "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord." He often leads us by a way of which we know not at the time. God is not unmindful of his children. However mysterious the appointments of His Providence may seem to us, we should feel that they are wisely ordered. "What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter." "All things work for good to them that love God."

In the Spring of 1859, Mr. Ulrich resigned his charge at Shippensburg, and removed to Carlisle, having been elected Pastor of the Sulphur Springs and Frankford congregations, the scenes of his early labors. Here he was actively engaged, until the close of his earthly career. His health had, no doubt, become impaired under the pressure of his manifold duties. His incessant labors and frequent exposures to the inclemencies of the weather gradually made an impression upon his physical system and undermined his constitution. Although the change was not so perceptible to others, his own mind, the last year of his life, seemed to dwell much upon the subject of death. He was evidently growing in spirituality, and setting his affections on things above, that when Christ, who was his life, should appear, he might appear with Him in glory. Among his papers after his death was found a record, written at the commencement of the New Year, in which, with perhaps a presentiment of his death, he says, "I feel more than ever a desire to be found faithful as a parent, a pastor and a Christian. I enter upon the year under the influences of a depressed state of mind. Why am I thus cast down, I am not able to say, but I feel more than ordinarily solemn." His Heavenly Father was then drawing him nearer to Him and working out his sanctification.

During his illness, which continued, several weeks, he suffered first from an attack of erysipelas, and subsequently from partial paralysis, but his mind was calm and composed. He was fully resigned to the will of God. To him there was no fear of death. The faith and hope of his earlier days, which had supported him in all his trials, brought peace and comfort to the closing scenes of life and cheered him with the prospect of a blissful immortality. In examining the foundation of his hope, whilst he found no goodness in himself, no righteousness of his own, by which he could claim the Divine favor, he felt that he could confidently rely upon the all-atoning sacrifice of Christ, that God was his reconciled Father. With a consciousness of his approaching end, his mind was kept in perfect peace; that Jesus, whom he had so long and earnestly commended to others, was near to uphold him and to give him the victory. He died May 16th, 1862, in the 54th year of his age. His course on earth was finished, his work done. With scarcely any cessation of labor, in the prime of manhood, he passed from the service of the Church below to the repose and reward of the kingdom of glory.

Mr. Ulrich's death was the occasion of deep sympathy and general regret in the community, in which he dwelt. His funeral is said to have been the largest ever known in Carlisle. All classes and denominations were represented. The Judges of the Court, the members of the bar, and persons for miles around had come together to testify their sorrow and their regard for the deceased. The vast multitude could not find room in the Church. The obsequies were surrounded by a more than ordinary profusion of all the external symbols of public respect, and nothing was omitted, which either good taste or kind feeling could suggest, to add to the impressiveness of the occasion. The remains were carried to the Church and rested there for a brief season, while the Scriptures were read, the prayer offered, the discourse pronounced, the dirge sung; then they were borne away to their last resting place. Dr. Schmucker preached from the words, "*And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them;*" and Rev. Messrs. J. Fry, W. Kopp and W. Phillips participated in the other services. A large procession of sorrowing friends followed the bier to the cemetery, as they pondered upon

the uncertainty of time, the frailty of human expectations, and rejoiced in the precious doctrine, revealed in the Gospel, of the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting.

Mr. Ulrich was, in the spring of 1838, united in marriage to Susan C. Grove. Three children, with their mother, survive to mourn a loss, which can never be repaired.

The career of a Christian minister is ordinarily so uniform and tranquil, as to be barren of any striking incidents or illustrations. To this general rule Mr. Ulrich's life was no exception. There was nothing so extraordinary in his experience or so diverse in his history, as to claim special attention. Yet the life of every good man is fraught with interests, which eternity alone can unfold; in his character there is much to instruct and encourage us. Here we may find springs of comfort, testimonies to the power of religion, incentives to piety and earnest effort, and pledges of immortality.

Mr. Ulrich was a man of great personal worth. We knew him, many years, and always regarded him as an honest, upright, consistent Christian, conscientious and faithful in the discharge of his duties; sincere, kind, obliging, his heart overflowed with the most tender feelings, and was true and firm in its attachments. He was active in the service of the Church, and cherished a deep interest in every thing, which affected its welfare. During his ministry of nearly thirty years he had the confidence and esteem of his brethren. For several years he presided over the Synod, with which he stood connected, and was frequently chosen to represent the body in the General Synod. He was identified with all the great movements of the Church, and was one among the first in every good work. As a member of the Home Missionary, or Education Committee, he was an example of fidelity, and promptness in meeting his engagements; he was active and zealous in the support of every measure, designed to build up the Church. The Institutions at Gettysburg found in him a valuable and devoted friend. He was, for many years, an active Director of the Theological Seminary and, for a season, President of the Board. He served, until the end of his life, also, as a Trustee of the College, and was always regular and faithful in attending to the required duties.

As a preacher he was plain, practical and earnest, more anxious to persuade men to be reconciled to God than to

secure popular applause. There was no display of learning in his discourses, nothing particularly attractive in his matter or manner, yet his labors were owned of God and crowned with success. He was blessed not only in the conversion of sinners, but in his efforts to guide inquirers and to lead the people of God to higher attainments in piety. It was, however, as a Pastor that he especially succeeded. Few men have been more faithful and untiring than he in this department of labor. Social in his disposition, prudent in his intercourse, devoted to the work, untiring in his efforts, he labored with the most affectionate interest for the people of his charge. He traversed large regions of country, prayed and preached, "taught publicly and from house to house," keeping back nothing that was profitable, but declaring to all the necessity of repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ. In visiting the sick and the afflicted, and in seasons of adversity, he was never delinquent. For the youthful part of his charge he had a most tender regard, and devoted himself earnestly to their spiritual improvement. The cause of Temperance, and the elevation of the community in which he lived, had his warm sympathy and firm support.

The soundness of Mr. Ulrich's doctrinal views was never questioned. He held with unflinching tenacity to the cardinal truths of the Christian system; he delighted in Biblical expressions and forms, and made them his almost constant themes in the pulpit. He had no fondness for controversy and greatly lamented the divisions that often existed among brethren. Whilst, as a true and loving child, he preferred his own Church, he was most charitable towards those, who differed from him in his Theological views, provided they maintained the essential truth, as it is in Jesus Christ, of justification by faith.

With the exception of an occasional article for the Church papers, Mr. Ulrich never published anything, but his Charge, as President of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary, delivered in 1856, on Rev. Dr. Schaeffer's induction into office as Professor; and two discourses, delivered at the opening of the West Pennsylvania Synod, the one in 1855, on the Signs of the Times, and the other, in 1856, on the Peace of the Church.

We do not mean to intimate that the subject of our notice was perfect. He too had his infirmities and frailties, temptations to overcome, trials to encounter and a de-

praved nature to subdue. He often confessed and lamented his short-comings, but no one, who was brought into intimate relations with him, could doubt his Christian integrity, or could, for one moment, suppose that the service of the Divine Master was not the supreme joy of his life, His glory the governing motive of all his actions.

What a beautiful illustration of the power of religion in the soul do the life and character of our Christian worthies furnish! How unsatisfactory is every other source of comfort and enjoyment! Unless Christ is our portion and we humbly live for Him, how utterly we fail in answering the purposes of our existence and in securing that rest, which we so much desire and so earnestly seek. St. Augustine expressed a sentiment which finds a response in the experience of every true Christian, "Thou, O Lord hast formed us for Thyself, and our hearts find no rest, until they rest in Thee!"

ARTICLE XI.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Permanent Documents of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West. Vol. II. New York. J. F. Trow. This excellent Society was organized nearly twenty years ago, and has, during its past existence, performed a noble and efficient work in sustaining Colleges under Christian influence in our Western States. The enterprize has awakened the friendly interest and deep sympathies of some of the best men in the land and secured, to a surprising extent, the confidence of the Christian public. The Society has saved not a few institutions and placed them on a firm and permanent basis, which but for its assistance would have been compelled to suspend or entirely close operations. The leading design of its efforts has been to extend the Christian faith by the promotion of Christian learning, and to provide the country with an educated and evangelical ministry. There is, as all feel, who have carefully examined the subject, a most intimate connection between the prosperity of Christian Colleges and the interests of the Christian Church, and it was a proper regard for a pure and enlightened ministry, which prompted the founding of the oldest Colleges in the country. *Christo et Ecclesiæ* was the motto adopted by the first literary Institution, planted on the soil of New England, and in nearly all our Colleges, since established, this has been the prominent feature, and just as they have been pervaded, by Christian influences and have aided in building up the Church, have they fully answered the idea of an

American College, and fulfilled their high mission. The importance and power of Colleges, as an element in American Society, cannot be over estimated. They do exert a controlling influence, and any facts, bearing upon the subject, must be interesting to the patriot, as well as the Christian.

The documents before us possess more than a transient value. They present an amount of matter on the true nature and aims of Collegiate education, which is of permanent interest and value. The Secretary, Rev. Dr. Baldwin, who has made the subject, in all its bearings, the study of his life, and under whose wise and efficient administration the Society has flourished, furnishes in his consecutive Reports the most important information on the great work of Christian education, whilst the various discourses and addresses, included in the documents, contain the most useful discussions, the best thoughts of some of our most gifted men, on a subject, vital to the highest interests of the American people. In the volume before us there are contributions from Drs. Bacon, Sturtevant, Brainerd, Hall, Eddy, Clark, Smith, Beecher, Kirk, Storrs, Peters, Thompson, Poor, Stearns, Professors Stowe, Tyler, Smith, Andrews and others; and on such topics as "Colleges and Free Institutions," "Liberal Education, a necessity of the Church," "The College, as a Religious Institution," "Colleges, essential to Home Missions," "Colleges, a Power in Civilization, to be used for Christ," "Intellectual Culture, prompted and controlled by a Right Religion." There is also an interesting and fervid address on the "Significance of the Germans," by Professor Conrad, delivered in 1852, during his connexion with Wittenberg College. This Institution, which has been productive of so much good, was aided, for several years, by the Society, receiving in all about ten thousand dollars, without whose opportune assistance the College, says President Sprecher, could not have been established.

Memoirs of Rev. Nicholas Murray, D. D., (Kirwan). By Samuel Irenæus Prime. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862. The subject of these Memoirs occupied a prominent position in the Christian Church. A clear and powerful reasoner, a terse writer, a keen observer of men and things, with an earnest, generous, noble nature, he exercised more than an ordinary influence. "The strange and romantic incidents in his childhood and youth, his early and wonderful rescue from the wiles of a false religion, his rapid mental and moral development, his brilliant career and well-earned fame, and above all, his vast usefulness as a pastor, preacher and author make him an illustrious example, worthy of record for the encouragement of the young, the edification of the Church, and the praise of Divine grace." Dr. Prime has given us an exceedingly interesting, judicious and useful biography of his friend, permitting him to tell his own story as far as practicable; a book full of graphic sketches and characteristic incidents, which will be eagerly sought after and read with instruction and delight. We cordially recommend the volume to our readers with the full persuasion that its perusal will interest them and do them good.

The Life of Edward Irving, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London. Illustrated by his Journals and Correspondence. By Mrs. Oliphant. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1862. This biography is the record of a most remarkable individual, whose career was long enshrouded in so much mystery. We cannot help but admire his greatness and the many excellencies of character which he possessed, while we deeply regret, that one so highly gifted, by his singular erratic course and

his wild fanaticism, should have perverted his powers, and been lost to the world. How sad to read, and yet how instructive the pages! Here is presented a life-like portrait of the man, and the story is told by a friend, tender and reverent, who deeply sympathized with him in his trials. The volume possesses great interest.

Sermons Preached and Revised by the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. Seventh Series. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1862. The popularity of Spurgeon, as a preacher, does not seem to be waning. The secret of his success is, no doubt, the result of his earnest devotion to the great work of preaching the Gospel. His discourses are rich in evangelical truth, and, although abounding in serious defects and often marred with imperfections of style, possess an unction and a power, which is irresistible. We are sorry, however, to notice in so good a look, so much dogmatism, and an occasional unkind allusion to some of his Protestant brethren, who differ from him in ecclesiastical views, as e. g., in the Sermon on the Marks of Faith, where he refers to an expression, on the subject of Baptism, in the Catechism of the Episcopal Church, and pronounces it a "delusive notion," "a most wicked, blasphemous and false expression," "contradictory to the whole tenor of God's Word." Infant Baptism is to many Christians a precious doctrine, and one which should never be made the subject of ridicule by those who cannot receive it.

Frank's Friend, or the Rampart of Strasburg. By Rev. K. H. Caspari, Author of the Schoolmaster and his Son. Translated from the German. Philadelphia: Lutheran Board of Publication. 1862. This little book is marked by the same excellencies, which distinguish the author's other productions. The narrative is one of touching, thrilling interest, pervaded by a high tone of piety, and showing the power of simple, pure, earnest faith, so characteristic of the sincere German Christian. It illustrates the fatal issue of early error, and, at the same time, presents the consolations and supports, which our holy religion offers. The translation is well done. The volume is certainly a valuable addition to our Sunday School and Home Literature.

Lectures on the English Language. By George P. Marsh. First Series. Fourth Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Charles Scribner.

The Origin and History of the English Language, and of the Early Literature it embodies. By George P. Marsh. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862. These are the productions of one of our most thorough and accomplished scholars, who, by his varied learning and untiring industry has done much to exalt and illustrate our national literature. Few men have given greater attention to comparative philology and the study of the English language, as a science, than the author of these Lectures. Both works before us exhibit profound and accurate erudition, patient and earnest research, and the most intimate acquaintance with the subjects discussed. They furnish a large amount of information, drawn from various sources, stated in precise, luminous and vigorous language, with copious illustrations from authors. They are worthy the careful study of every intelligent individual, and cannot fail to awaken a more general interest among educated men in the history and character of the English language. They might, with profit, be introduced into our literary institutions, as a branch of the regular course. The Lectures in the first volume were delivered before Columbia College, and embrace the following list of subjects: Origin of Speech, and of the English Language—Practical Uses of Etymology—Foreign helps to the knowledge of English—Study of Early English—Sources, Com-

position and Etymological proportions of English—The Vocabulary of the English Language—Interjections and Intonations—The Noun, the Adjective and the Verb—English, as affected by the Art of Printing—Orthoepical changes in English—Rhyme—Accentuation and double Rhymes—Alliteration, Line-Rhyme and Assonance—Synonyms—Principles of Translation—English Bible—Corruptions of English—The English Language in America. The Lectures in the second volume were delivered at the Lowell Institute, in Boston, and contains the following topics: Origin and Composition of the Anglo-Saxon People, and their Language—Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary, Literature and Grammar—Semi-Saxon Literature—English Language and Literature of the First Period, from the Middle of the Thirteenth to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century—Commencement of the Second Period, from 1350 to the time of the Author of *Piers Ploughman*—The Author of *Piers Ploughman*, and his imitators—Wycliffe, and his School—Chaucer and Gover—The English Language and Literature from Caxton to the accession of Elizabeth—The English Language during the reign of Elizabeth.

Lectures on Moral Science. Delivered before the Lowell Institute, Boston. By Mark Hopkins, D. D., LL. D., President of Williams College. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1862. This volume fully sustains the reputation President Hopkins enjoys, as one of the clearest, soundest and most pleasing writers the country has produced. His habits of thought and study, as well as the analytical structure of his mind, have admirably qualified him for the discussion of questions, which form the basis of all correct teachings in the department of ethical science. The work is comprehensive and thorough, its classification natural, its exposition lucid, and the style attractive.

Chambers' Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. Vols. I, II, III. A—E. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1862. This most useful and valuable publication, as indicated by its title, is a Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. It is full and satisfactory, containing more information than is usually found in works of a similar character, and collected from the best sources. Whilst free from technicalities, the instruction it furnishes is precise and accurate. The articles on the most important subjects are generally original, and have been prepared by individuals, specially devoted to their study; the historical and scientific matter embraces the most recent facts, and the latest discoveries. The work, without being superficial, is adapted to the wants of the people, the style is clear and concise, the illustrations are numerous and appropriate. There is no publication, which so essentially contributes to the comfort of the student, and the general reader, as a good Encyclopædia, and the one before us, we feel assured, will meet with a wide and grateful reception.

Preparatory Latin Prose-Book: Containing all the Latin Prose, necessary for entering College. By J. H. Hanson, A. M., Principal of the High School for Boys. Portland, Me. Third Edition. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1862. This is a work of great merit. The Editor's extended experience as a teacher, and his fine scholarship have well fitted him for the task undertaken. In a single volume there is given all the Latin prose, required of students, preparatory to entering College, with critical and explanatory notes, a vocabulary, and a geographical and historical index. The selections from Cæsar, Sallust and Cicero are judicious

the grammatical references numerous and satisfactory, the notes brief and pertinent, furnishing assistance, where help is really needed, and yet not doing the student's work for him. It is an excellent *drill-book*, and it has the additional advantage that, by its introduction into our schools, the expenses of the student may be reduced.

A Copious and Critical Latin-English Dictionary: Abridged and Re-arranged from Riddle's Latin-English Lexicon, founded on the German-Latin Dictionaries of Dr. William Freund. With a brief comparison and illustration of the most important Latin Synonyms, compiled and abridged chiefly from the works of Dusmenil, Ramshorn, Döderlein and Hill. By Rev. P. Bullions, D. D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1862. Dr. Bullions is well known as an experienced and successful teacher, and the author of a series of Grammars, English, Latin and Greek on the same plan. The volume before us we have examined with some care, and take pleasure in commending it to public favor. We have noticed some mistakes in the quantity of the words, but they are, no doubt, typographical errors and will be corrected in future editions.

Virgil's Æneid: With Explanatory Notes. By Henry S. Frieze, Professor of Latin, in the University of Michigan. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. We hail with interest the multiplication of textbooks in the department of classical literature, and the increased attention, which is given in this country, to the study of Greek and Roman authors. The Editor of the present work has furnished a good book. The text is that of Jahn, which is one of the most reliable, the notes have been derived from the best critics on the *Æneid*, frequent references are made to the most approved grammatical works, and illustrative wood-cuts have been introduced with the view of giving the young pupil a better idea of ancient usages, arts, costumes, utensils and implements of War.

M. Tullii Ciceronis, Pro. A. Cluentio Habito oratio ad Judices. With English notes, By Austin Stickney, A. M., Professor of Latin, in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. Cambridge, Sever and Francis. 1860. We are glad to meet with this oration, in convenient form for College Classes. Among our classic authors, there is no one more worthy our attention than the great Roman Orator. The notes in this edition are principally designed to explain allusions and supply the student with such information, as is necessary to the proper comprehension of the oration, without directing his attention to irrelevant topics. Grammatical peculiarities are also presented and the kind of aid afforded, which is really needed, without encumbering the pupil. The notes seem to have been prepared with care and judgment. The execution of the work is creditable to the editor and the publishers.

The Anabasis of Xenophon. With notes for the use of Schools and Colleges. By John J. Owen, D. D., LL. D. New York. Leavitt and Allen. 1862. We have several times in the *Review* referred to Professor Owen's distinguished abilities as an Editor of the Ancient Classics. The present edition of the *Anabasis* has been revised and is published in the best style. The notes have been re-written and enriched with much additional matter, particularly in connection with the geography of the work. Recent travels and the personal observation of several of our missionaries have given us considerable light in reference to that region, of which the Editor, in the preparation of the notes, has availed himself.

A Greek Grammar for Schools and Colleges. By James Hadley, Professor in Yale College. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1861. This Grammar is founded on the *Griechische Schulgrammatik* of Curtius, Professor in the University of Kiel, which was received in Germany with so much favor, and speedily passed through several successive editions. The author has, however, made important additions from other sources, which must render the work still more acceptable to the student. Special attention has been given to etymology and structure, to the different dialects, and to the usage and idiomatic forms of the Greek language. We like the arrangement as well as the material of the work. We trust that the book will excite an increased interest in that noble tongue, which, in the judgment of Dr. Marsh, as expressed in his Lectures on the English language, constitutes "the most efficient instrument of mental training, ever enjoyed by man."

American History. By Jacob Abbott. Illustrated with numerous maps and engravings. Vol. IV. Northern Colonies. New York: Sheldon & Co. As a writer Mr. Abbott is a great favorite with the young, and the friends of the young. He deserves all the reputation which he possesses. We love to read his books, and to recommend them to others. They are pure, entertaining and useful. The present series is interesting and instructive, and is designed to present, in a simple and intelligible manner, the leading events, connected with the past history of our country. The maps and engravings are beautiful and satisfactory.

Rebellion Record. A Diary of American Events. Edited by Frank Moore. New York: G. P. Putnam. We have had occasion, several times, to speak with great satisfaction of this Serial. It is a work, which will never lose its value. The design, which is admirable, seems to be executed with fidelity. It will be found an essential part of every good library. We need for consultation such documents, as are here furnished, in an accessible form, more convenient than the columns of a daily sheet. The last number issued concludes the fourth volume. It brings down the history of verified occurrences to May 1st, 1862, and contains finely executed steel portraits of Major-General Mitchel and of Major-General Lee, C. S. A.

Heroes and Martyrs. Notable Men, Biographical Sketches of the Military and Naval Heroes, Statesmen and Orators, distinguished in the American Crisis of 1861-'62. Edited by Frank Moore. With Portraits on Steel, from Original Sources. New York: G. P. Putnam—1862. The object of this attractive and valuable serial is indicated by the title. The enterprise is an honor to the country, and deserves encouragement. The work, when completed, will make a beautiful quarto volume of permanent interest.

Bibliotheca Sacra. The last number of this excellent prperiodical concludes the nineteenth volume, and well sustains its high character. Several of the contributions possess more than usual interest, and are of great intrinsic value. The article on English Etymology, by Dr. Schuyler, as well as that in a former number by Dr. Dwight, will attract the attention of scholars. Professor Barrows continues his able discussions on the subject of Slavery.

North American Review. The marked ability and excellent tone of this truly national Review make it worthy of the patronage of our literary men, and the general support of the American people. The last number contains several valuable papers, among others one of the best

critiques on the recent biography of Edward Irving by Mrs. Oliphant, giving a most interesting and vivid description of that distinguished but erratic preacher.

Atlantic Monthly. The high literary character of this Magazine, the ability and popularity of its contributors, the genial sentiments of its articles, the elevated tone of its criticisms, the humane spirit that pervades its pages, must ever make it an instructive, entertaining and safe visitor in the family-circle. Under its present editorial management the Atlantic has gained greatly in public confidence.

The Knickerbocker, or New York Monthly Magazine of Literature, Art, Politics and Society. This old periodical has recently commenced a new Series. In its resuscitated form it gives signs of renewed vigor and greatly increased vitality. We do not, however, like its articles on the state of our country. They show too much of a disposition to find fault with the acts of the Administration. These times we should all gather around the Government, and do our best to uphold its hands in its efforts to crush a most infamous Rebellion.

Harper's Magazine. This Monthly comes, as usual, laden with good things. The last number (November), which concludes the 26th volume, is one of even more than average value, full of instructive matter, presented in a pleasing form, with numerous illustrations, which are creditable to American Art.

Sermon on the Work of Grace, or Revival of Religion at Antioch. Preached in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in Hanover, Pa., January 5th, 1862. By S. S. Schmucker, D. D. Published by request. York, Pa.: W. H. Albright. 1862.

An Address, delivered at Ickesburg, Pa., on the Fourth of July, 1862. By Rev. D. H. Focht, A. M. New Bloomfield, Pa.

Remarks made at the Funeral of Henry Bohlen, Brigadier-General, U. S. A., September 12th, 1862. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D., Pastor of St. John's (Lutheran) Church, Philadelphia. C. Sherman & Son, Printers.

New Jersey State Normal School. The Induction of Professor John S. Hart, LL. D., as Principal of the Model School, August 26th, 1862.

The Bible, as an Educating Power among the Nations. An Address, delivered before the Bible Society of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa. By John S. Hart, LL. D. Philadelphia. J. C. Garrigues & Co. 1862.

Stability, the Condition of Excellence: A Baccalaureate Sermon. By A. P. Peabody, D. D., Plummer Professor of Christian Morals. Harvard University. Cambridge. 1862.

Sketch of the Life of Edward C. Herrick, Late Librarian and Treasurer of Yale College. By Professor T. A. Thacher. New Haven. 1862.

The Lutheran Almanac for 1863. Baltimore: Published by T. N. Kurtz.

Der Lutherische Kalender für das Jahr 1863. Allentown, Pa. Rev. S. K. Brobst.

CONTENTS OF NO. LV.

Article.	Page
I. LUTHER'S PREACHING, ITS ORIGIN AND ITS PECULIARITIES.....	313
By C. W. SCHAEFFER, D. D., Germantown, Pa.	
II. LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION.....	336
By S. D. FINCKEL, D. D., Washington, D. C.	
III. APHORISMS ON THE PRACTICAL EXPLANATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.....	351
By Rev. G. A. WENZEL, A. M., Philadelphia.	
IV. THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.....	365
By Rev. P. BERGSTRESSER, A. M., Knoxville, Ill.	
V. ST. PAUL AND ST. JAMES	382
By PROF. L. W. HEYDENREICH, Bethlehem, Pa.	
VI. HEBREW POETRY.....	390
By CHARLES F. SCHAEFFER, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.	
VII. THE SALUTATIONS OF PAUL.....	215
By Rev. J. B. BITTINGER, A. M., Hanover, Pa.	
VIII. SELF-CULTURE.....	440
IX. NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.....	456

The *Evangelical Quarterly Review* is the organ of the Lutheran Church and is conducted by Professor Stoever, of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg. The January number, now before us, contains quite a number of articles of theological interest. Dr. Seiss, of Philadelphia, presents eloquently "The Miraculous Triumphs of the Early Church;" Dr. J. F. Smith, of Newark, takes up the question, "Why did Jesus Pray?" The third article is a translation from Tholuck on Rationalism and Supernaturalism, in which we have a historical review of the Rationalistic phases of German Theology. Among other articles are "Union of Christ and Believers;" "Christianity and Politics;" "An Efficient Ministry;" and "The Dignity of the Ministerial Office."—*The Evangelist*.

The *Evangelical Quarterly Review*, Gettysburg, began a new volume (14th) in October under the able editorship of Prof. M. L. Stoever. The articles are The Book of Job, from the German of Schlottman, by Dr. Schaeffer; Martin Luther from Köstlin, by Dr. Diehl; Public Worship by Prof. Sternberg; Spener from Tholuck by Prof. Muhlenberg; Our General Synod; The Crusades, by Dr. Lintner; The Great Commandment by Dr. Miller; Remarks on Romans vi. 3, 4, by Dr. Greenwald.—*American Presbyterian and Theological Review*.

The *Evangelical Review* is a Quarterly edited by Professor Stoever, of Gettysburg, Pa., and of the Lutheran Church. It is an honor to the gentleman who conducts it, and to the Church, which it represents.—*Christian World*.

This number opens with able articles by Rev. Dr. Seiss, Rev. Dr. J. Few Smith and Rev. Mr. Foelt. These articles are followed by a valuable translation from the pen of Dr. C. F. Schaeffer. It presents the article of Tholuck (from Herzog) on Rationalism and Supernaturalism, The sixth article is also an admirable one. Its subject is Christianity and Politics. It is translated from the German of Dr. Harless, by Rev. G. A. Wenzel. The biographical articles on Gen. Quitman, Dr. Eichelberger and Rev. J. Ulrich will be read with great interest. The articles on the Ministry, the first by Rev. A. Essick, the second by Rev. W. Hull are very good. The book notices are, as usual, full and good. The paper and typography are also deserving of commendation. This important periodical must be cherished and well sustained.—*Lutheran and Missionary*.

The Miraculous Triumphs of the Early Church sets forth clearly and succinctly the great obstacles overcome in the establishment and spread of the Early Church. *Rationalism and Supernaturalism* is not, as might be inferred from the title a dogmatic, but an historical paper. The information given is interesting. *The Union of Christ and Believers* is a sound and solid paper. *Christianity and Politics*, translated from the German, is of a practical character and interesting to the English reader as the German way of looking at the knotty subject. *Reminiscences of Deceased Lutheran Ministers*—sketches of Dr. L. Eichelberger and Rev. J. Ulrich—are valuable.—*Lutheran Observer*.

The *Evangelical Quarterly Review*. A very valuable publication.—*Sunday School Times*.

"We commend this Review for its sound theology and practical literary merits. The articles in the present number show considerable acumen."—*Knickerbocker*.

The January number of this Quarterly has reached us. It contains seven articles. The several topics are ably handled. The *Review* does great credit to the Church, under whose auspices it is published.—*German Reformed Messenger*.

THE
EVANGELICAL
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. LV.

APRIL, 1863.

ARTICLE I.

LUTHER'S PREACHING, ITS ORIGIN AND ITS PECULIARITIES—BY G. EBERLE, PASTOR AT OCHSENBACH, WURTEMBERG.—TRANSLATED FROM LEONHARDI AND ZIMMERMAN'S "LAW AND TESTIMONY."

By C. W. SCHAEFFER, D. D., Germantown, Pa.

E. JONAS has produced a book under the title "The Pulpit Eloquence of Luther in its origin, its character, its material and its form," Berlin, 1852. This work, written in a careful and attractive style, commands our gratitude, ; for it relieves us of the necessity of considering all the peculiarities of Luther's preaching, especially what concerns its "form," and allows us, omitting whatever belonged to Luther in common with others, to confine our investigations within the limits of the title we have chosen.

We regret that we are compelled, at the start, to join issue with Jonas. It appears very plain that the title itself "Luther's Pulpit Eloquence" did not exactly suit him. Jonas begins with considering Luther as an orator. With this view, measuring him according to a theory previously conceived, he discusses in order, Luther's oratorical training, his oratorical character and then the material

and form of his discourses, the whole being illustrated by a variety of examples. But although it is admitted that a preacher may be measured by the principles that characterize the orator and especially that Luther possessed extraordinary oratorical gifts and, above all, excelled in popularity, nevertheless the rule, by which the preacher is to be judged of, is very different from that which appertains to the orator. The duty devolving upon a preacher is not to be an orator, but a living witness for the Lord Jesus Christ; for whilst it is a triumph of the power and skill of the orator to direct the mind and to sway the will of an audience in any specific direction, the conversion of the soul to the Saviour is a work of God and of His Spirit. As far as mere oratorical force is concerned the sermons of Luther possess but an ordinary character. As to his *heroic* manner of preaching, as it is called, Quenstedt is of opinion that it arises from the fact of his handling his subjects of discourse under the impulse of the Divine Spirit, without specific theme, without regular arrangement and, in general, without rhetorical art. Jonas has exhibited to us the "origin, the character, the material and the form" of Luther's Sermons in a kind of external order; but he has failed to show us their internal unity, the fountain-head out of which the "character, material and form" have their common origin. His exhibition is like what we sometimes meet with in books of so-called Natural History, which describe all the different parts of a tree, but the *history* of the tree is altogether omitted. He describes the preaching of Luther according to its material and form, shows us its oratorical character, its fervor, its popularity, &c., but omits to explain how it became what it was and how its peculiarities were developed. Such an investigation would indeed have been interesting, and in the case of a man, like Luther, it would well have repaid the trouble.

True, in the first division of his subject the author speaks of the "Origin of Luther's Pulpit Eloquence," but even in this part our judgment is, that he has failed. He begins his discussion with the remark, that Luther, especially in Erfurt, occupied himself with great fondness in the study of the *Humanities*. He gives us a list of these, together with a catalogue of the philosophical, physiological, historical and theological studies of Luther, and points out the bearing of all of them upon his eloquence. We endorse all

that he has said upon the subject, and yet the direction in which Luther's preaching was set, its *originality* is by no means accounted for, after all. The above mentioned studies, of course, supplied ingredients for his sermons, refined his taste, as the Humanities would naturally do, or refreshed his spirit, for such is the effect of the sermons of the Church-fathers, and it is well known, that he had a special fondness for the eloquence of Chrysostom, or the works of the Mystics quickened the devotion of his heart. But as little as the ingredients of a plant, derived from earth, air and water, determine its organism, so little can the character of Luther's preaching be explained by the influence of the above-mentioned studies. The Humanities, philosophical, physiological, historical, patristic, scholastic and mystical studies certainly do not constitute that *meditatio* which Luther reckoned as belonging to the theological trefoil. The *study* even of the Scripture itself does not cover the ground. Luther, the genial and adventurous spirit, was not the man to be moulded only by the study of other writers. He is, and always remains an Original. The times and circumstances in which he lived were least of all calculated to make out of him the preacher that he became. Pulpit Eloquence was altogether prostrate. Neither the learned Lecturers upon Aristotle, Thomas and Scotus, nor the rude Mendicant Friars, who alone, with the exception of certain Mystics and John Geiler, preached in the mother-tongue, were competent to act as his tutors. Jonas himself admits that Luther was not a servile imitator either of the orators of antiquity or of the Church-fathers, that upon his lips *preaching* celebrated its resurrection, and that in him there appeared a power and a sublimity that had been no where displayed since the days of the Apostles. The *impulse* that gave him his direction as a preacher came not from without, but from within. In order that we may understand his preaching, as well as measure himself in the entire development of his spirit, it will be necessary for us to follow up the same road, along which his own inner life advanced.

His heart, not his studies, that was the fountain-head of his preaching and his eloquence. Religion, and the essential question of religion, How shall I be justified and saved? was the great concern of his heart, the great want of the inner man, the question of his life, the focus of his thoughts, his feelings and his will. This at once gave a definite turn

and application to his sermons and distinguished him from all the preachers of his times. He could never think of such a thing as to take the "blind heathen," Aristotle, or the hair-splitting Scholastics, Thomas and Scotus, with him into the pulpit; to lay hold of Christ, rejected though he was, to lay hold of the prophets and apostles, this was to him a necessity. It was not for him to be swamped in theological questions that could afford the heart no nourishment, since those questions alone could interest him that had a bearing upon the cardinal points of justification, and salvation. His heart, to which religion had become the innermost necessity and its very life, served as his guide and pioneer in all his meditations upon the sacred text. The preacher whose one-sided operations employ the understanding alone, who seeks to warm the heart only through the agency of the understanding or the feelings, may evolve his theme, clearly, by an operation of the understanding, and with the aid of his general theme, develope a plan of discourse, with more or less labor, that shall stand out in corresponding clearness. But the preacher who reads the text with his heart, finds the theme arising easily and voluntarily out of his heart, while the internal unity of the text reveals itself to the heart with but little labor, in the form of an appropriate plan. If the heart has once well seized upon the theme, whatever it may be, then, even before the understanding can have fully mastered the connection, one thought in the text joins itself naturally to the other; and there is no occasion for anxious inquiry how this verse or that verse, perhaps, is to be placed under the general theme. The entire system of Bible truth constitutes one connected whole, so, every text has within itself an internal unity that reveals itself from whatever side we may penetrate it, and the heart, to which Christian truth has become a living experience, catches this internal unity of the several parts as the ear catches the harmony of the combined tones that form a melody, or belong to the several chords of music. There is no better advice then for a young preacher than this. If you wish to render preaching easy and edifying for yourself, let your heart truly live and move in the word of God: then its every single utterance will ring in your heart, and although at first you may be able only to catch the solitary notes, yet after a while your ear shall become so practiced and sensitive as to take in the full harmony of the whole. Certainly that living interest, eclipsing all other elements, with which

the heart of Luther penetrated into the saving truth of the word, must have had a controlling influence in determining the style and manner of his preaching. In this respect Jonas observes correctly, "Luther always caught the *unity* of the text, as being its peculiar characteristic and accordingly never had any particular difficulty in determining the theme. He grasps vigorously into the text and extracts the theme, not always in the manner, prescribed by modern Homiletics, nor as a mere motto, intended to keep up the appearance of form, but as his own heart was affected with the impression which the text itself had made upon him." "The arrangement of divisions in which the theme is developed does not present the evidences of artistic effort, as we find among the pulpit orators of later times; and the topical mode in which these orators delight, is by no means of frequent occurrence in Luther's preaching." But when Jonas says "the oratorical element that had control of him kept him back from the painful toil of running up so-called, logical structures in the arrangement of his subject," we discover, as said before, that the reason of his peculiar style in preaching arises not from the oratorical element that controlled him, but proceeds out of the region of his heart and from his inner life in unity with the word of God. What controlled him was not the oratorical any more than the logical element; but it was the heart, swayed by the Spirit and the Word of the Living God. Even in the oratorical element of his preaching the heart is the prime mover. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. Whatever comes from the heart goes to the heart. The heart is expert in the discovery of what is appropriate and apt in giving it such expression as to lay hold of the hearts of others.

Christian truth, however, becomes, through the medium of the conscience, a heart-concern in the sense above described, not a mere matter of feeling, only to that man in whose regard redemption by Christ Jesus is the first necessity, the very element of his life. The conscience also attains to the dignity of a commanding and controlling power only, when it is quickened and aroused; and this is done by spiritual conflicts. Such conflicts teach us to have respect to the divine word. They are a practical commentary upon the word. They are an essential element without which neither the origin nor the peculiarities of Luther's preaching can be understood. Three things, as he himself asserts, make the

theologian: *oratio, meditatio, tentatio*. Such conflicts or trials are common to all Christians; but in Luther's experience they were so remarkable, both for their frequency and their character, that we may well say, that in this respect, there has been no man for the last three hundred years who could be compared to him. In him a new era of the Church arose, an era of light, such as had not appeared since the age of the Apostles. It devolved upon him to be the bearer and dispenser of this light to coming centuries; and accordingly upon himself it must have arisen and shone with special brilliancy. But the ability correctly to appreciate Christian truth can be acquired only through the experience of trials; and therefore, Luther, as we shall afterwards show, could penetrate into the full light of the Gospel only in proportion to the extent of his trials. In general, indeed, every position of prominence in the kingdom of God is secured in connection with the drinking of the cup, Matt. 20 : 22. Trials and conflicts of the Spirit were inseparable from his work as a Reformer. Single and alone he stepped forth in open opposition to a Church which had enjoyed the sanction of centuries and been acknowledged and revered by princes and people as the only Church in which men could be saved, in open opposition against a hierarchy which according to common consent had been ordained of God, against the successors of the Apostles and the vicegerents of Christ, against councils, against every thing, commonly distinguished by the odor of sanctity,—why should he not, according to the ordinary experience of a poor sinner, why should he not have had inward conflicts to pass through, as though he were contending with a hydra of a thousand heads? His own confessions make this plain. And, if, what the Scriptures say about wrestling with the invisible powers of darkness, be true, must he not also have been violently engaged in other conflicts than in those with his own flesh and blood? With us it is a matter of faith, founded in the word of the Lord, that a part of the warfare, appointed for the Church militant, and indeed the hardest part is, to overcome the Evil One by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of his testimony. This particular conflict do we recognize as belonging specially to the Lutheran Church, not to the masses who may be called by this name, but to those who have her pure faith and her true spirit, to resist the devil and to overcome him with all his lies and all the deceitful spirits that obey him.

What we may call the badge of this order of spiritual conflict, is strongly impressed as a distinguishing mark upon the sermons of Luther. The devil appears in these sermons as in no others, not as a rhetorical figure nor because Luther had any particular delight in massive scenes of fancy. He speaks in such massive style however, for the reason that it fell to his lot, every day, to have such a massive experience of the malignity of this foe. The man who has never shared in such experience, (and it does not belong to every Christian) can never appreciate the position occupied by the Evil One in the Sermons of Luther,—indeed he had better pass over that whole subject. This diversified introduction of the devil however, is not the only characteristic evidence of his spiritual trials; for we have an additional one in the fact, that as in his own experience the truth was found to be his only strength and support in his times of trial, this truth is proclaimed and extolled in his sermons absolutely, not as a treasure to be secretly hoarded, but as a weapon of warfare, powerful at once for defence and for victory. For this reason it is that his sermons commend themselves above all others to persons who are tempted and tried. Having been himself so sharply tried he is a prince of comforters for all who are similarly situated. If on the other hand there are many in our times who do not relish his sermons, the chief reason of this is found in the fact, that in the present age there is a great abundance of what we may call a cheap and a lame Christianity, with which conscience and spiritual conflicts have nothing to do, the prevailing characteristics of which are sentimentality, æsthetics and intellect, and to the fostering of which many sermons of similar character have largely contributed. Luther's sermons however, owe much of their attractiveness to his spiritual conflicts; for through them, his preaching, far removed from the tone of dogmatical discussion, acquires all the vigor of life, becomes an act, a very drama; and greets our eyes with the plastic evidence, that Christianity is a fact that overcomes the world, that faith is no empty, lifeless fancy, that it is a heroic struggle for the crown of eternal life.

These conflicts of Luther produced both upon himself and upon his preaching two salutary effects.

In the first place they set him free from all confidence in the flesh, and trained him to that mistrust of himself and of all his own powers which is the strait gate into the kingdom of Heaven. His conflicts led him absolutely to despair of

all his own works, and of the righteousness founded upon them, of his own strength and ability to heal himself, to renew and sanctify his nature, even of his own intelligence and wisdom in divine things. This *despair* however is the *conditio sine qua non* of all genuine and thorough evangelical consciousness. Self-knowledge and the knowledge of Christ advance with equal pace. The one depends upon and demands the other. If Christ shall increase we must decrease. In proportion as the scales of self-confidence fall from our eyes, stands unveiled before our vision the majestic form of Him of whom the Father has testified, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him." In the same proportion is opened up before us the significance, the indispensable necessity, the perfect fullness of the revelation of Jesus Christ and of the salvation that is in Him. How could Luther possibly have attained to that degree of moral courage, by which he hurled defiance at all the wisdom and righteousness of man, otherwise than through his consciousness of the total vanity of all flesh?

This result of his conflicts as well as the conflicts themselves, had an effect upon the matter and the manner of his preaching. In all his sermons we still hear the sound of that vigorous tread with which he bruised the head of self-righteousness, of man's reason and of free-will. In this result we find the root of that boldness with which he bade defiance to all pretensions of human merit, and of that frankness with which he opened up the experience of his own heart, and at the same time unlocked to their own inspection the hearts of others, alleviating their burdens and commanding their confidence. This result of his conflicts affected also the manner or form of his preaching. As he had abandoned all reliance upon his own strength so also did he lose all confidence in the efficacy of the art of human eloquence to open the heart and to convert the soul to God and to his truth, all confidence in methodistical self-presumption, which fancies that it has the hearts of men in its hand and can readily carry them by storm. His own words are to the point "I cannot prepare nor preach a sermon according to the rules of art." In his opinion the preacher should not allow his own estimate of his sermon to prescribe the force and effect it should have upon his hearers; on the contrary he should commit the effect of the word to God. "I have often reproached myself upon descending from the pulpit:

Shame on you! How have you been preaching, you have entirely abandoned the plan you had previously prepared. And these very sermons have been most acceptable to the people. A man often preaches very differently after he enters the pulpit from what he had proposed." It is clear, that he did not approve of committing sermons to memory. He was still less partial to the practice of preparing them and studying them out, strictly according to the rules of art. Oral preaching should at least keep itself free from the trammels of the previously devised plan, and hold itself open for the workings of the Holy Ghost, even for the motions of that spiritual sympathy between the preacher and the hearers which it is the office of the Divine Spirit to develop. By this we mean something altogether different from the definition that Schleiermacher has been pleased to give in his recent Homiletics: "The sermon should be an expression of the existing spiritual life, or of the Christian consciousness of the congregation." The Reformed Zwingli and Calvin took a different direction from that pursued by Luther. The former regarded human reason and science with higher consideration than did the latter. The effects of this difference may be recognized even to the present day in the homiletical literature of both Churches. In view of the divergence of these directions, the one of which insists especially upon the material of the sermon, and the other upon its form and its compliance with the laws of general rhetoric, it may be easily seen, that the preaching and homiletics of the Lutherans decidedly follow the first, whilst those of the Reformed adhere to the second. Compare *e. g.*, Palmer's Homiletics and A. Vinet's, the latter of whom regards preaching only as a species of rhetoric and accordingly divides it into Invention, Arrangement and Application.

In the next place Luther's spiritual conflicts and that loss of confidence in himself which resulted from them became a powerful *incentive for him to go out of himself*, to seek salvation and the means of salvation elsewhere than in his own person, to renounce all subjectivity and to *look about after some solid, objective footing and foundation for his faith*. This was seizing the subject with the right grip. Calvin and Zwingli blundered in going over to the doctrine of predestination. Of course it was a very natural thought that all self-glory must forever cease, if the de-

termination of the great question of our salvation should depend alone upon the Divine Decrees. He however, who chooses predestination as the footing of his faith in his own salvation, will discover that he has set out upon a circuitous course. He mounts aloft to God only to come back again to himself, to his own feelings and works, and to wind up in subjectivity. Even Luther, at first, encountered in his spiritual conflicts a strong temptation to adopt the doctrine of predestination. No man shared in his conflicts; no one understood them. He had not yet known Christ, as the merciful Mediator with God; he feared him much rather as the coming Judge, and the thought of being ordained, not to salvation, but to condemnation, tormented his soul. But the advice of Staupitz: "In the wounds of Christ you may understand the purposes of God," this through the grace of God, proved to him to be the blessed hand of deliverance, and pointed him to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. His theology, his comfort, his foundation and finally all his preaching was only CHRIST, not the mystical, nor a speculative, nor an ideal, nor a sentimental Christ, nor yet that Christ who was with God before the world was; but the *historical Christ, who had come in the flesh, who had lived upon earth, suffered, died and risen again.* God has delivered up his Son, the Son has revealed the Father, has made atonement and finished redemption. Him I have to hear, to him I must cleave, this was the simple, but in its simplicity the grand, the genial thought of Luther, which none but a broken heart and a contrite spirit, like his had been, could possibly comprehend with equal force and clearness. To believe in God as revealed in His word, and in his gift, the sending of His Son, that was for him the golden way, the way in which the pilgrim shall not err, the way ordained of God; faith in Christ was obedience to God, nobler than all other works and offerings. "We preach nothing new" he says himself, "but we preach forever and without ceasing about that man who is called Jesus Christ, true God and man, who died for our sins and rose again for our justification." He laid hold of Him entirely and only. His word became his wisdom, His life and obedience his righteousness, His Spirit, through the faith that dwelt within him, became his sanctification, and His triumph over death, His divine power, became his redemption. Salvation through Christ was solemnly pledged to him by virtue of that internal union which subsists between Christ and the

believer, like the union between the head and members of a body. This, as he has clearly expressed himself in his book "Of the Freedom of the Christian," was the strength and foundation of his courage and his hopes. The bond, however, by which this union was effected, was constituted, on the part of man by faith, on the part of God, by the Sacraments. The oft-repeated objection that the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the sinner is untenable, that God cannot really hold the sinner as justified and righteous, does not affect him; for the believer is justified not as being a stranger, apart from the person of Christ, but as being a member of the body of Christ Himself. That Jesus Christ has come in the flesh,—this apostolic axiom he comprehended in its entire depth. Though it may not have been conceived and developed after a thoroughly scientific manner, yet it constituted the centre, the sanctuary of his faith, always swaying before his soul. Christ's coming in the flesh was not, in his view, anything like the birth and life of one whose career is fully completed and who has now entirely passed away; but it was the coming of Him who is and who was, yesterday, to-day and forever the same. He felt himself truly blest by his faith in the personal presence of Christ with the Church. This faith he professes whenever opportunity is afforded; in so many words "We hear these words 'this is my body' spoken, not in the person of the pastor or minister, but as proceeding out of the mouth of Christ, who is present and says to us take, eat, this is my body.' For this we must believe and be certain of, that baptism is not ours but Christ's, the Gospel is not ours but Christ's, preaching is not ours but Christ's, the Sacrament is not ours but Christ's, the keys, or the binding and the loosing of sins is not ours but Christ's." His believing perception of the fact, that Jesus Christ has come in the *flesh* effectually saved him from so-called spiritualism, from all kinds of fanaticism and visionary fancies, which dishonor Christ and the Holy Ghost or even pretend to have the power of calling them forth. His belief that Christ has come in the *flesh* ever led him to recognize and to venerate the genuine means of salvation and of grace in the word spoken by the mouth of Christ and his servants, and in the holy sacraments. Upon this he insists with absolute determination, in opposition to all other doctrines and spirits. The point is of so much importance, both for the preacher and for his work, that we may well introduce here his own striking testimony from his book

“Against the heavenly prophets.” “As God has sent forth his Holy Gospel, He deals with us in a two-fold manner, first outwardly, next inwardly. He deals with us outwardly by means of the oral word of the Gospel, and by means of visible signs, such as Baptism and the Lord’s Supper. He deals with us inwardly by means of the Holy Ghost and faith, together with other gifts. But in all these dealings He observes such order, that the outward means must, of necessity, go before, and the inward operations must follow after the outward and come through them. For He has ordained to grant to no man the inward blessing save through the agency of the outward appointments; that is, He will not give either the Holy Ghost or faith to any one, except through the outward word and signs, which he has connected with them; as He himself says Luke 16: 29, “They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them. For this reason St. Paul even calls baptism the washing of regeneration, through which God hath shed on us abundantly the Holy Ghost, Tit. 3: 5–7. He also calls the preached word the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. Rom. 1: 16. Have respect to this order, my brother, for every thing depends upon it. You may see the devil, the enemy of divine order, with his mouth forever agape screaming out, Spirit! Spirit! Spirit! Yet, in the mean time, he is making a total wreck of bridge, stairs, ladder and all the avenues by which the Holy Ghost may come to you, that is, the outward appointments of God in baptism, the supper and the preached word. Thus he undertakes to teach you, not how the Spirit is to come to you, but how you must go to the Spirit; so that you have to learn how to drive in a chariot of clouds, and how with saddle and bridle to mount the wind, &c.” Whilst the word and the sacraments were to him divine means of grace, they were in connection with the absolution, at the same time also, pledges of grace, the sensible, tangible hand of God, which he grasped for the assurance of his faith, and which were more to be relied upon than all feelings, all self-imposed experiences and works.

In the foregoing remarks we have endeavored to describe the *characteristic material* of his preaching in its fundamental spirit, as it arose within him out of the words of the Holy Scriptures, or out of the dealings of divine providence. Through his preaching he refined once more and restored to the light that Christian truth which in the Romish Church

had been caricatured, which had been buried in the midst of Paganism. How far in this respect he differed from the Reformed, and how far the material of his sermons conformed to the several articles of the Creed, and to the measure of the text, and to the festival seasons, all this we relinquish to the investigations of the reader. Upon this subject he may examine the third part of Jonas' book.

In the midst of his spiritual conflicts Luther was made to feel the folly of all self-confidence, of all reliance upon himself and upon others, not only reliance upon his own righteousness and works, but also upon his own wisdom and intelligence. For this reason he clung the more firmly to the Scriptures, with his whole soul, as being the only unfailing fountain, the only infallible rule of truth. He expresses himself, in a sermon on Matt. 2: 4, 5, as follows "Here we may ask why Christ did not lead these wise men to Bethlehem by the star, but had them to find out the place of his birth from the Scriptures? This occurred, in order that he might thus teach us to cling to the Scriptures, and not to follow our own fancies, nor the doctrines of any man, nor the examples of saints, nor the interpretations of the fathers, nor the revelations of spirits, &c. For God will take care that His word shall not have been given in vain. There He will let Himself be found by all that seek him and no where else. He that despises the word and lets it slip, neither can nor shall ever find the Lord."

This exclusive clinging to the Scriptures exerted a two-fold influence upon his preaching. In the first place, the Scriptures furnished him with a *solid foundation for sound and successful argument*. For him, the most convincing evidences were the authoritative evidences of Holy Scripture. Taking his stand upon them he bade defiance to all the world. This firm footing imparted an especial power to his eloquence. It makes a very material difference, whether the preacher is convinced or in doubt respecting the character of his annunciations, whether he regards them as merely human or as absolutely divine. He should not only preach the word of God, but he should preach it *as the word of God*. Otherwise he neither preaches in faith nor plants in faith. 1 Thess. 2: 13. Therein in his book "Eloquence a Virtue," insists, with great propriety, upon this point, that the force of a public address depends pre-eminently upon the firm personal conviction of the

speaker! Luther also defines three elements as necessary to constitute a good preacher. He must *come forth*, that is, he must show himself to be a master and a preacher, who can and must do it, as being called for this very purpose; again, *he must be able also to stop at the right place*. These two elements, in other words, are his assurance in respect to his calling and his preaching. Again, as the result of this, *his preaching becomes essentially an exposition of the Scripture*. In all the sermons of Luther, save those eight, which, as is well-known he delivered in Wittenberg in the year 1522, which also are not sermons exactly, but rather discourses in the ordinary sense, it would be difficult to find a solitary one without a text. Moreover his sermons are not merely sermons attached to a text, but explanations of the text, for the most part analytical explanations, or homilies. If it be essentially Lutheran to adhere not only to evangelical truth, but also to what is written, it is equally essential to Lutheran preaching, that it should be an exposition of the text, not to say a homily in the strictest sense.

Here we cannot avoid noticing the difference between the preaching of the Lutherans and the Calvinists. The latter are satisfied, if the sermon is only in *harmony* with the *Scripture*, it may or it may not be an exposition of the text, it need not necessarily even have a text. Thus, *e. g.* A. Vinet in his homiletics or theory of preaching, retains the text simply on the ground of its utility. For the Lutheran, however, the sermon must harmonize with the *text*, or rather be *born of the text*. The Calvinist demands scripture *doctrine*, the Lutheran *scripture* itself. This difference shows itself also in the following form. The Calvinistic Church has no *perikopes*. She allows the preacher to present from the pulpit whatever truth he may select for the occasion. The Lutheran Church furnishes the text with the dawn of the day; and it is that, that the preacher has to explain; for he is only the mouth of that God who speaks in the word, as we have shown above from the testimony of Luther. Connected with this is the unmistakable preference of the Calvinists for shorter, of the Lutherans for longer texts. That this difference is not universal, that sometimes, either because of the greater facilities afforded by longer texts, or because, in this respect he has been tinged with Lutheranism, a Calvinist may prefer more extended passages; that a Lutheran preacher may, also, for personal reasons, or

because in his sermon he prefers to be an orator, rather than an expounder of the word, more readily make choice of short bible-sayings, all this can not surprise us in the midst of the unionistic confusion and conglomeration of the times. But after all, the difference is decided: the partiality of the Lutherans is for the longer, of the Calvinists for shorter texts. Whilst we are upon this subject of ecclesiastical difference, we may yet notice, by way of supplement, what common observation teaches. The Calvinistic preacher is much inclined to take his texts from the Old Testament, whilst the Lutheran, instead of pondering upon predestination, contemplates the manifestation of Jesus Christ, and so is almost exclusively confined to the New Testament.

Whoever seeks by the right way, which is Jesus Christ, shall find. So Luther sought. God had wrestled with him as with Israel; in the agony his own strength was utterly shattered and he gave up, surrendering self and all self-confidence. He sank down before the manger in Bethlehem, before the cross on Golgotha, before the open sepulchre of the Risen One—My Lord, and my God!—before Him who ascended to heaven and is exalted at the right hand of God. Like Mary he sat at the feet of Jesus to hear his words, like Peter he exclaimed, Lord to whom shall we go, thou hast the words of eternal life, and—*he found. Aroused by the conflict and rejoicing in victory, his preaching marches bravely on.* The groans of his conflict have given way to the word: “Weep not, behold the Lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed.” Throughout all his sermons now, may be heard the song of triumph over sin, death, the devil and hell. “Therefore being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. O death where is thy sting, O grave where is thy victory? He hath made us kings and priests unto God.”

Possessing peace with God, through Him who is the only Mediator between heaven and earth, he is at peace now, also with the visible world around him. Once timorously secluded in his cell, he had denied himself all enjoyment afforded by the works of nature. Now however, he sees nature in the light of redemption, he contemplates the love of God, the Father in Christ, he rejoices in all the works of the Lord, everywhere he beholds the tokens of His love and His righteousness, and, following the example of the Saviour, he draws upon them for illustrations of the king-

dom of heaven, yet, for the reason that he does not observe nature with the eyes of a natural man, nor in the spirit of a Goethe, but in the light of redemption, for that very reason he does not fail to discover the demoniacal influences that pervade it. Let no one call this superstition. That sin and corruption, through the agency of the devil, have pervaded our nature and the world around us, that evil spirits bear sway upon the earth, this is a doctrine of the word of God. All this however, does not prevent him from recognizing the creatures of the natural world to be the work of God, it does not interfere with his maintaining the confession, "The earth is the Lord's; the world is full of His glory;" neither can it bewitch him with superstitious terrors; for the power of the devil has been broken by Christ. His preaching indeed, much more, displays the true heroism of faith, it looks with contempt upon all the terrors of darkness. Formerly he carried on a kind of a weak, monkish strife against nature, now however he gives nature and whatever is natural, its due, and he stands equally removed from that hostility against created things, which marks the Mystics, from all the surly, sour looks of Pharisaism and from an unevangelical Pietism.

Formerly he was cut off from the world in the seclusion of his cloister for the purpose of living to God and serving him; but now he is reconciled to the arrangements of this life. In matrimony and in the other social relations, he beholds ordinances that are sacred and divine. In hearty faithfulness to the duties of an earthly calling and office, whatever it may be, he realizes the true divine service, in comparison with which the holiest living of the monks is vanity. From the ordinary walks of human life, from the daily occupations of men, from the scenes of home, the kitchen, the cellar, the nursery, he draws his figures and his comparisons; and so maintains the position that "in the sight of God all things are good, save and except only sin." He prosecutes the study of history, whether profane or sacred or ecclesiastical, with special interest. He traces up the footsteps of the Most High in all its progress, even in the history of the pagan world; is not slow to introduce into his preaching the testimony of a Cicero and other heathen sages; and, during the sittings of the eventful Diet of Augsburg, he even builds upon his Zion (the Castle of Coburg) three tabernacles, one for the Psalter, one for the Prophets, and one for *Æsop*. It was not exactly in his historical studies, as Jonas says,

whose assertions upon this subject are far too superficial, but in his reconciliation with the world, through Christ the Mediator, in his thoroughly matured evangelical knowledge, that his conservative tendencies had their root. Whoever is at variance with God and with himself is also at variance with the world; but he who has peace with God and through Him, peace with himself has in like manner peace with the world, only not with its sin. Even his patriotism had an evangelico-christian substratum, and in him was fulfilled, in an especial manner, the old proverb "a good Christian is a good Citizen."

Finally he is at peace with himself as an individual. In contradistinction from all monkish mortifying of individual personality, he recognizes in himself a creature of God endowed with divine gifts. He rejoices in these with thankfulness to the giver, and even in his preaching, allows full play to his individuality and natural talents, sanctified by faith and under the discipline of the Divine Spirit. He marshals forth all his gifts, his fancy, his acuteness, even his wit and his irony upon the open field. Not in a vain pretentious piping; but as if filled with the breathings of the Spirit of God, do these organ-stops resound. "If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," free even from the fetters of rhetoric and homiletics, as well as of the ever-changing fashions of the times. The Holy Ghost does not stifle nature. He operates upon the natural gifts and talents of men, not to destroy, but to quicken their vitality. To wither and enfeeble them is the part of sin. Fresh and free, like the strong fountain from the breast of the hill, his preaching wells up out of his heart, as the utterance of faith, never diverted from its course by arbitrary considerations or conventional rules; although the stream, in view of such rules, may sometimes overflow in its abundance. We are glad to repeat here an observation of Jonas, that Luther found very few in his day and among his hearers who were thoroughly familiar with the Scripture and the Articles of the Creed. For this reason his prolixity can be regarded only as a seeming prolixity. For the sake of brevity we introduce here an extract from the preface to Luther's "Exposition of the Gospel" (a compilation from his homiletical and exegetical writings—Stuttgart, 1857). "Experience proves that those preachers wield the greatest influence who are distinguished not as orators, but as witnesses of

the Holy Ghost and of the faith of the Gospel: for the effectiveness of preaching, as far as the preacher himself is concerned, depends upon the measure and the strength of the faith that is in his own heart. Do we propose to define preaching, not as is commonly done by a mere abstract definition, in accordance with this or that particular system, but with regard to practical experience and to its absolute origin, we shall then have to say, preaching is a confession of faith. If this is correct, then it is not only easy for the preacher, relieving him from the direct necessity of exhausting study and of laborious writing, Luke 6: 45, but it is also edifying; for edifying, means building up in our most holy faith, Jude 20; further, it is fresh and lively; for faith both is and awakens life; it is the best safe-guard against abstract theorizing, against one-sided dogmatizing and moralizing, against abortive idealizing; again it is biblical; for faith derives its birth, its nourishment and growth from the word of God; finally, it is practical and harmonizes with experience; for faith is not a scientific conviction, but a living experience, an active working, a warfare with the world both within and without. 1 Tim. 6: 12, 2 Tim. 4: 7. Is this what preaching amounts to, then the individuality of the preacher has a right to appear, for faith expresses itself in accordance with that individuality. Preaching, as a confession of faith, is free, being on the one side restricted only by Scripture and by the confession of the Church that is in harmony with Scripture; for the individual spirit of the preacher can well harmonize with the principles of faith: and restricted on the other side by the necessities of the congregation, which necessities, even as faith is related to Scripture, are themselves in like manner related to the personal Christian life and experience of the preacher. Luther's Sermons afford us the best specimens of this. Their power lies in that *faith* of which they are the witness, their attractiveness arises from the fact, that they are so true an impression of his own personality; that they are so, however, is owing to the circumstance, that, unswayed by any rules of human enactment whatever, they are such a free out-pouring of Christian faith. We hear of none who is able to speak to the heart in such familiar and confidential style as he. So high, even like the eagle's, does his flight ascend, that as he gazes upon a man who is justified through Christ, all the defilement of earth vanishes from before his eyes; and yet he never loses sight of one iota of the interests that really

belong to earth. In every warm and living image of christian life and conversation that he summons up before us, may we observe the beating of a human heart, as the beating of our own. Whence did he derive this enchanting and captivating power, but from the fact that his preaching was the expression of the experience of his own heart and faith? In that experience he had found a key to the heart of every other man."

If we were to attempt then to define preaching, strictly according to its origin, we should say; it is and must be a confession (profession, declaration) of faith, having its norm, its controlling rule, partly in the Holy Scriptures (and the confession of the Church), partly in the necessities of the congregation. Both of these elements, the free and the restricted, may be very readily discerned in Luther's own statement, when he says, that the aim of preaching should be: 1. To proclaim the praise of God; 2. To teach the commands of God according to His word; 3. Exhortation. In this statement we have especially to observe, that he does not hold the conversion of men to be the chief end of preaching; but the glory and the service of God: "To proclaim the praise of God, and to teach the commands of God according to His word." However grating this may sound to many an ear, it is nevertheless incontrovertible. It is also in unison with the first petition of the Lord's prayer and with John 17; for as God is infinitely exalted above all creatures so also must His honor and praise stand out high above even the salvation of the individual man. How could there be, otherwise, such a thing as condemnation? In this respect Luther is very far from adopting the views of the Methodists, amongst whom the specific aim of preaching is wholly directed to the conversion of men. To say the least, this view is affected with presumption, in opposition to which Luther takes a very decided stand in the remark: "A teacher should understand, that it is not in him to edify and comfort souls; but that God himself does this through His word. With this word we must take care that our own peculiar affections and passions shall not be mixed up." It is indeed much to be desired for every preacher, on his own account, that he should fix upon this as the chief aim of his preaching: my business is to proclaim the praise of God in this world and to do His will, whether men believe or not. It requires few words to show, how many are the temptations to ill-humor, faint-heartedness, despondency, self-reliance

and bad temper towards the hearers, always doing more harm than good, which beset that man who proposes the conversion of men, even though he cannot see into their hearts, as the chief and only end of his preaching. Now, to proclaim the glory of God, that is the first, free element of preaching, an act of faith, which cannot do otherwise than confess Christ; "I believe, therefore have I spoken." The second, "To teach the commands of God according to His word" includes the Holy Scriptures as the controlling rule of preaching, together with the confession of the Church; as Luther remarks at another time, "all goes well, if a man only preaches right, that is in accordance with the faith and with the Holy Scriptures." The third element of preaching, exhortation refers finally to the necessities of the congregation as a further rule. This influences the material and the form of the sermon. True, it introduces a new element into the sermon, for it requires the preacher to come forth from his own inner self, from being absorbed in himself and in the written word; and, so to speak, to forget himself in consequence of being wholly engrossed with the congregation. When however he divides the word of God and exhibits it in its diversified application to the several ranks, states, conditions, circumstances and necessities of his hearers, even in so doing he sets forth the faith by which he himself lives. That the effort to be lucid and systematic in preaching does not go round about the profession of faith nor restrain it in any way, is plain from the consideration, that the profession of faith by the act of preaching is not a fettered, nor yet an ecstatic operation; for the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, 1 Cor. 14: 32. In regard to the phraseology, there is such a harmony between the requirements of faith and the necessities of the congregation that the language may flow on unrestrained and free. The rules, therefore, which Luther laid down for preaching, are quite few, "A preacher must be a dialectician and a rhetorician, that is, he must know how to teach, and how to exhort. If he wishes to give instruction upon any subject or article, he must in the first place, distinguish exactly what it is called; in the next place he must define it, point out and describe what it is; thirdly, he must bring forward the passages of Scripture that have a bearing upon it, so as to prove and fortify his position; fourthly, he must commend it and illustrate it by examples; fifthly, he must set it off with comparisons; finally, he must admonish the

negligent, and stir them up, he must sharply rebuke the disobedient, and all teachers of error with their supporters; but he must do it in such a way, that it may be seen, that he does it, not out of wantonness, or hatred, or envy, but alone for the glory of God, the welfare and salvation of man." "Whoever understands a subject fully and is thoroughly possessed of it can very easily speak upon it; for after he has become master of the materials and circumstances he can so write and speak, as to produce a very work of art." For the introduction of the sermon, the theme, the divisions, the conclusion, Luther has furnished no rules, and in this respect there were no peculiarities of his own that we are able to mention, except it be, that he always acted out his freedom and his faith.

So far, in our representation of the origin of Luther's preaching we have taken no notice of his natural gifts, nor of the training and education he derived from his varied intercourse with men. We are not at all disposed to dispute the influence of these circumstances upon the style of his preaching. Natural gifts are the substratum for the operations of the Holy Ghost; He conjoins Himself with them; and under His influence, as the creative, quickening Spirit that maketh free, the germs and the talents that had been fettered and bound by the frosts of sin, are developed into a most fair and beauteous growth. Luther's philosophical and poetical talents supplied peculiar embellishments to his style. As little would we dispute the fact that his studies furnished their contribution to his preaching, especially in respect to its form. We are not of the opinion that over and above native talent, nothing more is necessary for the ministerial office than an inner experience of the power of faith. Though it is admitted that this was enough for the Apostles, excepting only Paul the Apostle to the Gentiles, nevertheless their followers in the spiritual office are not Apostles. But we must always directly withstand any attempt to fix the *origin* of Luther's preaching, either in his natural talents, or in his studies. We coincide with what Jonas has said about Luther's capacity to receive and appreciate the teachings of Nature. "He always had the impression that there was some hidden spiritual existence in the life of Nature. His disposition, rich in fancy, discovered the beating of Nature's pulse in all its power. Her attractions operated upon him with singular force, and his seasons of converse with her were always heartily enjoyed. Indeed

we might even say, he took her to his arms; found in the the roaring of her storms an answer to the storms which raged within his own breast; in her solemn stillness an invitation to inward peace; and in the uninterrupted movements of her forces, ever-new motives to diligence." Through his faith in Jesus Christ, however, this impression concerning the life of Nature grew into something of greater consequence; it became a discernment of the life of God in her, of that God who is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, a discernment, of the connection subsisting between the kingdom of Nature and the kingdom of Christ. "God is in all places, in the smallest creature, in the leaf of a tree, in the blade of grass; and yet He is nowhere, tangible and circumscribed. But how is He in all creatures? in His essence, or through His almighty power? He is in both ways in every creature, for He creates, forms and sustains all things." "In all things, in the minutest organisms, even in their very members may be clearly seen the almighty power and the wonderful works of God; yea in all created things, in all the beautiful operations of art, we may discover and contemplate the impressions of the holy, divine trinity, of the omnipotence of God the Father, of the wisdom of God the Son and of the goodness of God the Holy Ghost." So, with the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. 15, he discovers a type of the resurrection of the body in the grain of corn, that first dies and then is quickened again. Not even is that feature of his preaching, in which he is incomprehensible, we mean its popular character, to be placed to the credit of his natural gifts. Without these distinguished endowments, it is true, he would never have become the Master that he was; but just as little could he have become the popular christian preacher that he was, without the instructions he had received in the school of the Holy Ghost. His popular success is the noble fruit of his humiliation. With all this accords the remark of Jonas, "That sanctimonious affectation in regard to evangelical truth, that backwardness to turn the light of it upon every-day occurrences, that convenience of setting forth abstract truths in a manner that is neither lively nor refreshing, that want of familiarity with the ideas, conceptions, habits, virtues and vices of the common people, that clanishness which confines its attentions only to particular classes in social life, and is unwilling to become all things to all men, in a word, all that one-sidedness with which modern cultivation has innoculated the eloquence of the pulpit is no

where to be met with in the preaching of Luther. His own experience of the power of truth,—whatever he has to communicate, he pours forth fresh, from his own full heart, without regard to the standing of his hearers, whether rude or cultivated, learned or illiterate; for he is preaching to the Church, in which all are one in Christ.” With him it was a matter of principle to accommodate himself to the capacities of his hearers, especially the humble and simple-minded. He even complains “it is a very common failing among preachers, that they preach in such a style that the poor people can learn but little from all they say. But what great care did the Lord Christ take to teach in a plain and simple manner. He draws his illustrations from vines and sheep and trees.” This lowliness of spirit, this concern for the poor among the people, in which his popularity had its root, itself grew out of the teachings of the Holy Ghost connected with those spiritual conflicts, which had humbled him so much in his own eyes and made him so ready to sympathize with all who labor and are heavy-laden. If in the art of exhibiting the truth to the life, of individualizing it, of making it luminous, of presenting it, not in an abstract form, but stirring with both the outer and inner life of experience he was a master, he attained to this degree, not by virtue of his talents as a poet, but by virtue of his experience as a Christian. “His inner life furnishes examples of the sublimest moral conflicts that ever mortal has had to endure, of the deepest penetration into the connections between our spiritual life and the Eternal God, and of the most joyous acquiescence in the work of Redemption through Christ.” Both in regard to origin and manner, the eloquence of an orator differs from that of a preacher, who is a witness of the faith of the Gospel. The former proceeds from nature, the latter from the Holy Spirit. “That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit.” If, and no one can stumble at the remark, if Luther is the greatest preacher since the days of the Apostles, it follows, that with all the general diversities of individual character, that man is best qualified for the office of a preacher, who enjoying, of course, the necessary gifts and education, has been ripened into a witness of the faith, in the school of the Holy Ghost and of spiritual conflict; his anxieties all the time, centering upon his own soul and the interests of the Church of the Living God.

ARTICLE II.

LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION.

By S. D. FINCKEL, D. D., Washington, D. C.

THE Fifteenth Century was fraught in events which portended a speedy and mighty Reformation in Europe, and the Sixteenth dawned with a light unknown for ages upon that continent and the world.

Long established customs and deeply-rooted prejudices were canvassed without dread of wrath or desire of favor from those to whose systems they belonged. Anathemas fabricated in the Vatican and fulminated against the honest enquirers after truth, were hurled with imbecile rage upon the Reformers; but they fell upon their inventors. The human mind had broken down the barriers reared by kingcraft and strengthened by priestcraft; but having dashed away their trammels, they pursued the course of deliberate investigation pointed out by the Press and the Bible, till, like a vessel, long in storms at Sea, having outlived them all, it sailed majestically and triumphantly into the haven of truth and now when e'er she tries the elements again, her every voyage is a triumph, her every contest results in victory, and her song of degrees rises and swells o'er earth and ocean:

“Once on the raging seas I rode,
The storm was loud, the night was dark,
The ocean yawned, and rudely blow'd
The wind that toss'd my found'ring bark.
Now, safely moor'd—my peril's o'er,
I'll sing, first in night's diadem,
Forever and forever more
The Star! the Star of Bethlehem!”

The Church and Religion of Him, to whose memorable birthplace were led the Magi of the East by this glowing luminary, had become corrupted by the traditions of men, but the might and mercy of Omnipotence rescued both from ruin, for “He who is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to the knowledge of the truth,” employed the men and means required to establish them upon a sure foundation, even that of plain and simple truth;

"Truth, tho' crushed, will rise again,
Th' eternal years of God are her's ;
But error wounded writhes in pain
And dies amidst her worshippers."

Truth was the wonder-working engine by which the bloated indulgence and licentiousness of the priesthood ; the grasping avarice of the Pharisee and Sadducee ; the ruthless ambition of Rome, and "the thrones, dominions, principalities and powers, of wickedness in high places," were demolished, and the fragments scattered to the winds of heaven, while their pomp and power passed away, and a kingdom of righteousness and purity arose, "bright as the sun, clear as the moon and terrible as an army with banners." The foundation was laid and the structure reared in Palestine :

"The hallowed land where the Patriarchs rest,
Where the bones of the Prophets are laid,
Where the chosen of Israel the promise possess'd,
And Jehovah his wonders displayed.
The land where the Saviour of sinners once trod,
Where he labored, and languished, and bled,"

"Where he triumphed o'er death and ascended to God as he captive captivity led," establishing, instead of a priesthood, a ministry of reconciliation, instead of the local Jewish temple, beautiful and gorgeous, as it was, bathed in the sunlight of an Eastern sky, and glittering like "a mountain of snow, studded with jewels," a church and a religion which scorned a temple narrower than the universe, and endowing both with a duration commensurate with the ages of eternity. His living messengers were called, prepared and commissioned by himself to go and proclaim this truth to all nations. They went forward under the shield of omnipotence. The promise, "Lo, I am with you," was their defense, and in three centuries the "Banner of the Cross waved in triumph over the Palace of the Cæsars," and our holy Christianity was the Religion of the Roman Empire, comprising all the nations and kingdoms of the known world. True, a long night of superstition followed this bright period ; but insufficient to banish truth from the earth, or to deprive heaven of its heirs and them of their inheritance, and although nearly twelve hundred years succeeded, this age itself was superseded by one of light more vivid by the

contrast, more glorious for its results and the developments of truth which now spread and triumphed in the land of science, literature and the arts, since Europe became the theatre where the war was waged between light and darkness, and the victory of the former became complete. He who once had said, "Let there be light and light was," said, Let Luther be, and Luther was, and Lo! the rugged country of the German, not of the Gaul, nor of the Italian, nor of the Spaniard; but Germany became the cradle of the Reformation, Luther and his coadjutors the Reformers.

Tetzel was yet traversing Germany, engaged in the traffic of indulgences, when the humble and obscure monk abandoned the Augustinian convent; for the ceremonies of the monastery left "a void within his soul, the world could never fill;" and began to preach with ardent zeal and holy fervor in "thoughts that breathed and words that burned," against the corruptions and abuses then prevalent at the Papal Court as well as throughout the Church, nerved with a fortitude which braved every danger; buoyed up by a courage which defied excommunication itself, he declared before the Emperor and the world, that the Bible alone is the true standard of faith and sure directory of life; having "God for its author, truth for its matter, and salvation, the salvation of an apostate world for its end."

In vain the priesthood raged, and Leo X. with potentates and kings thundered forth their maledictions in vain against him; for God was with him. Idle as the wind was their tumult, while the might and majesty of the omnipotent were around him. With his danger, increased his courage, zeal and ardor; and never, we presume, did he offer to Jehovah a more acceptable sacrifice than when he uprooted the superstitions of the time, demolished the vile system of indulgences and rained his arguments, facts, incontrovertible facts, fast and thick, as hail upon the dense mass of error, till he shook the throne of the man of sin to its centre, overthrew the power of iniquity, and proclaimed a free religion to the world. But that we may not anticipate, let us return to the birthplace of our Reformer. He was born at Eisleben, whither his father, a miner of Mansfeld, whose residence was at Eisenach in Germany, had journeyed to attend the annual Fair. The beloved wife of the humble miner was allowed to accompany her husband, and during the night, following the day of their arrival, gave birth to their son, who beheld the light of the

world on the 10th of November, 1483, on the evening of St. Martin's Day, and according to a custom, then in vogue, of naming children from the day on which they were born, was called Martin. As soon as practicable, the happy parents returned to their humble dwelling to rear their son "in the fear and admonition of the Lord," which was successfully accomplished by early subjecting him to wholesome discipline, sound moral and religious instruction, the best aids for the formation of a clear head and a pure heart. And their efforts, as we learn from the sequel, were crowned with entire success, showing that when parents discharge their duty to their children, God will bless, and the fallacy of the opinion, that if children are left to grow up as best they can, God will afterward by means of his providence reclaim and save them.

When we retrace the three centuries and a half which have elapsed since the birth of this truly great and wonderful man, we are astounded at the over-powering effects, produced in the dispensations of Providence by simple causes. Had the Reformation been the result of national councils, of ecclesiastical conventions, or even of a Provincial Synod, we should have been less surprised, but flowing from so simple a cause as it did, the birth of an obscure and unlettered miner's son, we are constrained to admire the arrangements of the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, and while we wonder are led reverently to adore.

Without Luther, the Reformation would not have taken place. Divine Providence cannot err; choosing the means adapted to the accomplishment of its wise purposes, it always secures the end; having chosen him, it commenced with his life, ceased not with his death, nor after; but rolled on steadily, a deepening, widening and increasing stream, till like the ocean it became boundless, shoreless and unfathomable. And it is advancing still in the accomplishment of its purposes, and will advance, till it shall have revolutionized and reformed the world.

Without it, America would yet be covered with primeval forests and marshes, the land of barbarism and savage hunting grounds, the Indian prowling through its wilds in pursuit of prey, the foe of his species and the destroyer of his race. These States, now blessed with light and truth, Religion, Civilization, the Sciences and the Arts, would hardly have been united in the great brotherhood, or if united for a brief period, would have been sundered again by the ruth-

less hand of the Spoiler, and left a prey to every evil passion, and final ruin. Now, the spires of ten thousand houses of prayer point from a christian continent to the home of the Christian in a brighter and better world. The song of redemption is heard in our land, and over the dome of our Capitol waves the banner of freedom with its Stars and Stripes fanned by every wind of heaven, as the token of liberty to other lands, and long,

“O! long may it wave,
O’er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.”

This, all this we owe, under God, to the Reformation by Luther. While yet quite young, he was placed in an Institution at Eisenach, where he was taught the various branches of learning; but being destitute of funds to defray his expenses. How often is talent restrained by this untoward and chilling cause—indigence! What stores of mind are locked up, what exalted and godlike achievements of intellect are crushed by want of money, “the love of which is indeed the root of evil!” but the deprivation of which is sometimes even worse, viz: Evil itself; and how much of good is left unaccomplished in the absence of funds to pursue the course of liberal education and deep research in the treasure-house of science! But the Reformer surmounted even this obstacle with its attendant difficulties. Endowed with musical talent, he, with other students, poor like him, earned his daily bread by singing. While thus engaged he was once assailed with the language of unkindness, which overwhelmed him with indignation and anguish, but wandering onward till he arrived at the dwelling of Conrad Cotta, before the door of which he seated himself to calm his excited feelings by a sweet and plaintive hymn, which caught the ear of Cotta’s spouse, and deeply moved her pious heart in pity to the poor scholar, whom she invited to enter her abode, and entertained in her affectionate and unostentatious manner, little dreaming that she was then ministering untold blessing to the future deliverer of Europe and benefactor of the world. Many years after this, when the continent rang with the praises of the Reformer, she and her lord remembered that the poor, hungry boy, they then fed, was Martin Luther. The joy which this act of hospitality of Cotta and his wife inspired is indescribable. Not only did it fill their own hearts with pleasing emotions; but as giving is “doubly blessed,” “to him who gives, and to him

who receives," the heart of the youth who had thus experienced kindness, took courage, and he went forward in the bright career which lay open before him. What would have been the result, if here he had been repulsed, we are unable to say. One thing is certain, his zeal would have been chilled, and the noble feelings that glowed in his bosom would have been crushed. But a kind word; much more a kind act goes far to redeem the aspirings of the youthful mind, and in his case it seems to have been the impulse, requisite to urge him forward in the pursuit of objects worthy of the undying mind, to the attainment of an end blissful and glorious as the triumphs of time, pressing on to the more blissful and glorious prize of eternity.

During the year 1501, he entered the University of Erfurt, where he spent profitably, many of his happiest hours. It was here that in searching through the alcoves of the old Library, and turning over the pages of tomes, unread by the other monks and students, he once discovered a volume in which are embodied the truth and life of the world, a book, in comparison with which every other sinks into insignificance, or becomes valuable only in proportion to its agreement with its contents. It was the Bible. Withheld for ages from those who could or would peruse it, he brought up this inestimable treasure, to restore it to the millions of Europe, the myriads of our race, as the Book of God, for the illumination of the world. What must have been his sensations on discovering the light of heaven here reflected, man enlightened, disenthralled; saved from ignorance, error, superstition and sin, conversing with God, and God with him! Darkness had covered the earth without it, "and gross darkness the people." Now, Light broke forth as from "the Sun of Righteousness, shining with healing in his wings." What wonder then, that he was enraptured, and that, pouring over the sacred pages, page after page, he should partake of its nature! That bathed in the healing waters of "Justification by faith" fresh from the fountain of Redemption, he should resolve to give this precious volume to his brethren in the living language, spoken, read and understood by every German! He addressed himself at once to the work; and as page after page, and paragraph after paragraph was rendered, the avidity with which they were read, was, of itself an ample recompense for his toil, independently of the high and holy enjoyment which he experienced in the prosecution of the task, and his progress was

rapid; for in a few short years, the whole was completed.

Thus, the Good Book was rescued from oblivion. And once diffused throughout Germany, France, Holland, England, Spain, yea, Italy itself, sought the "pearl of priceless value," and they obtained it. Tyndale's, Wicliff's and Coverdale's editions were printed and circulated, till James' version assumed its place; and we are happy to add, yet maintains it. It is the version which we still possess, and read in our closets, families and churches. Now the path of "knowledge of the truth," is open to all, and "the wayfaring man, tho' a fool, need not err therein." What tides of joy it has produced; what floods of sorrow it has stemmed; what streams of countless tears it has dried up; over what fields of "mourning, lamentation and wo, with the confused noise of warriors, and garments rolled in blood," it has shed the stillness of peace; and over what dark places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty," it has poured the sunlight of mercy, the ages of eternity alone will reveal. What, if the Church, then nearly as deeply benighted as the world, cried out, "This is treason!" as the House of Burgesses exclaimed at the irresistible bursts of our own Patrick Henry, on the Stamp Act, "Cæsar, had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third"—"Treason!" cried the Speaker. "Treason, Treason!" echoed from every part of the house—Henry faltered not for an instant; but taking a loftier attitude, and fixing on the Speaker an eye of fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis,—"may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it." And the Church did profit by Luther's example, and became enlightened by his works.

In 1505, he had the honorable degree of Master of Arts conferred on him, a distinction well and truly earned. And already a wider range of thought and action opened before him. It gave him access to the society of men of letters, and those whose companionship he loved, found in him, young as he was, a profound original thinker, open to conviction of truth, wherever found and by whomsoever advocated. Indeed kings and nobles sought his society and favored the enterprise in which he had embarked; nor was he elated by such distinction, tho' courts and empires were filled with his renown, and fame with "trumpet tongues" proclaimed his praise.

Still, he was but a man, a young man, and as such we must

think of him. Bold, however, as a Lion, yet gentle as the dove, he attacked vice in its very citadel and routed it, received instruction from the most obscure and improved by it. His fellow-students looked up to him, as men are wont, when contemplating a superior genius, with emotions of reverence and pleasure. His thoughts inspired their minds with new and exalted ideas. His words were fraught with knowledge, his converse easy, friendly and familiar, about the sun, glorious emblem of the Deity; the moon, "walking in brightness;" and the stars a "shining host." The earth with teeming myriads of inhabitants; and most and best, with man, destined to rule the earth, and afterward become the heir of immortality, the joint heir of Christ and denizen of eternity, to soar above and beyond sun, moon and stars, with angels and archangels, while suns roll on and God endures. Nor did he less delight to hearken to the thunder's voice, heaven's blast and trumpet sound, echoing from rock to rock and o'er the everlasting hills; neither dreaded he the livid lightning's glare; for he looked beyond, and trusted in the might and mercy of him who rules them all. But while walking abroad one day to view the face of nature, with Alexis, his companion, a thunder-peal over head arrested their attention, he thought of the Judgment Day,

*"Dies irae, dies illa
Solvat sæclum in favilla
Teste David cum Sibylla.*

*Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando judex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus:*

*Tuba, mirum spargens sonum
Per sepulera regionum,
Coget omnes ante thronum,"*

and his heart yearned over a world in sin; but his friend was no more, the bolt had passed and Alexis was a corpse. How mysterious the Providence, and yet how wise; "One was taken; the other left," left to think, to speak and act in unison with the wise purposes of the Most High, for the redemption of this world. He arose from his knees to bless God for having spared him to breathe the vital air of heaven, and his gratitude arose on wings of faith, ascending higher and higher, even to the eternal throne. Influenced in some measure by this event, he resolved to

devote himself exclusively to the service of God, to use every moment of his time, to employ every faculty of body, soul and spirit to glorify the Lord. But monastic vows, convent prayers and ceremonies had not given him the peace he sought, he therefore made a farther, deeper search, and found the blessing which he craved in the volume of inspiration, "by believing in him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets spake." Here was laid the foundation of that heroic faith by which he was enabled to triumph over sin, to root out and destroy that excrescence foisted on the Church which had preyed upon her vitals and threatened to consume all of loveliness and virtue, that superstition which was the bane of piety, and which it required a master hand and skill in its excision from her bosom. And by this critical operation, the Church was undeniably benefitted. A new and healthful action began in portions of the body ecclesiastical, which must e'er long, without such a remedy, have died putrid and utterly corrupt. The greatest benefit, however, accrued to Protestant Christendom, to the followers, not of Luther, nor of the Pope, but of Christ. And hence the Reformation conveyed streams of blessing even to those who ignorantly opposed it, but most to those who favored it. "The faith once delivered to the Saints," now spread with great rapidity.

In 1507, he was ordained a Priest, to read mass; but preferring to render the homage of the heart, he offered himself, "a living sacrifice, holy, and acceptable to God"—

"For, vainly we offer each ample oblation,
Vainly with gifts would his favor secure,
Richer, by far, is the heart's adoration,
Dearer to God are the prayers of the poor"—

and the surrender was accepted, as we have ample reason to believe. Now he laid the foundation of his favorite doctrine—"Justification by faith in Christ." From this central point he set out to pass along all the radii of the circle of Christian doctrine, to traverse the circumference, and after the exploration of the entire field, to return to the source of all.

In 1508, he was appointed Professor of Philosophy in the University of Wittenberg, where his mighty mind expanded still more amid the treasures of Science, and men of learning whose object was to disseminate knowledge among the many scores of youth who resorted thither. Here also he was

untiring in "preaching Christ," gathering the young into his Church as the Lambs of his flock. We observe here that no man has a better opportunity of forming and moulding the mind and heart, than the teacher, and teaching begins early, in the nursery by the mother, in the household by the father, in the Primary School, and continues through College. None can influence them more extensively or definitely for their good than the teacher. But he must himself possess a clear head and sound heart. He must be a good man, a patriot, and a wise instructor. And to be and do all this, he must be a Christian. Our Reformer possessed these qualities in an eminent degree, and therefore, availing himself of the opportunities, used the appliances furnished, strengthened his pupils in the principles of truth, patriotism and virtue, so that we find few, if any people, more devoted to their fatherland and of stricter integrity than the men from the land of Luther.

In 1510, he visited the court of Leo X., at Rome, which yet maintained its pomp and splendor, and for which he yet entertained a sincere regard as the seat of authority and of the vicarship of Christ; but seeing the corruption and immorality of the priests, and shocked at the irreligion of the clergy and laity in the mother city of the Church, he returned to Germany resolved to stay the impending ruin. One of their worst practices, in his opinion, was the hurry and irreverence with which they performed religious services. Their object seemed to him to be, "to get through." This he censured with the most caustic severity, nor was the censure in vain. He had himself been accustomed to perform such rites as the Church enjoined with deep solemnity, and even to read the Mass with a pathos and interest that showed clearly that every word he uttered came from the heart. How desecrating then must appear to one, so accustomed, the levity with which those priests, who, in the very heart of Rome attended to the solemnities of religion and the Church, if indeed, they attended to them at all.

Nor did these male-practices escape his severest animadversion. No wonder then, that the Pope and his myrmidons should denounce him as their foe. But by witnessing these things at the Papal court, he also obtained a clearer, deeper and fuller view of the depravity of the human heart. What, thought he, here in the very source and centre of religion,

under the eyes of the father of the Church, before the face of heaven's own vicegerent; for Luther was as yet, by no means, detached in his love and veneration from the Roman See (he regarded Leo with the profoundest reverence as such), and the hearing of the man of God must, he supposed be shocked; for in the very ears of the Pope, things are uttered that must deeply grieve his holiness—and yet they are said and done with impunity, yea, absolutely without any notice being taken of them. And his own serious and reverential manner of attending to things sacred and rites divine is ridiculed, if indeed any attention is paid to it beyond a sneer. But the time must come for a separation between him and them.

They were already gathering the materials for the wall of partition which was to be reared between him and them. They had separated themselves from Christ, the true and only Head of the Church, and he must no longer be of their company, lest like Korah, Dathan and Abiram, he should go down quickly with them into Tophet.

He laid hold of the censer and passed between the living and the dead to stay the devastating plague; he seized the Cross, the hallowed Cross of his divine Saviour, and rushing forth into the dense mass of the multitude, exclaimed, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world,"—he raised up high the banner of Immanuel and, as the winds of heaven displayed its folds, proclaimed a war of extermination against superstition and idolatry in all their forms. Millions heard the proclamation and marshaled themselves around the mighty man of Wittenberg. His watch-word, "God is on our side," gave courage to his friends, and spread dismay among the ranks of his enemies. His eloquence, strong and full, "like the sound of the trumpet," with the clear ring of the true metal, rang out in no uncertain peals; but with the thunder-tones of truth despising the dross and tinsel of the Schoolmen, laid hold of the hearts and feelings of men; and his cogent and powerful reasoning convinced their understanding. Thus inspired, and clad in the whole panoply of truth, just fresh from the Lord's own magazine, "the helmet of salvation" covering their heads, "the breast-plate of Righteousness" shielding their hearts, and with "the sword of the Spirit, the word of God" in their hands they went forth to conquer. Indeed, thus armed and equipped for the war with sin and error, who can stand before the soldier of the

Cross? With Christ, the Captain of his salvation he is invincible. Again Rome trembles as in the days when the iron men of the North came sweeping down from their fastnesses like the mighty avalanche from the mountains, menacing the city of pomp and power with swift destruction. Again all is terror and confusion from the alarm on her battlements and towers. The Pope raves; the emperor rages; the priests writhe as if stung by serpents; and the hosts of hangers-on, like swarms of locusts, are lashed as by scorpions, and all resort to arms against the Monk of Wittenberg. "But vain their rage and tumult,—hurt his work they never can." At the first onset, Luther wrote to Leo with great respect, and expressed a willingness to abide with him on condition that, "if he were in error, he should be convinced by the word of God." Leo, little inclined to enter a controversy in which he knew his own weakness and dreaded his adversary's strength, commanded him to recant his errors and return, as an obedient son, to the bosom of the Church. Unconscious of errors, except such as are incident to the best of men, he replied, that he had none to recant, and as to returning to the Church, he was not aware of ever having deserted her. Again he tried suasive means to conquer his antagonist, promotion, or possibly a cardinal's hat; but the former he regarded as cajolery, and the latter as a bauble, fit only for brainless or arrogant aspirants and fools. Thus Leo was foiled again, for Luther proved superior to bribery and corruption, and thus were truth, sincerity and uprightness again triumphant.

In 1512 the honorary degree of Doctor of Theology was conferred on him. In accordance with his vows he now publicly declared and defended the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God and, the five years ensuing, made most rapid progress in the knowledge of them. The Psalms, the book of the Prophet Isaiah, and the New Testament were his favorite portions. These inspired him with doctrines, promises and prospects which bore his own spirit beyond the scenes of this troubled world to the regions of perennial bliss, "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

Moreover, the gulf which he had discovered as existing between him and Rome, the difference in doctrines and practice between his Bible and their superstitions, having assumed tangibility, shape and form, seemed no longer vague and general; but definite and real. His study of the Sacred

record had given him light, by which to unravel the mysteries, to comprehend the scope, and to appreciate the value of the truth; and to present it to his brethren, not with "shadows, clouds and darkness" on it; but in the true light, which, he who is the source of all furnishes every man. And the progress of it was, like the opening dawn, brighter and brighter even to the perfect day.

Could the Reformer close his eyes? Could his coadjutors, his Melancthon, his Bucer, his Justus Jonas and others refuse to see? Impossible! Nor could the closing of their eyes extinguish the light of the Orb of day to those who were disposed to see. For truth, when fairly presented, will make its impression, and the more it is tried, persecuted and opposed, the more it will prevail. In this we behold one of the chief excellencies of the Reformation, that having broken the bonds asunder in which the minds of men had been enslaved so long, it gave freedom to the soul to think, to speak and act, fearless of consequences. And once in motion, the way of knowledge open, what wonder that the Reformers made progress! Herein lies the difference between Luther and Rome. He is free, and knows it. She is bound in chains: but knows it not, and trammels her adherents with fetters like her own. He desires nothing in the whole world so much as to see all men free with the "liberty wherewith Christ can make them free." She would have them all enslaved. It is easily perceived who will prevail.

Another feature of difference between the Reformer and his opponents, is the steadiness with which he pursued the path he had chosen for his own. They attacked impulsively, now advancing, then retreating, he with vigor dealing his blows with deep effect, and continued to deal them in the thickest of the fight, with the firm resolution to conquer though he should die in the conflict. Victory is not to be courted, nor cajoled, she must be won and often with the sacrifice of all beside. He had embarked his all, and however unequally matched with his foes, their numbers swelling to hosts, he single-handed, or almost alone; yet he triumphed. They in possession of all the appliances of strategy, he of none but the Bible; but that was all-sufficient, and he triumphed. Well, therefore, did he maintain "that the Holy Scriptures are the word of God, the only rule of life and love, of faith and strength, of hope and practice," and verily, he found them "a strong tower and rock of defence." Here

he took his stand, and here abode in strength and increased in righteousness. On the 31st of October, 1517, he opposed the sale of Indulgences by the Dominican Tetzel, and gave to the world his ninety-five Theses, which, no power on earth could induce him to retract; for in them he gave the sum of "the faith once delivered to the Saints," and by them had become mighty in the defence of the Scriptures.

But a new storm now burst upon him, and he met it with undaunted resolution. He was cited to appear at Worms. His friends dissuaded, his enemies threatened, opposition menaced him on every hand. Like the mariner amid the ocean, underneath a single plank; overhead gleamed the lightning and rolled the thunder-peal. One star alone shone out amid the gloom, the star of hope beaming with cheering radiance, and it bade him, "hope on, hope ever." Relying on the arm of Omnipotence he prepared to go forward, regarding duty as superior to all other considerations combined. Opposition was silenced by the merited rebuke. "To Worms," said he, "I will go, and if there are as many demons there as there are tiles on the roofs of the houses." He went, and again he triumphed. But his language is peculiar and appropriate, "I will go in the name of the Lord God of hosts." Hence he prevailed. Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, sent him to the Castle at Wartburg to shield him from being molested by his adversaries. He made it his Patmos, and in the space of nine months translated the New Testament into the German language spoken, read and understood by millions of enquiring, strong-minded people, eager and anxious to know the truth "as it is in Jesus," who read, believed and obeyed, making it the rule of their faith and guide-book to eternal life.

After his sojourn of three-fourths of a year in the Castle, he was restored to his friends, who required his pen, his counsels and his courage to shield them from danger and successfully cope with the foe. Especially in order to suppress the fanaticism of Carlstadt and his adherents, which had suddenly broken out and was seriously injuring the Reformation.

We are not to suppose, therefore, as some have done, erroneously, that this excrescence, foisted on the Reformers by their adversaries, was a part of the Reformation, or identified with it; but as nothing on earth is so perfect, but that it may have its defects, nor aught so good, but that

it may have faults; so the work of Reform was not yet complete.

Germany has been properly called the cradle of the Reformation. Here it began; but it did not stop here, it spread all over Europe and has extended till its blessings are diffused over the world. Aggressive in its nature, it attacks error wherever, and in whatever form it is found, routs superstition and establishes truth. It soon extended into England, for Henry VIII. wrote against Luther and his doctrines, which induced his subjects to examine and inquire who, and what they were, which, as soon as they understood, they adopted and believed. The monarch received a caustic, but just reply from the pen of the Reformer, who continued to write and preach with unabated fervor, and then began to print his works till the continent was filled with them, and every man that could obtain them, procured and read them.

The work advanced rapidly, extending into Scotland, Denmark, Sweden and other provinces. A Lutheran church was organized in the heart of France. In vain did the Sorbonne condemn Luther. In vain George of Saxony and Henry of England resorted to persecution. When Luther laid aside the cowl, monasteries were deserted and priests married.

In 1525, John, successor of Frederick in the Saxon Electorate, Philip Landgrave of Hesse, and Albert of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia, publicly declared themselves Lutherans. All their territories, Livonia, a large portion of Hungary and Austria, Lüneburg, Celle, Nuremberg, Strasburg, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Nordhausen, Brunswick and Bremen adopted the Reformed faith, which spread far and wide, while Charles V. was engaged in his military expeditions. It resembled a river whose waters were pent up: but once released, rolled on a healing stream of salvation through the world.

The discovery of America in the 15th century, opened an asylum for the persecuted adherents of Luther, which many in England, Scotland and Germany embraced as a God-send to his people. Here the sedate and peaceful Friend, is unmolested in the silent worship of his God; the venerable Presbyterian fears no Smithfield fires; the joyful Methodist shouts aloud for joy and the Lutheran bids all, "God-speed," who serve the Lord Jehovah in sincerity and truth.

ARTICLE III.

APHORISMS ON THE PRACTICAL EXPLANATION OF THE SCRIPTURES. — TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. G. THOMASIIUS.

By Rev. G. A. WENZEL, A. M., Philadelphia.

1. The expression *practical* has in the *usus loquendi* of Theology a definite meaning. It denotes whatever conduces to the edification of the Church. Practical, therefore, is that explanation of Scripture, which has for its object the edification of the Church through the written word.

By *edification* is frequently meant an excitation of pious feelings, by any, even the most indefinite influence produced upon the heart by external impressions, particularly by the written or oral word. Thus a sermon is called edifying, when it has moved or affected its hearers, without taking into the account the actual amount of truth it contains, or the real worth of the incitation it produces. Yea, it is just that which excites the feelings and produces tender emotions, which men are most pleased to designate by this name. But this is a very narrow and one-sided conception, and is far from exhausting the Scriptural idea of *οικοδομη*, as laid down in Eph. 2: 19—22. 4: 12—19. 1 Cor. 3: 12. 1 Pet. 2: 5, and Acts 20: 30. For according to these the *subject* to be edified is sometimes the Christian Church, and sometimes the individual believer, as one of its members, but in both cases, in the totality of the essential importance and relation, which naturally pertain to the subject to be edified; accordingly the whole man, in the totality of his vital powers and relations of life, not only as regards his feelings, but also his understanding and will, his spirit and mind, the entire Christian personality, the whole Church in the collectivity of its members, and the variety of its relations, social and domestic, religious and civil. The *object* of edification is Christ, or rather the communion of faith and life in Christ, who is both the foundation and head of the Church. The edifying activity itself consists in rooting and building up the subject to be edified, in all his essential relations, in this communion. We say, rooted and built up, for the biblical idea of *οικοδομη*

includes both meanings. It is a double picture of that living building, which partly tends downward and partly upward, continually planting itself deeper into its firm and everlasting foundation, and becoming ever more perfect in form, whilst, at the same time, it is rising higher and higher toward heaven. According to this we define edification to be an establishing and forming in the communion of faith and life with Christ in God, or more concisely, the growth in this communion; for both establishing and forming are here immediately connected, because, whatever establishes itself in this communion, is at the same time a growth in it, and *vice versa*.

This definition presents three points for consideration, namely, first, that the communion with Christ has already been established; secondly, that it is only in process of formation, and thirdly, that it has a definite object towards which it tends.

Communion with Christ has been established, so far as the whole Church in the collective capacity of its members has been incorporated with Him by holy baptism, instructed in the truths of the Gospel and is, therefore, in some degree, made a partaker of the influence of His Spirit, who dwells and operates in it through the Word and Sacraments. And though the effects of this operation may be imperceptible, and the number of living members so small, perhaps, that human eyes may not be able to distinguish them, we have nevertheless a guarantee in the promise which accompanies the means of grace, that they are not ineffectual. At all events, the covenant of grace, entered into in baptism, preserves its objective continuance, even though the subjective conditions should remain unfulfilled. Hence it is evidently a mistake, when christian congregations are regarded and treated as if they were heathen, who must be first converted to Christianity. It is true, this mode of procedure is adopted by some zealous ministers, and many sermons, which aim at the conviction and conversion of lifeless Christians, are formed in accordance with this view. This view is, however, not only erroneous, as appears, from what has already been said, but, wherever adopted, accomplishes little in the way of edifying, because that which already exists as the starting point, is thereby altogether overlooked. The preaching of the Gospel will prove far more effectual, if engaged in with a direct reference to the already existing relation of its hearers to Christ, because this relation imposes

not only the obligation to christian faith and life, but it also imparts the strength necessary to discharge this obligation. The same holds good in cases where reproof must be administered on account of unbelief and sin; for it is only in the light of this relation, that the true nature of sin in Christians appears in all its hideousness, as infidelity against grace received and a violation of the covenant of God. In fact, the Apostles treated the Churches, to whom they wrote, always as "the Churches of God," no matter how many irregularities they found to condemn among them. Even that at Corinth, which had been split up into sects and which retained wicked and dissolute men in its connection is addressed by Paul by this name; and though he felt constrained to say to the Galatians, "Ye are fallen from grace," he yet bases his reproof and admonition upon what had been done for their salvation and upon their experience in reference to it. This presents us with a proper guide for our own conduct.

But as edification presupposes, that a communion with Christ has always been established, so also does it, on the other hand, presuppose, that it is only in process of formation and, therefore, more or less imperfect. And this not only as regards impure, hypocritical or lifeless Christians, who are either spiritually dying or dead, but also as regards the whole Church as such, in the collective body of its members, including even those, who are in a comparatively healthy condition. To adduce evidence in proof of this assertion, in reference to the general condition of the Churches, from the doctrine concerning the order of salvation, or from the testimony of the Scriptures and that of personal experience would be altogether superfluous. We prefer referring simply to Luther's declaration, where he says, "The merciful God preserve me from *that* Church, which is composed altogether of saints. I will remain in *that* Church and with that little flock, where are the desponding, the weak and sick, who apprehend and feel their sins, their wretchedness and misery, and who are unceasingly and heartily sighing and crying to God for consolation and deliverance, and believe in the forgiveness of sin." How much more aptly can this be applied to the present, in which the number of dead and dying Christians forms the majority, and where there is found to exist even among the comparatively good, and among those more especially, such

as claim to be awakened and suppose themselves to be so, so much unsoundness and corruption. Hence nothing can operate more injuriously, than when a minister divides his congregation into two distinct classes, the one consisting of a large herd of *unconverted*, and the other of a little *flock* of pious believers. Nothing can be more hazardous. For not only must such a classification necessarily be fluctuating, not to be determined with certainty by a reference to external works, and only known to the Searcher of hearts; but it is also calculated to estrange the greater part of the congregation from the minister and cut off his approach to them, whilst it engenders in the other part only too readily spiritual pride and self-righteousness. Hence no such distinction should be made, but ministers should rather act upon the principle, that the whole congregation is still in a state of imperfection, and therefore in need of correction and reproof.

But the Church is also called to aspire after her divinely appointed end. This end Scripture points out in a double aspect, namely, on the one hand, as the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God, as a uniform and settled conviction in the completeness of its growth; (Eph. 4: 13), and on the other, as a pervading penetration of the purifying, sanctifying and harmonizing spirit of brotherly love, as a whole family united in the bonds of love (Eph. 4: 15, 16; Col. 2: 12; Phil. 2: 1-4), both being comprehended in the design, that the Church, in all its members and in all its relations, shall grow unto a holy temple in the Lord, filled with his Spirit and imbued with his life. (Eph. 2: 20-22). It is to become, what it already is. This growth has for its basis present faith in Christ and is only continued in the way of successive development, negatively, by the warfare it maintains against the Evil One, positively, by the general co-operation of all its members. By the warfare it maintains against the Evil One, or more specifically, against error and sin, both internally, against the unchristian elements which are still adhering to the congregation, and externally against anti-christian influences, by the united efforts of all its members, that is, in such a way, that each one serves the rest according to his position in the Church and the measure of his gifts, and again permits himself to be served by them in turn, with whatever he may require. Hence the edifying activity must direct its efforts toward purifying and building up. It must not only lay bare every sore and reprove with

solemn earnestness whatever sins exist, but also nurse with tender forbearance and develop with consummate skill whatever germ may be present, either in the individual or in the Church as a whole.

2. The best means for the accomplishment of this end are the *Holy Scriptures*. True it is, the Church was not established by the written, but by the oral word of the Apostles. Their witness implanted in the world the Church which the Lord had founded through his Spirit; but its perpetuity and guidance required a Holy Scripture, produced by that same Spirit, through whom it had been founded. By means of it the labors of the Apostles continue through all after times. As their personal activity had laid the foundation, so the Scriptures will and shall build up the Church upon the foundation thus laid. For this end they have been given to it from God. This the Apostle declares, first of all, of the Old Testament (2 Tim. 3 : 11-17), where he says, "all Scripture, *i. e.* whatever is written, is the product of Divine action, and is profitable for *instruction* and for the refutation of error. This is its theoretical meaning, negatively and positively considered. Further, it is profitable for the *reproof* of the unconverted and for the *instruction* of those already converted. This is its practical meaning; that, adds Paul, the *ανδρωπος θεου*, the *minister Dei* may be himself perfect and thoroughly fitted for the performance of every duty connected with his office (*ad omne muneris officium perfecto instructus*). Thus then the Apostle teaches here, not only, that the Scriptures promote the edification of the Church, but also, that they have been given to the office of the ministry, specially for this end. That the same holds good with regard to the New Testament needs no proof; its contents perfectly answer this end.

For these are far more copious than was the oral testimony of the Apostles. The written Word contains the whole counsel of God in reference to the salvation of sinful humanity, or rather the sum of the manifestations of God in history and speech, and that, moreover, in a manner which answers the wants of individual Christians, which comprehends all the relations they may sustain and, at the same time, furnishes the Church as a whole with a perfectly sufficient norm for christian doctrines and life; yea, it is just this whole, this Church which the Scriptures have specially in view.

But that which the Scriptures contain is not presented to

us in the form of a *system* of human doctrines ; it neither gives a system of christian faith, nor a system of christian morality, nor yet a theory of ecclesiastical conduct, but relates, first of all, the history of our Lord, which is the fulfilment, and the witness of the Lord, which is again the revelation of the eternal counsel of God, as realized in the facts of his life, death and resurrection ; and then it relates the establishment of the Church and the Divinely wrought beginning of its history, with which the Divine plan of salvation, objectively accomplished in Christ, begins its realization subjectively in and upon humanity. But all it says further concerning it, appears in the form of admonitions, exhortations, consolations and warnings, and that always in special application to the relations and wants of the Churches, to whom the Epistles of the Apostles were addressed, referring to the position which Christianity at that time occupied in regard to Judaism and heathenism and the opposition of both, &c., &c. Extended and connected paragraphs of doctrines are there seldom met with. Hence the Holy Scriptures are altogether *historical*, the contents of the Apostolic Epistles altogether local, wholly concrete, wholly addressed to the time in which they were written ; and therefore only to be understood fully from a knowledge of that time. And yet these same Holy Scriptures are the Word of God, addressed to the *whole* Church, to the Church of all times ; they are the inexhaustible fountain of all knowledge concerning salvation, the norm and rule of christian faith and practice, as for every individual believer, so also for the collective Church of the Lord ; *universal* in the highest sense, designed to be all things to all men. Divine wisdom has so ordered it, because it would not save the Church the trouble of believing and searching and of intelligent and practical application, and because it wants Christianity to be its pupil, yea even in a manner its co-worker. It is on this account that it imparts to the Word this wonderful, this concrete form and leaves it to the Church to develop, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, this Divine, this living seed. For this reason the Scriptures open to the Church an infinitely deep fountain of knowledge and of life and bid it to moisten its pastures with the waters of this life, to illumine with the rays of this light every step of its pathway and to give out of this inexhaustible fullness to every one whatever he needs for his salvation.

What follows from this ? It follows, as Neander express-

es it, that there is a mediation necessary between the Divine Word radicating in history and its relation to the Church, or rather an *explanation* by which, whatever the Scriptures contain, is practically applied, (in the sense pointed out above,) for the edification of the Church in all special as well as general cases. This is the business of *practical exegesis*. To apply the Scriptures in this way, is the duty of every individual Christian, according as he may have ability; but above all is it the business of the office of the public ministry, which is specially called to this end, and whose duty it is to acquire the necessary scientific knowledge for its performance.

3. The *practical* explanation of the Scriptures presupposes the strictly scientific, the so-called grammatico-historical. It is so far from rendering this superfluous, that it rather depends wholly upon it. If this be neglected, then the practical degenerates into superficial reflection, into a shallow contemplation, the like of which we have already more than enough, to the prejudice both of science and edification. Ministers must not permit themselves to be betrayed into the neglect of the study of the original text, even by such excellent works as that by Otto von Gerlach, a work, by the way, which I do not like to see in the hands of ministers, because it saves them too much labor and makes study too easy. A regular course of reading of the entire Scriptures, especially of its historical parts, would aid vastly more in acquiring a perfect knowledge of its contents, than the use of many "Practical handbooks." When we say "scientific explanation," we do not, of course, exclude that more profound spiritual knowledge of the Scriptures, which cannot be acquired by the most intimate acquaintance with language and history, yea, which may also be found, in a certain degree, among those, to whom the vernacular version only is accessible. This is that nice tact, or rather, that peculiar spiritual faculty of perception, which arises from a *believing* intercourse with and constant perusal of the Word of God, just as one becomes familiarized with the tastes and opinions of a friend, by constant and intimate association with him. This constitutes the general fundamental condition for the profound understanding of the Scriptures, which is again based on the presumption of the possession of an experimental knowledge of our own need of salvation. Out of this knowledge Luther learned to understand the Psalms, which formed his daily prayer-book, in such a way,

that in them he "looks into the hearts of all the saints, as if into a beautiful and cheerful-looking garden, yea, into heaven, beholding how the tender, delicate and gay flowers of all manner of beautiful and delightful thoughts concerning God and his benefits are blossoming;" and again he "looks into the hearts of the saints, as if at death, yea, even down into hell, and sees how dark and dismal it is there, on account of so many sad sights of the wrath of God." But it is just Luther's experience which shows most clearly, that such a spiritual understanding of the Scripture is only reliable and sound, and secure against an arbitrary mockery of subjective piety or sentimentalism, when it is supported by a thorough knowledge of grammar. Further enlargement upon this subject would be superfluous, especially as it is generally acknowledged, at least, in theory.

The other pre-requisite upon which the practical explanation of Scripture depends, is an acquaintance with the *present* in its widest sense. By this we mean first of all an acquaintance with the Churches as regards the state of their spiritual culture, (which in general is very deficient,) and their special condition as it grows out of pastoral intercourse with them. We mean further an acquaintance with the general physiognomy of our time, its principles and tendencies, and finally, an acquaintance with the relations, which the present bears to that time in and to which the Apostles spake. For though everything, they did say, concerns the whole Church through all time, it can yet not be equally applied to every period; especially that which the epistles declared in reference to special relations requires first to be translated into the present, before we can be instructed thereby. And in order that this may be done, a careful composition is required between the Church's past and present, which pre-supposes a familiar acquaintance with both.

4. The method of the practical explanation of the Scriptures must vary according to its different practical designs. This can possibly be a three-fold one, namely, preaching (Bible class), pastoral intercourse and the general superintendence of the Church. We confine ourselves here to the first. In regard to preaching (Bible class), a three-fold deviation is to be avoided, namely, that of paraphrasing the text, that of using the text merely as a subject, sentence or *motto* of a discourse, and that of giving it an allegorical or moral explanation. Paraphrasing weakens the sublime orig-

inality of the Divine Word and enervates its individual preciseness, for which reason it is inappropriate both in theory and practice. There can be nothing more insipid, tedious and wearisome than this method of explaining the Scriptures in public preaching, even though it be only followed in the introduction of the subject, where it is frequently misapplied. Not less to be discarded is that method, by which the text is only used as the motto of a discourse and whatever is connected with it, the simple series of remarks upon it. Such remarks may be very ingenious and intellectual; but the expositor of the Scriptures is not called to exhibit the wealth of his own mind, but rather to make plain the mind of the Holy Spirit; and the more he, *losing sight of self*, confines his labors to this, the more abundant and fruitful will be the result. Such remarks may also be very correct and orthodox in themselves, still they skim only upon the *surface* of the Scriptures, instead of conducting *into* them, and are, besides, coupled with a snare into which well-meaning ministers frequently fall. These fashion their sermons after the plan of a body of divinity and treat the text according to its categories, the consequence of which is, that their discourses only appear as the *variations* of one and the same *theme*, as there are in fact ministers, who begin every sermon with the fall, go systematically through the whole order of salvation, and wind up with eternal life. In this way a congregation, though well-disposed, may become averse to the truths concerning salvation, because surfeited with them. The so-called allegorical explanation is based upon a recognition of the infinite spiritual depth of the Sacred Scriptures, especially of the profound significance of the history of salvation, but it mistakes its character, by regarding history as the external *symbolical* shell for loftier *ideas*, instead of the *realization* of the Divine thoughts concerning salvation, and is thus betrayed into putting a false construction upon it, instead of unfolding its internal meaning. Hence it has also, wherever pursued, degenerated into a plaything of arbitrariness or ingenuity. It belongs to the distinguished merits of Luther to have combated this mode of explaining and opposed to it the canon, *sensus literalis*, that's the thing. No fears need on this account be entertained of being deprived of the rich treasures of the Scriptures. As it finally regards the so-called moral interpretation, it will suffice simply to be reminded of its assumption, namely that Christianity consists in moral philosophy, and that its dogmatical part is

of importance only so far, as it contains morality, or may be transposed into it; and also of the principle which was set up for exegesis in view of this assumption, namely, we ought to let the sacred writers say, what from our moral standpoint they must have said. According to this principle rationalism has acted and knew how to divest itself without trouble of the entire positive contents of the Scriptures, of all its accredited deeds in reference to salvation.

To avoid this four-fold error, exegesis must, first of all, enter minutely into the text and develop its meaning, but not so as to give prominence to the general sense or idea contained in a single paragraph or passage, but so as to ascertain and develop the sense of the text in its obvious concrete preciseness, according to the special connection in which it stands, its direct drift and its frequently delicate gradations of shades and bearings; for it is only in this way, that the vast treasures of the Scriptures can be mastered, and when this is done, the practical points have already been found. Yea, such an explanation of the Scriptures, which enters into its "depths and heights," is already in itself directly edifying and will, in most instances, require but little additional labor to accommodate it to the faith and life of the congregation. But also in cases where further accommodation is required, where the application to the present is not so apparent, does not lie so near, it is necessary, that the most careful explanation of the text should have gone before. Further than this, general rules for applying the Scriptures can not be laid down; for these are determined by the sermon itself, in the preparation of which practical exegesis is to aid. Whether the first is to spread out before the congregation the result of the latter, or whether, having first brought it to a focus, it ought thus to be introduced to the congregation, &c., &c., these are questions which do not enter into our subject, but belong properly to homiletics. We have here to do only with the practical explanation of the Scriptures in itself considered.

5. That the theologian in doing this must consult and be guided by the original text, is evident from what has already been said. But the congregation being referred only to the authorized version in the vernacular, the theologian can only communicate his knowledge of the Scriptures to them through the medium of the translation. By this it in reality loses nothing. For Luther's translation is a faithful rendi-

tion of its innate sense, and notwithstanding the defects which adhere to it, as they do to every human work, remains unsurpassed to this day. For though some of the learned of a later day, aided by superior advantages, have given to some passages a more accurate and correct rendering, Luther nevertheless possessed and united all the requisites, for producing a German translation for the people, in a more eminent degree than any one since his time. On the one hand his profound, we may say his genial comprehension of the original text, upon the other his intimate familiarity with the language of the German nation, its peculiar genius, his creative power over it, all this united to an honest Christian and, at the same time, national, thoroughly German heart and mind, qualified him pre-eminently for being the *translator of the Holy Scriptures for the German nation*. As regards the first, the testimony of Melanchthon in proof of his knowledge of the Hebrew language is sufficient. He says : *In Hebraicis Lutherus ita elaboravit, ut etiam summi apud Judæos Rabinipalman illi concederent*. And though Luther himself on one occasion says, "No one can understand Virgil's pastorals, except he has been five years a shepherd; nor Cicero's epistles, except he has sat twenty years at the head of a first-rate government, and least of all the Holy Scriptures, except he has governed the world for a hundred years with the prophets, such as Elias and Elisha, with John the Baptist and with Christ and his Apostles," yet there is scarcely any one who lived himself so thoroughly into its spirit, not only by the most assiduous and careful study, but also by the most intimate intercourse with its inspired writers. Of him it may justly be said, that he actually lived, thought, believed and prayed in and with them. The Word of God was his light, his consolation, his strength; and this experimental knowledge, born of faith, made him the most faithful, though liberal, interpreter of the Scriptures; it produced in him that fortunate tact, by which he was enabled, even in the most difficult passages and with the most insufficient aids, to find in most instances the proper meaning. His translation bears visible evidences, that it is pervaded by the same spirit which pervades the original. It bears the stamp of the *stilus sacer*. As regards the German language, we know that Luther did not only thoroughly explore its rich mine of words, but his creative genius also greatly improved it, so as to make it

the vehicle of the Divine language of the Scriptures (see Hopp's Value of Luther's Version of the Bible, 1847). His aim was to give a German Bible to the German nation; designing not to translate the Scriptures, but to "*interpret*" them, and "to make them say what their authors would have said, if they had wished to speak and write German." Hence his chief law, the sense must not be accommodated to the words, but the words must be accommodated to the sense. He who would speak German intelligently, must not adopt the manner of the Hebrew, but be careful, that he may understand the Hebrew and comprehend the sense, and then ask himself how a German would express it in a similar case. If he has the proper German words, let him abandon the Hebrew and give the sense freely, as best he can." But this liberality of his translation does not at all militate against its faithfulness, a faithfulness which is not only verified in individual instances, but also in the fact, that he sought, wherever possible, to reproduce the idiom of the original. For this too he possessed a most delicate sense. As regards the first he says himself: "Again I have not treated the letter too liberally, but where any importance attaches to a point, I have retained the literal sense and did not pass over it by giving it a free rendering," &c., &c.; the other appears especially by comparing his translation of the Gospels with that of the epistles of Paul, or the latter with the translation of John's epistle. But what constrained him to undertake a work, which in his time was truly marvellous, and which in our own has not been surpassed, concerning this he delivers himself in another place in language too beautiful to be here omitted. He says, "I have done it for the benefit of the dear Christians, and to the glory of Him who sitteth on High, and who is every hour doing me so much good, that, though I should interpret a thousand times more, I would still not deserve to live one hour, or have one healthy eye." And through the grace of this God he has succeeded in giving a Bible to the German nation, in which it hears the Prophets and Apostles speak in its *own tongue*, and which has become one of the most powerful means for the promotion of the Reformation. Its internal excellence gained for it an easy introduction not only into all the Lutheran, but into all Protestant churches, and it justly possesses among the Churches canonical authority. Hence in explaining the Scriptures to the congregation the au-

thorized version in the vernacular must be adopted as the basis.

6. Since this does, however, notwithstanding its excellence, in some passages still depart from the original, the question arises, what is practical exegesis, in such instances, to do? These departures are different in kind and of a three-fold nature, namely, *seeming*, *unimportant* and *real*. They are first *seeming*. Luther's departure from the original text is frequently nothing more than an explanation of the text, an interpreting translation. He has himself repeatedly expressed himself in reference to it, especially on Rom. 3: 28, concerning which he says: "I knew perfectly well, that in Rom. 3: 28, the word *solum* is neither found in the Latin nor Greek version, and the Papists needed not first to have reminded me of it. It is true, these four letters (s-o-l-a) are not there, but these * * * do not see, that the sense of the text does nevertheless require them, and if it is to be translated so as to make intelligible and forcible German, they must be put there. For such is the nature of the German language, that if two things are spoken of, the one affirmatively and the other negatively the word *but* is used for *only* (*sola*)."

Such seeming departures occur frequently, especially in the Psalms, a few of which Luther treats so freely as if he himself appeared as worshipper and writer. In all such cases the practical explanation must unhesitatingly adhere to the translation, as long as this does not contradict the original. Those belonging to the second class, namely the *unimportant*, occur in cases where particles are not sufficiently distinct, individual words are not accurately rendered, sentences are not properly joined and where the translation generally gives the original either indistinctly or incompletely, without, however, altering the sense. Such passages are numerous. In most instances the fault may easily be remedied by the explanation; whatever is deficient may be supplied or amended, without the necessity of correction in the presence of the congregation. The model for such a correction can, of course, only be the original text. According to this the vernacular text is to be explained, and not by the arbitrary interpolation of individual ideas. When, for instance, Luther in 1 Pet. 1: 6-8, translates into the future tense, what in the original is found in the present, we may unhesitatingly let it stand, it only being necessary, in order to do justice to the meaning of the Apostle, to show, in the explanation of the passage, how the joy resulting from

the Christian's hope of future blessedness already reflects its light back upon the present. Sometimes, however, these unavoidable departures are only caused by the vernacular offering no word which corresponds in meaning to the Hebrew or Greek, or by its *usus loquendi* having been different at the time in which it was rendered from what it is now. In all such cases it is easy to find a remedy. Generally, if the sense is given correctly, no particular stress need be laid upon the letter, except where much depends upon it. The manner in which the Apostles made use of the LXX shows, that such a course is not justifiable. For they cite the Greek text also in cases, where it does not literally correspond with the Hebrew, yet altogether without hesitation, sometimes in such a way, that they themselves use it again freely.

In instances, however, where the translation has actually mistaken the text or altered its sense, no other alternative is, of course, left, than that of honestly confessing the oversight, and of correcting it, using, in so doing, the phrase, "or as it should rather read." Yet even here we should proceed with tender forbearance and reverence, so as not to shake the well-founded confidence of the people in their Bible. Care should also be taken, that we do not hastily yield to the opinion that what every new version holds up, as an improvement, is such in reality.

We conclude with the remark which Weller has handed down to us as the advice he received from Luther: *Principio illud iterum iterumque te moneo, ut sacram scripturam longe aliter legas, quam profanas literas; videlicet, ut cum quadam et summa animi intensione legas, non ut hominis et angeli verba, sed ut verba divinae majestatis, cujus unicum verbum plus ponderis apud nos habeat, quam universa scripta sapientissimorum et doctissimorum hominum. Huic lectione crebras preces admisceas.*

ARTICLE IV.

THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.

By Rev. P. BERGSTRESSER, A. M., Knoxville, Ill.

WE propose to give in this article what we conceive to be a Scriptural view of the Christian Sabbath.

I. *Its Institution.* The Sabbath was *divinely* instituted. This may be gathered from the term *sabbath* which, according to Gesenius, means *resting or cessation* from labor, and also keeping *holy day*. Hence, the day, as hallowed by God, was called by way of eminence *the Sabbath, the rest*, Gen. 2: 2, 3. It is evident from this that the institution is founded on divine authority, for it is distinctly said, "*God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it.*" Here a peculiar eminence and distinction are clearly attributed to this day above the other six, for upon it is bestowed the express benediction of Jehovah. How could a particular day be *blessed*, except as made *the appointed time* for the communication of some spiritual benefit to intelligent creatures? When God blessed the seventh day, or seventh portion of time, he therefore must have pronounced it *to be the time* for conferring his choicest blessings on man. But he did more. *He sanctified it.* שָׁבַט, *to institute any holy thing, to appoint.* It is by this term that the *positive* appointment of the Sabbath, as a day of rest to man, is expressed. When God sanctified the day, he thereby commanded men to sanctify it.

But as there is no distinct mention in the Bible of the Sabbath from the creation of man to the fall of manna in the wilderness, a period of upwards of two thousand years, it has been supposed by some that it is a mere institution of Moses, and chiefly designed as a memorial of the deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage. In proof of this, Deut. 5: 15, is quoted. According to this theory, the Sabbath was first instituted as a memorial of that miraculous deliverance, and after its institution Moses wrote the book of Genesis, and, as a reason for its religious observance, appended to the account of the creation, God's example of resting after the labor of six days. Thus the Sabbath is

rendered a mere Jewish institution, and all its religious obligations, confined to the Jewish economy.

1. But in reply we remark that the position that the Sabbath is a mere Jewish institution, is a forced and unnatural construction of the language of the Scriptures. That, in general, may be regarded as the true sense of Scripture, which commends itself to the pious mind of the common reader. Holy men of God, among whom was Moses, emphatically, wrote as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. If then the inspiration of the Divine Spirit secured to these men the wisdom to record the divine communications precisely in accordance with the Divine Will, can we justly suppose that he would let Moses draw a wrong inference from the fact that God rested the seventh day from all his works? Did not Moses, according to his own language in Genesis, understand that the Sabbath was divinely instituted, immediately after the creation of man? So the pious reader of the Bible has always understood it. But if the original institution of the Sabbath were only in connection with the fall of manna in the wilderness, the passage in Genesis has no reference to its institution by God at the creation. The passage under consideration, however, plainly teaches that the Sabbath was then for the first time instituted. If this be not so, Moses either designedly misapplied language, or he did not record what was the fact. But the nature of inspiration will allow neither the one supposition nor the other.

2. The whole narrative in the sixteenth chapter of Exodus, shows clearly that the Sabbath was known to Moses and the Israelites as previously existing. Moses said to his brethren, *This day is the Sabbath of Jehovah*. Here it is evident that Moses was calling their attention to something with which they had some acquaintance. To reach their consciences, and to invest the institution with its ancient authority, it was only necessary to exhort them and call to mind that the seventh portion of time, as sanctified by Jehovah at the creation, must be observed as *his* time by them in the wilderness. And for this exhortation there was evidently reason; for the Israelites during their sojourn in Egypt, had lost much of the light which had been divinely communicated to their fathers. It was proper that they should be reminded of the ancient landmarks. For the tendency of the human mind, since the introduction of sin into the world, is to lose the light of the knowledge of God, both that which is communicated to them by nature, and that

given them by revelation. This we are very clearly taught by the Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Romans. Men gradually fell from a nobler state into sin, until the idea of God was entirely obliterated, so that men and even beasts of the meanest and most disgusting forms, received divine honor. The natural and inevitable tendency of the race, left to itself, is to descend from a higher to a lower state of morals. Thus it was, in a great measure, with the Israelites. By their residence in Egypt they had not improved in the knowledge of the true God. They had lost much concerning him which former generations knew. To this it was necessary that they should be restored, and the first step to this end was to remind them of Jehovah's Sabbath. Thus there was but re-established an ancient and time-honored institution.

The silence of the Mosaic narrative respecting the Sabbath from the time of the creation to the fall of manna in the wilderness, is no valid objection to the position taken; for after the incident mentioned in Numbers 15: 32-36, of a man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath day, we find another period of some five hundred years, much more minute in historical detail than that from the creation to the exodus, in which nothing definitely is said of the Sabbath, even to the death of the Shunamite's son, who was raised to life by the prophet Elisha. If we may infer from the silence of the historic narrative respecting the Sabbath from the creation to the exodus, that the Patriarchs therefore had no Sabbath, then by the same course of reasoning, we may also infer that, during all this remarkable period, the Church of God was destitute of the Sabbath. But the one supposition is just as improbable as the other. We believe the Church of God on earth has never been destitute of the Sabbath, for how could the Church exist without the Sabbath.

3. The division of time into periods of seven days each, is additional evidence that the Sabbath was instituted at the time mentioned in Genesis. Seven nights and days constitute a week; six of these were appropriated to labor and the ordinary purposes of life. This division was universally observed by the descendants of Noah; and some ancient critics have conjectured that it was lost during the bondage of the Israelites in Egypt, but was revived and enacted by Moses agreeably to the divine command. This conjecture, it is said, derives some weight from the word *Sabbat* or *Sabbata*, denoting a week among the Syrians,

Arabians, and Ethiopians. Now, this uniform division of time among these different nations, cannot be accounted for except from the traditions of the earliest times. It must, therefore, have been derived from Noah, who, from the time he sent forth the dove to ascertain whether the waters had abated from off the face of the ground, "*stayed yet other seven days,*" and when the dove returned with an olive leaf plucked off, he "*stayed yet other seven days.*" Both his entrance into the ark and his egress from it, were regarded by him as religious acts, most appropriately to be done on the day, set apart by God for religion. But this division of time into periods of seven days each by Noah, looks back to the time of the original institution of the Sabbath, and hence, anterior to the time of Moses.

4. The language in the Decalogue, is proof that the Sabbath was not then for the first time instituted. *Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy;* זכור *to call to mind.* How can anything be called to mind except it has a previous existence as an idea, in the mind? We are surely not to remember the Sabbath as we do Monday, Tuesday, &c., in their chronological order; but we are to call to mind that the seventh portion of time is to be spent in sacred employment. To hallow the Sabbath is evidently to regard and use it as sacred. For this purpose God has fixed the time, the proportion of time being the only part of the positive enactment.

II. *Its Design.* The design of the Sabbath is benevolent, intended to promote the highest good of man. It was expressly made for man every where, and throughout all ages. Hence, man's physical and spiritual nature needs a Sabbath. He is so constituted *physically* that his mind constantly sympathises with the wants of his body. Incessant toil wears out the energies of his limited strength. Observation confirms the fact that a longer life and better health are the natural consequences of a proper observance of the Sabbath, as divinely instituted. Man will also do more work, and perform it in a better manner, by conscientiously keeping the Sabbath. The same is true of irrational animals, which have been comprehended in the benevolent design of the Sabbath. But the Sabbath was especially made for man's *spiritual* nature. The state of probation, in which he was originally placed, necessarily demanded that he should have a portion of time expressly set apart for growth in piety. If this were ethically demanded before the fall, how much

more now, since he has fallen. Nothing is more conducive to spiritual improvement than the public worship of God. Therefore the Church of God, both ancient and modern, with all her ordinances and sacraments, looks for public worship. And these sacraments, which are the seals of the covenant, are of so peculiar a nature that it is not allowed by their divine Author that they should be placed on any one except in the presence of witnesses. Those who apply for admission into the Church are required to make a public confession of the Lord before his congregation, to whom he has entrusted the seals; otherwise the design of the Church could not be accomplished. Since the fall, the larger portion of man's time has been employed in attending to his physical wants, which naturally have engrossed all his time, aims and purposes, to the entire exclusion of his spiritual interests. Unless God, therefore, had given man some divine institutions, as the Church, with its Sabbaths, ordinances, &c., to call away his mind from physical cares, and to awaken in him holy emotions, the race would have been forever lost to piety and holiness, and God, this day, be without a true worshipper.

Another design is a token of covenant relation to God's children. The mind is taught spiritual things most successfully by means of signs and symbols, such as are found in the Church. This being the nature of the mind, the original institution of the Sabbath was designed, no doubt, to set forth in a symbolic manner God's covenant with man. Were the Church deprived of the Sabbath, one of the fundamental stipulations of the covenant would be removed. That the Sabbath is one of the stipulations of the covenant, which God has made with his people, is evident from Ex. 31: 13; Deut. 5: 14, 15. But God's covenant with his Church is perpetual, and therefore its stipulations, among which is the Sabbath, must also be perpetual; for what is a stipulation but one of the articles or provisions of a covenant? If any of the stipulations of the covenant, were removed from it, the covenant itself would be broken and soon forgotten. Remove the Sabbath, one of the symbols of God's covenant to his Church, and we remove with it what is symbolized by it. As long as we have a Sabbath we have a sign of the divine protection, but take away this sign, and God will cease to be worshipped as our Creator, Preserver and Re-

deemer. Take away the symbols of the Church, and we will soon have no Church whatever.

III. *Its Universality and Perpetuity.* If the Sabbath was made for *man*, it must be binding upon all men, and throughout all ages of the world. This is evident,

1. From the manner in which the Sabbath was instituted. It was instituted in the first age of the world, and probably on the first day, spent by man in Paradise. When creation was arrayed in all the beauty and freshness of youth; when the garden of the Lord was vocal with the merry songs of the feathered tribes, and trees and vines were gilded by the rays of the first morning song; when the atmosphere was redolent with odors, ascending to heaven, like incense, to the great Creator, and man's blood was coursing pure and healthful through his veins, the first impulse of his pious heart, was a song of praise. It was the first fruits of man's devotion, and acceptable it must have been. Hence, as the Sabbath began with man, it must bind mankind throughout all ages.

2. The same is proved by the applicability of the Sabbath to man wherever he exists. God has but one moral government which comprehends, as its subjects, all men on the face of the earth. Man in all climes, and of all colors, has the same moral nature that responds to the same ethical behests, issuing from the one great moral Legislator. Accordingly, we find that there inheres in the nature of man, and in the relation which he sustains to God, a moral necessity which brings him in perpetual obligation to keep the Sabbath day holy. God in his wisdom has therefore so constituted man's moral nature that there arises from it a fitness, or rather a moral imperative that he should legislate for this, his higher nature, as well as his lower. For the very existence of moral beings implies moral legislation for those beings. For God to give up legislating for such; would be for him to give up the grand end for which he made man. The end had in view in the creation of man, was the blessedness which God enjoyed in the holiness of man. He can feel blessedness in man first as this original end is accomplished. Would God create man to the end that he should be holy and pious, and not at the same time establish laws which might preserve him in that state? For the holiness, which the Creator desires to secure in man, is that which exists when he is placed on trial, and proves faithful. In any other position moral agents, made in the image of God, could not

be placed. Unless man had been thus placed, the end of his creation could not be attained, for a moral world could never find its consummation in holiness without a moral government. But that man is placed under such a government, is evident from his rational endowments. In addition to all that is animal, man is furnished with reason, in which is included all that belongs to moral personality. By this faculty he is enabled to see his own excellence, and what is due to himself. There is thus in him a capacity to perceive an absolute right over and above all his animal claims. In this he also finds capacity for a peculiar susceptibility, which, when awakened, is reverence for authority. But this reverence for divine authority, *must be awakened* in man, who is "*dead in trespasses and sins.*" While he was in his primeval innocence, the law was required only to *keep* him in holiness, but now since he has fallen, his restoration requires more. God's end, the blessedness which he enjoyed in the holiness of man, was just as dear to him after the fall as it was before it; and hence he has placed man as such under a new trial—he has placed him under a dispensation of grace. Therefore that man may yet attain to the grand end of his creation, he must be awakened anew to spiritual life, as St. Paul says, "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead and Christ shall give thee light." From this sleep the pious on earth have already been awakened, and they are beginning to realize, to some extent, the grand and glorious end of their salvation. 1 Pet. 1: 9.

But this awakening into a reverence for the divine authority, this consciousness or rather tenderness of the sacred relation which man sustains to his Creator, must be effected by certain means, as is known by experience. Man's reason, will and conscience have been perverted by sin, and thus his heart has been hardened into irreverence for his Maker from which he will never be able to deliver himself. His mental vision has so long been accustomed to darkness, that the darkness at length seems to be the light. He is entirely depraved. And into this condition he has brought himself. How shall he now be rescued from his thralldom? Whence shall deliverance come? That he cannot effect this himself, is one of the fundamental doctrines of the Church. The Lord Jesus has very clearly taught us our moral inability. He says, "No man can come to me, except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him." Again, "Without me ye can do nothing." St. Paul says, "We are not suffi-

cient of ourselves to think anything, as of ourselves." Here, according to one passage, we are not able *to say*, according to another, we are not able *to do*, and according to a third, not able *to think*, any thing truly acceptable, as of ourselves. Hence, man needs a revelation to direct him in his *thoughts, words, and deeds*. That revelation has been made. But now it must be brought to bear on the sinner's heart. He must be taught by a "teacher, come from God." Faith cometh by hearing." But there must be a time to hear, as there is a time for everything which is done under the sun. Man's moral condition demands, in order to its regeneration, a special time to hear the word of God. More than one seventh of his time he could not give on account of his labors for the sustenance of his body, and less than one seventh would be insufficient to call away his mind from earthly cares to the interests of his immortal soul. The Sabbath, therefore, is the very proportion of time which man needs, and it is found that when it is duly observed in connection with the other means of grace, man wakens up to a consciousness of his moral obligations to his Lord and Saviour. On the other hand, where the Sabbath is disregarded, man retrogrades in morals. The law of the Sabbath then is comprehended in the moral government of God, and, since this government is perpetual and universal, the law of the Sabbath must be so too. For just as the moral government of God is perceived to exist by the fact that right actions tend to the good, and wrong actions to evil, so it is seen that the proper observance of the Sabbath tends to the happiness of man, and its desecration to his deterioration. Hence, the law of the Sabbath has the same sanction that the moral government of God has in general. Therefore both must have the same legislator. And the moral government of God evidently needs the law of the Sabbath for its complete and perfect adaptation to man as a moral agent. In this government the Sabbath was originally found as a means to keep man in holiness and piety, and now that he has fallen, it has been re-enacted, as a means to bring him back to holiness and piety, in the possession of which character only, God can find blessedness in him as such.

3. The same is established by the fact that the Sabbath is embodied in the Decalogue, which is the moral law written on tables of stone, or taught by Revelation. Every other precept of the Decalogue, is of universal and perpetual obligation, and the law of the Sabbath was engraven there by

the same finger of God. Nor does this view tend to legality, as some have supposed, any more than the precept—*Honor thy father and thy mother*.

But one says, "We are no longer under the law." What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid. How shall we who are dead to sin, live any longer therein? We are delivered from the *curse* of the law, Christ having been made a curse for us, but we are not thereby delivered from *obedience* to the law. Grace brings us back to obedience and piety. The law and grace have one and the same end in view. Only the former not being able to attain that end alone, called in the latter for help. "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." From this we perceive that the law was originally made to be man's guide in holiness and the fear of God, and the penalty of eternal death was threatened to the end that man, being found faithful in the trial under which he was placed, might be confirmed in holiness and piety for ever. But when man had sinned, a great change came over him. Adam being necessarily the public head of the race, involved his posterity in some way in the consequences of his actions, through which universal depravity came in, as a natural result. Adam was placed under law, and held in its sanctions in pure loyalty, as he should have been. His action settled the question for his posterity, whether they should begin their action under this administration of penal justice or not. He sinned and the curse of justice condemned him to eternal death, and his posterity were cut off in their progenitor. Thus the law was rendered inoperative by sin. It could show sin to the sinner, but could neither deliver him from it, nor restore him to holiness. Yet the end of the law was just as dear to God after man had sinned, as it was before. Therefore when the law was broken and universal depravity made sure, God being still desirous to secure man's holiness, sent, for this purpose, his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, that he might by his abundant suffering and grace, first remove the penalty, and then secure in his people that for which the law was originally intended; that he might restore them to holiness and the fear of God. Now, when his people have been brought by this dis-

pensation of grace to this desirable issue, even in the least degree, they must still not ignore the obligations which the law imposes. If the law could not restore them morally, they must not suppose that it was not instrumental in bringing them to Christ, who is the end of the law for righteousness. "The law of the Lord is perfect converting (restoring) the soul." The law is not only our school-master to bring us to Christ, but also subserves an important purpose in keeping us with Christ. Therefore we must let the law speak in its own appointed way, that we may ever feel how great a refuge we have in Christ.

4. Let us now direct our attention to some of the predictions and declarations, contained in the Old Testament, which involve the perpetuity and universality of the Sabbath. "Also the sons of the stranger that join themselves to the Lord, to serve him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; for their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar: for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all people. The Lord God, which gathereth the outcasts of Israel, saith, Yet will I gather others to him, besides those that are gathered unto him." Is. 56: 6-8. The great truth here fully expressed by the royal prophet, is that under the Messiah the heathen would be admitted to the *privileges* of the people of God. Among other privileges specified is that of the Sabbath.

But it is not only foretold here as a fact that the Sabbath would be involved in the Messiah's kingdom, but also that this day should stand as a pledge of the divine approbation. Should this day therefore cease, one pledge of the divine favor would be gone. For further illustration of this point, see Ps. 118: 24, the context of which contains a prediction which in the New Testament is applicable to Christ alone. Matt. 24: 21; Acts 4: 11; 1 Pet. 2: 27.

5. There are also in the New Testament declarations which involve the universality and perpetuity of the Sabbath. "The Sabbath was made for man." If it were made for man, it is not to be abrogated until the race has accomplished its mission. That this is implied in the declaration, is evident from what the Lord said on another occasion, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets: I am come not to destroy, but to fulfil." The

law of the Sabbath is, therefore, yet as binding as any of the others in the Decalogue. It is admitted that the one on covetousness is equally as obligatory now as it was in the time of Moses, therefore that of the Sabbath must also be in force. For as he who violates one commandment is guilty of all, even so as Christ has not come to destroy *the law*, he has come to destroy or annul no part of it. How should Christ have come to annul the law of the Sabbath, when his kingdom according to the prophets involved the Sabbath? How should the Gospel destroy the Sabbath, when the fruit of the Gospel is fidelity? For by the aid of grace, imparted through the Gospel, we are enabled better to obey the law, if not perfectly, at least in proportion to the grace which has been received. Therefore instead of annulling the law of the Sabbath, the Gospel establishes it. Hence, the first Christians according to the divine prediction, had the Sabbath brought or given to them along with the Gospel. It was only in the light of the Gospel that they could see its grand and glorious end, which could not be so distinctly seen under the veil of Judaism. They now viewed all the precepts through an eye, sanctified by the Spirit of grace. Hence, they were as constant and regular in their observance of the Lord's day, as they had been previously to their conversion, of that of the seventh. Can we doubt that the obedience of the first Christians, as to the observance of the Lord's day, grew out of the grace and direction which they had received from heaven? Acts 20: 7; 1 Cor. 16: 2; Rom. 1: 10.

The main objection which has been urged to the perpetual obligation of the Sabbath, is that it is Mosaic, and that it passed away with that dispensation on the introduction of Christianity. In support of this theory such passages of Scripture as the following have been adduced: "One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike." "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years." "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or drink, or in respect of a holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath-days; which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ." It may, however, be asked whether the Apostle means the Sabbath, as contained in the moral law. Does he mean to say that it is a matter of indifference whether this day be observed as holy, or whether it be devoted to ordinary business or amusements? That this is not the meaning of the Apostle is evident from the fact that

he had been discussing the peculiar customs of the Jews, who endeavored to impose these with their rites and practices on the believing Gentiles. The inquiry pertained to meats and festivals, and to the scruples which the Jews entertained in reference to food, offered to idols. But that it was not a matter of indifference how the Sabbath was kept is evident from the manner in which the Lord's day was observed by all Christians, whether converted from among the Jews or Gentiles. The propriety of observing the Lord's day as the Sabbath does not appear to have been a question of controversy among the early Christians. The only inquiry was, whether it was proper to add to that the observance of festal days and fasts, to which many were accustomed in their state of Judaism. It is expressly said that those who did not regard the day regarded it not to God, or to the honor of God. The Sabbath has never been neglected or profaned by any design to glorify the Lord Jesus, or to promote his kingdom? When the heart is filled with a sincere desire to honor God, the Sabbath is held in reverence, and devoted to purposes of piety. And when the Apostle says, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind," he evidently does not refer to things morally wrong, but to mere ceremonial observances. The Sabbath, however, is of moral obligation, and is not, from the necessity of the case, annulled by the abrogation of any ceremonies, which were but a shadow of things to come. The ground of the observance of the Sabbath exists in the very nature of the case, and not in any ritual. The Church is for all generations, the Sabbath must therefore be so too.

IV. *The change of the time.* It is only a certain portion of time which the light of nature, independently of revelation, would teach us to observe as the Sabbath. We have seen that the moral government of God calls for a Sabbath, and that man's physical nature requires it; but these do not designate the time, whether the last or the first day of the week. The moral part teaches that a Sabbath is needed, but the specific time is left for God to fix by authority. It is perfectly consistent for him to change the day from time to time, while the proportion of time, remains always the same. The time may thus be changed from the first to the last day, or from the last to the first day of the week, provided such change has the sanction of God's authority. It is by no means permitted man on his own authority to make the change.

It has already been assumed that the first day that Adam and Eve spent in Paradise, was a Sabbath, but this was changed to the seventh on the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. It is evident, that the Church had been corrupted during her sojourn in Egypt; that when she departed thence the grand revelations which had been given her, during the patriarchal age, were in a great measure, obscured, and therefore there needed a new and more majestic manifestation of the divine power to shadow forth her glorious future in Christ's appearance. When this was done on Mount Sinai the proportion of time was fixed along with the moral part. For this change there seemed a propriety under changing circumstances. At first, simply the work of creation was sung on the Sabbath; next the deliverance of the people of God from Egyptian bondage; and finally the completion of the grand sacrifice by Christ. Of such change under existing circumstances the language of the decalogue indicates the possibility.

There are more direct evidences of this change of time by divine authority. (a) There are prophetic intimations that the day would be changed from the last to the first day of the week. In Ps. 118: 24, we read, "This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it." This is Messianic, which is confirmed by the Saviour's allusion. Comp. Ps. 118: 22, 23, with Matt. 21: 42. All this applies to Christ in his resurrection, when *he made the day*, changed the Sabbath from the last to the first day of the week, which from that stupendous event, has been appropriately termed the Lord's day. From the 15th to the 23d verse of the same Psalm, we find a prediction that this day of triumph should be celebrated by the Church during the new or Messianic dispensation. (b) The habitual and inspired example of the Apostles and primitive Church. When the action is of ordinary capacity, and done under divine inspiration, it has divine authority, and is obligatory. This becomes more apparent when there are good reasons why the change should be effected by example rather than by positive precept. Here the Apostles thus effected the change by their practice under divine inspiration, which was a better way than to make the change by direct precept in the Church's transition. (c) Christ evidently has given his sanction to the change. His disciples met together on the first day of the week after his crucifixion, which

meeting, it is true, might have been occasioned by other circumstances, but after this, their meeting on that day was uniform. Here two things are observable; the meeting of the Apostles by agreement, and Christ's formal presence with them. Thus on the second Sabbath after the resurrection the disciples met together according to previous agreement, and Christ formally met with them. We also find that the disciples met together and the Lord was with them on the day of Pentecost, which was the eighth Sunday after the resurrection, and celebrated as a memorial of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. This festival evidently had a typical reference to the miraculous effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles and first-fruits of the Christian Church. It corresponded entirely with the Christian Pentecost, inasmuch as it celebrated the establishment of the Old Testament covenant, when God wrote outwardly his law on tables of stone, while on the Christian Pentecost he wrote it with the finger of the Holy Spirit upon the living tables of the heart. All this was according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt; (which my covenant they brake, although I was a husband unto them, saith the Lord;) but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people." Now, on the day of Pentecost this writing of the law by the Holy Spirit upon the hearts of the people commenced. And if the former writing upon tables of stone was an event worthy of celebration, how much more is the latter? Moreover, if the Spirit of God wrote the *law* on the hearts of three thousand on the day of Pentecost, he must have included *the law of the Sabbath*; and as the disciples ever afterwards kept the first day of the week as Sabbath, the change was most certainly made by the Holy Spirit. If this is not so, and the seventh day of the week is yet essentially the Sabbath, then the writing of the law upon the hearts of the people was soon effaced, for from that time they uniformly kept the first day of the week as Sabbath. But the change is all right, and it has Christ's and the Spirit's sanction. Thus the Lord signaled this day as his

own, and the Holy Spirit confirmed it. The Apostles always regarded the Lord's day as essentially the Sabbath of the new dispensation. At Troas they met together on the first day of the week to hold communion. The Apostle Paul also gives incidental directions that the Church at Corinth should meet together on that day, "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gathering when I come." Many years after this we have also the testimony of John (Rev. 1: 10,) on the same subject. All these instances constitute a sufficient warrant for our adopting the change. This may yet be more fully confirmed from the fact that in the Apostolic Church, there is no indication of any special regard for the seventh day. The Apostles only improved the opportunity, which the seventh day afforded, of entering into the synagogues of the Jews to preach the Gospel. The authority derived from the example of the Apostle Paul on this subject is very strong. He preached the Gospel, founded Churches, and instituted the ordinances without any conference with the rest of the Apostles. He acted under the guidance of direct inspiration, and even adduced, in proof of the validity of his Apostleship, the manner in which he received his direction from God in relation to the institution of the Lord's Supper. It is, therefore, not probable that the Holy Spirit would guide Paul in the institution of the Lord's Supper, and not also in reference to the Sabbath. (d) The divine blessing in all ages of the Christian Church, has rested on the observance of the Sabbath. Although it is not always safe to say that when a certain cause is prospered, God sanctions it, yet in reference to the Christian Sabbath this is strong evidence that the change has been effected by divine authority. God himself instituted the Sabbath, and for man to change it on his own authority, would be interfering with the things of God, and would incur his displeasure. But no day has been so blessed as the Christian Sabbath, and no people so prospered as those who have kept it most sacredly.

V. *The proper manner of its observance.* The Sabbath partakes more of the nature of a festival than that of a fast? The events of this day are intended to elicit the purest joy and highest praise. When the Sabbath was first instituted the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. When Adam and Eve walked forth in Paradise, to behold the works and glory of God, their souls,

no doubt, were filled with the purest joy, and their lips expressed such praise and thanksgiving, as have never since been equalled by their degenerate race. Moses and the children of Israel also on the Sabbath sang the song of deliverance. Christ also came to teach, to die, and to rise again, and the key-note of the whole work, was the song of angels on the plain of Bethlehem. Their song was, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men." This should be the spirit of Christian worship on the Sabbath. Thus we are taught by the Psalmist to worship, when he says, "The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacle of the righteous: the right hand of the Lord hath done valiantly."

But has not the key-note of worship been lost in a large portion of the Christian Church? Is there not need that the hearts of the worshippers should be attuned anew? If our worship is so dull with all the Sabbath privileges which we enjoy, how much worse would it be without a Sabbath! The voice of rejoicing and praise would not at all be heard in the tabernacle of the righteous. The righteous would fall from among the children of men, and the Church fall into decay. The great Sabbath themes and the Spirit of God alone can awaken the voice of rejoicing in the congregation of the righteous. If the Church would assemble in the Spirit of the Psalmist, when he said, "I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord," the song of praise would be greatly improved. The worship on the Sabbath would not partake so much of the nature of a fast. The sanctuary would become more heavenly, and its inmates would rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory, receiving the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls.

But it may not be amiss here to present a few particulars, in reference to the manner in which the Sabbath should be observed.

1. Cessation from bodily employment is positively required. The first reason that God has given us for this, is, that he rested on this day from all his works. But our respite from labor on this day, must be interpreted by the Saviour's declaration, "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." Hence the cessation must be for man's good. When the cessation in any case is detrimental to man's good, there is a transgression of the spirit of the commandment. But while this view does not allow secular

labor any more than the positive commandment, it still allows labor for religious purposes. The positive precept must, therefore, be interpreted by its spirit, as set forth in the Saviour's declaration. Hence, secular labor is not allowed on the Sabbath, except in cases of necessity, as labor for religious purposes, and works of benevolence, all of which are designed for man's good.

2. It is required that the heart be interested, and delighted in the service of the Sabbath. For want of this God reproached his ancient people by the mouth of his prophet: "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the Sabbath a delight, the Holy of the Lord, honorable; and shalt honor him, not doing thy own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words: then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob, thy father: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

3. It should be devoted mainly to worship and religious instruction. In this we must be guided by the example of early Christians. Thus Paul spent the Sabbath with the disciples at Troas. On the first day of the week they came together to "break bread," and Paul preached to them. And so interested were they all in the worship of the Lord Jesus, and in the preaching of the Apostle, that they continued the meeting, "even till break of day."

4. When should we begin to keep the Sabbath? In reply to this question, we might say that it would be beneficial to have a uniform practice. There would thus be exerted a better influence on the public mind. The Jews applied the law of the Sabbath to twenty-four hours, and commenced it with the evening. The direction given them was: "From evening unto evening, shall ye celebrate your Sabbath." But as different nations compute their civil day differently, and as we are to be "subject to the powers that be," it is not obligatory to reckon time, as did the Jews. It is nowhere enjoined that modern nations, who mostly commence their civil day at midnight, shall change it in order that they may strictly keep the Sabbath "from even unto even." Although we may admit that the Jewish method of counting the day "from even unto even," is the most natural division of time, yet this does not impose upon us, as a nation, any religious obligation to conform our civil day to the same division. We are inclined to the opinion

that nations may begin their civil time when they please, and so also their sacred time, only so that they conform to the spirit of the Sabbath, which requires one day out of seven, for sacred purposes. Hence, all Christians are at liberty to commence their sacred time according to the customs of the nations among whom they live.

5. There are yet many reasons which might be adduced for a strict and conscientious observance of the Sabbath. Partial observance as effectually destroys its end as the utter neglect of the day. If we devote one part to worldly pleasures, we make null and void the law of the Sabbath. If the commandment requires that part of the day should be devoted to religious worship, rest, and physical refreshment, the same requires that the whole day should thus be spent. This both the good of the individual, and that of the public, demands and requires. Abolish the law of the Sabbath and soon the individual ceases to grow in virtue and wisdom; a general spirit of licentiousness prevails and overthrows the very foundations of law and order. Thus it happened in France when the Sabbath was abolished. With its abrogation the foundations of civil order passed away.

6. The Sabbath is an emblem of the rest of heaven. If the Sabbath is a weariness, so will heaven be. But to the Christian the Sabbath is a delight. He has in it a beginning of that rest which "remaineth for the people of God." Soon he will exchange the earthly sanctuary, for the heavenly. Here his devotions are often distracted, but there, there will be naught to disturb his pure enjoyments.

ARTICLE V.

ST. PAUL AND ST. JAMES.*

By PROF. L. W. HEYDENREICH, Bethlehem, Pa.

MEN are more apt to perceive the differences of two facts analogous or brought near to one another, than to perceive the characters which may be common to them. The judg-

*This article is a translation of a chapter of *Histoire de la Theologie Chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, a work which has had the honor of a second edition and of a translation into the Low Dutch.

ment, on such an occasion, becomes still more peremptory, when the facts to be compared are of a concrete nature, and are connected with the realities of life. Now, there being nothing more concrete than proper names, their mere presence easily occasions exaggerations and conceals truth from many eyes. This was also the case in the apostolical age; we have seen how the names of the Apostles, inscribed on the banners of the parties, served to perpetuate the quarrels which divided them. (1 Cor. 1: 12; 3: 4, 9.) In this period the two tendencies or systems, which we have previously characterized, were called by the masses from the names of Paul and James. These names represented irreconcilable ideas for many people, and much time and many changes of opinion were necessary to forget or to efface an antagonism, which had nearly distracted the Church at her very birth.

That which disturbed the Church of the first century, has also stirred up the science of modern times. Paul and James are again in each other's presence, indeed, not as party-leaders within the pale of the community, ready to become divided for their sake, but at least as authors of their respective books, summoned before the court of dogmatical exegesis to answer for their teachings, upon the sense of which, from the stand-point of their difference or harmony, which is the question to be established, the debates are incessantly renewed.

We shall speak of St. James and his epistle only to stop, for a moment, at a particular point, which at all times has pre-occupied the theologians. Every body knows this exegetical problem about the agreement or disagreement of Paul and James in the question of Works and Faith. Since Luther, founding his theology upon Paul's fundamental ideas, and more particularly upon the application which Augustine had made of them, rejected the epistle of James as nearly incompatible with the basis of the Gospel, and as inconsistent with the first principle of his own system, this peculiar position which had been assigned to a book of the canon, was a continual cause of embarrassment for science. It has not ceased to be so, although the Protestant schools, abandoning the Reformer's inexorable severity, have long ago reinstated our epistle in the canon. To-day the question in point is to justify this course, in other words, to prove the absence of all contradiction between two equally

inspired authors, and it is the want in this respect to come to a satisfactory result, which calls forth essays more and more numerous upon a question as intricate as it is interesting. In seeing the long train of the champions who enter the lists with a purpose which vindicates itself, one should think that the proofs are not wanting and that the cause would definitively be gained. But it will be truer to say, that, if it were, if there were no longer a doubt, there would be no occasion for resuming it incessantly.*

In our turn, we have to enter upon that old quarrel, which has been more confused than cleared up by the discussions of the last and present century. True to our historical method, we shall not allow ourselves to be prejudiced by the practical result of our researches, and we may indulge the hope, if not of convincing persons who start from another stand-point, at least of elucidating the question and of stating it more clearly than most of our predecessors have done.

First. Let us read over again our text of St. James (2: 14, ss.) to draw from it the positive declaration of this Apostle. What avails it, says he, to speak of faith, when works are wanting? Faith cannot save; works and not fair words do good; oral profession by itself is dead and unavailing. It is even by works only that I can see whether faith exists; without works, I defy any one to prove that he has faith. Faith may be found with the devils; it does not save them. It was the sacrifice of his son offered by Abraham, that justified this patriarch; his faith in God, which rendered this sacrifice possible and easy to him, was made perfect (*ἡτελειώθη*) by the act which it brought forth. Thus justification evidently takes place in consideration of works, and not of faith only.

*The harmonistical studies on both formulas begin at the very epoch when custom resumed its right in respect to the integrity of the canon. We shall merely cite here the most recent and thorough dissertations, of Tittmann (1781), of Knapp (1803), of Neander (in a discourse published in 1822, and in the History of the Apostles), of Fromann (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1833, I); of Schleyer (*Freiburger Zeitschrift*, IX. 1), of Raw (*Würtemb Studien*, 1849, II.), of Dizier (Strasburg, 1827), of Goujon (Strasburg, 1831), of Claparide (Geneva, 1834), of Brika (Strasburg, 1838), of Marignan (Montauban, 1841), of Galup (Strasburg, 1842), of J. Monod (Montauban, 1846), of Nogaret (Montauban, 1846), of Löffler (Strasburg, 1850). Finally, we repeat, that all the commentaries of the Epistle of James are occupied with it.

As for Paul, his argumentation leads, as everybody knows, to the opposite formula, viz: that justification is effected with respect to faith and not to works. There seems to be a violent contradiction between the two Apostles; there is even, according to appearances, an intended contradiction, premeditated by the last comer; the form of his discourse shows that he has an adversary before him, and the selection of his example of Abraham seems to leave no doubt about the person he combats. It is under this form that the question presents itself to the interpreters.

In order to harmonize the two formulas, it has been customary of late to prove that the two forms, which form the elements of them, have a different meaning with both authors. The proof of this fact being easily furnished, most of the theologians, who have treated this subject, have immediately persuaded themselves that all was said and that the most perfect harmony was henceforth restored between the respective sects. We shall see in how far this opinion is well-founded or illusory.

It is certain that faith with St. James, is the conviction of the reality of a religious fact, for instance, of the existence of God or of duty, and the outward profession of this conviction. Such a profession can be a hypocritical act. In the most favorable case, it is the manifestation of a disposition of the mind, of a judgment of the reason, which necessarily does not proceed from the intellectual sphere. Such a faith, says James, cannot save, and indeed, Paul nowhere says the contrary.

With St. Paul, faith is a new and quite peculiar relation, in which man is with Christ and by him with God: it is at the same time the principle and the form of an existence completely different from the natural state; it is a whole life, thought, will, action, a life which God animates with his Spirit, and which can only bring forth that which is homogeneous to such an origin. St. James does not say that St. Paul has made a mistake in this respect.

The works of which James speaks, are the performance of christian duties, for instance charity towards widows and orphans, and towards the poor generally; he expressly says that he supposes these acts are called forth by religious motives. (2: 22). St. Paul is far from rejecting such works, as superfluous or foreign to evangelical religion.

The works, which Paul rejects, are acts performed with regard to, and because of an exterior law; legal deeds, and not the spontaneous product of an interior disposition, generally consonant with God's will. Such works are necessarily incomplete and never constitute in their whole the proof of a perfect righteousness. James says positively the same thing. (2: 10ss.).

It is evident that the two Apostles, in their contradictory formulas, have spoken of very different things. Consequently, unless it is maintained that James has not even been capable of understanding the formula of Paul, unless it is said that he has strangely misapprehended the sense of the most elementary theme of his colleague's preaching, it cannot be upheld that he intended to attack directly the latter, and lay down an axiom which he knew to be in opposition with Paul's, which he rejected.

The supposition of a direct controversy of James with Paul thus being removed, it has been modified by saying that James intended to combat adversaries who, misunderstanding the doctrine of Paul, had established the theory that an oral profession is sufficient for salvation, and that the performance of duty was an indifferent matter. James, it is said, intended to show them that they ascribe to Paul's words a meaning which they could not have.

If that were James' aim, he set to work very awkwardly to attain it; for, in this case, it was necessary to show before all, how Paul wished to be understood, and in what the system of his false interpreters had altered the truth, but not to begin by misleading the discussion, in giving to Paul's terms a meaning, foreign to the Apostle. The supposition of James having undertaken an apology for Paul against a misapplication of his principles, is therefore quite as untenable as that of a polemical intent. In examining well the ground, on which both authors move, the method which they use, the ideas which they discuss, the principles which they proclaim, one is necessarily induced to think that the last comer, James, has not at all written, either directly or indirectly, with a view to his predecessor. One may boldly aver that James has not had before him any epistle of Paul, while writing his; and further, that he never had read a single one.

And here is precisely the point of the question. He is satisfied with words, who thinks to have exhausted it by the negative answer which we have just reproduced after so

many divines, who, content to have found it, believed that no more was wanted to satisfy criticism. He is mistaken, who thinks to have implicitly established perfect harmony between the two systems, when he has shown that the latter has not been drawn up with the express intention to combat the former. The practical stand-point is arbitrarily, and often unknowingly, confounded with the theoretical one.

Now, from the practical stand-point the two Apostles perfectly agree. In fact, what is the point in question? The question is not to know whether faith is to produce works. Both Apostles energetically demand a living and active faith, and we defy the most subtle analysis of the texts to find the least difference between them with regard to the duties which they prescribe to Christ's disciples, who are to inherit the kingdom of God.* Only the brain sick scholasticism of the 16th century could bring forth this absurd formula, that good works are injurious to salvation.

The difference is elsewhere, but it exists; it is in the theory. You ask how man is justified before God? The answer, which you receive, is not the same on both sides.

Paul says: He must believe. It is faith that procures to him justification, forgiveness of sins, in fine, salvation. Works have nothing to do with it. Justification is effected with respect to faith and before we have done anything to deserve it. It is grace that gives this value to faith. When christian faith exists, works come also; they must even come, else it would not be true faith, but justification intervenes, not on account of works which will follow, but on account of faith that precedes them.

James says, Man must act: Works, not faith alone, procure to him salvation (*ἔργων δικαιοῦνται ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον*). Justification takes place only in so much as works have intervened; faith must undoubtedly co-operate to produce them (*ἡ πίστις συνεργεῖ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ*); but as long as they are

*We would offend our readers if after all that has already been said, we would prove it by quotations which, certainly would not fail us. Analogies or rather the most perfect harmony exists in this respect, not only between St. James and St. Paul, but between all the Apostolical authors. Let us take at random in the Epistle of St. James a few of the most striking principles; we shall find them easily elsewhere, for instance, James 1: 12, in 2 Tim. 4: 7, 8; Rev. 2: 10; James 1: 22, in Rom. 3: 13; 1 John 3: 7; James 1: 29, in John 13: 17; James 3: 2, in Rom. 3: 23; 1 John 1: 8; James 1: 18, in John 1: 13; 1 Pet. 1: 23, etc.

not performed, faith is nothing, it is dead, that is to say unavailing; it only becomes something, that is to say efficacious and perfect, by the works which it ought to bring forth (*ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἡ πίστις ἐτελειώθη*).

In reducing these two explanations to their simplest, and at the same time the least offensive expression, we may say: According to Paul, faith, because it justifies, is the source of good works. According to James, faith, because it is the source of good works, justifies. By these two formulas we have perhaps even extenuated the difference; at least we do not think we have exaggerated it. Now the question is to appreciate the import of it. It would be immense if, for instance, James' formula implied the fact that man, by his works, considered as belonging to him in his own right, could deserve salvation. But such is not its meaning. The Apostle explicitly affirms that the strength of doing good comes from God, whom we must ask (1: 9 17s.). It would be still very great and would involve sad consequences even for morals, if James, by his formula, presented the obtainment of salvation as something easy, so that the natural and unregenerated man could obtain it quite conveniently. But he says quite the contrary; he affirms that a single transgression suffices to make us lose every claim to a merit before God; he expresses his sentiments against the so frequent abuse of considering certain transgressions as little and indifferent; he declares that there is incompatibility between the love of God and the love of the world; he calls sin, not only the consummated act, not only the evil desire which has just sprung up, but even the omission of a good deed which no positive and written law required of us. He rises to the height of Christ's sermon on the mount and thus deprives man even of the hope of deserving his salvation by himself.

And nevertheless he says that works justify. That proves two things: first that his stand-point is that of experience, of reality, in short that of man, while Paul's stand-point is that of ideality, of theory, in other words, that of God. James says very ingeniously that, to know whether somebody has faith, he, James, will ask him for his works; he must see the fruits to judge of the root; it is his Master who had taught him thus to proceed (Matt. 7: 16). We think that Paul in his practice had no other means to judge Christians. A true Christian, in his opinion, a man who stands the test, a *Δόκιμος* is always the one who recommends

himself by his deeds. But in the absolute theory when the question is to account theologically for the relations between man and God, it is not thus that one should proceed. It is necessary to rise above the series of successive facts which, as a whole, can determine our judgment regarding our fellow-men, and to remember that God, who sees the very depth of our hearts, discovers there the presence or the absence of the very principle that ought to be the soul of the interior life of man, and consequently the motive of his acts. His judgment, preceding, so to say, the facts on which it should extend, rests upon a deeper basis, upon something that escapes us notwithstanding its importance; he therefore does not want this expectant method which always will be ours.

But this is not all. What we have just said touches very closely a principal point of evangelical theology. If James, as we have just now said, depends upon human experience to account for the nature of the relation between works and salvation, it is because the whole of his religious ideas rests upon another basis than Paul's theological system. To arrive at the formula which we now discuss, it was necessary for this Apostle to proceed from the mystical fact of regeneration and from all the notions which flow from it; it was necessary that, in his opinion, the whole life of the Christian should be brought back to one single starting point, to a fountain-head, fruitful enough to feed it exclusively; it was necessary to consider it as something homogeneous, constant, continuous, without fluctuations, without variations. And it is precisely this which we have found in the Pauline theory, and in which the Judeo-Christian theology is wanting. For the latter the life of the Christian always remains a compound, a series of facts, perhaps very similar to each other, and above all very praiseworthy, but having always the character of an accidental succession, not excluding interruptions, gradual changes, and subordinate to the inconstant action of another series of external and various facts.

There is then definitively between Paul's formula and James' neither more nor less difference than between a mystical theology and a popular moral philosophy. The former ought not to be less respected, although it hardly can become popular; the latter is not less good although it does not supply the wants of religious feeling. On the contrary, both of them are necessary and support one another recip-

roccally. It would be easy to prove it, or rather we have already proved it by the example of Paul himself, who preaches the latter by the side of the former. The fact of his having been able to place himself at the two stand-points, while James does not know how to rise above his, only shows the superiority of his genius. Our great reformers have indeed acknowledged the difference, and our modern apologists ought not to have passed so slightly over what presented itself as an incontestable fact to men by no means prejudiced against Holy Writ. But the latter were wrong to abide by the one of the two sides of the question and to hasten to prescribe the representative of the other solution. The circumstance that the Protestant Church has reconsidered in this respect the judgment of her illustrious chiefs and that she caused James' epistle to be reinstated into her canon, although maintaining her own Pauline principle, this circumstance alone proves, not that James' formula is identical with Paul's, but that the Church in her practice cannot dispense with it.

ARTICLE VI.

HEBREW POETRY.—TRANSLATED FROM ZELLER'S "BIBLISCHES WÖRTERBUCH."

By CHARLES F. SCHAEFFER, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.

SACRED POETRY—chiefly in reference to the Hebrews. I. *Definition* of the term, as distinguished from *Secular Poetry*. *Poetry*, as a general term [in conformity to the German *Dichtkunst*], is the utterance of thoughts and feelings which fill and control the soul, in language corresponding to them, that is, distinguished from ordinary language by its euphony and graceful style (rythmical character), or—it is the out-pouring of high-wrought emotions of the soul (pathos, passion, vivid views, deep feeling) in measured language. Now if *the art of poetry* is a term referring, in accordance with this general definition, to a certain ability or skill in furnishing such productions, *we*, who regard the Holy Scrip-

tures as the Word of God, and not as the creation of the human mind, cannot apply that term to the scriptural specimens of the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, unless we adopt the following modifications. The views or thoughts and emotions of inspired men, originally produced in their souls by the Spirit of God, constitute the divine materials or contents, or are the *subjects* of that poetry. But the *form* which these assume, when they are expressed, while it corresponds to them as far as possible, is, nevertheless, regulated by the laws which control the development of the language of any nation in any age, or, is adapted to the established poetic style peculiar at any particular period to the nation. The Holy Spirit, adapting his operations to the nature of the human soul, condescends to observe the tastes and modes of thought prevailing at the time, as far as these are without sin, even as Christ himself, the living Word, took on him human infirmities (Matt. 8 : 17 ; Heb. 4 : 15). The poetic spirit in the bosom of the people of God, was commissioned to manifest its presence not by the utterance of thoughts and feelings dictated by human reason or sinful flesh and blood, but by commemorating the deeds of divine power and grace. *Sacred Poetry* was not intended to be merely an easy and graceful amusement, adapted to engage the imagination and move the passions—it was, on the contrary, designed to commemorate, in the language of holy joy and godly fear, “the wonderful works of God” (Acts 2 : 11)—it was designed, while repeating in wonder, gratitude, and profound adoration, the words of truth revealed from heaven, to awaken an echo in every listening heart. While the subjects of Sacred Poetry are, accordingly, expressed in language deriving its complexion from circumstances which are peculiar to the age, the locality or the nation, and are therefore always subject to mutations, they themselves possess the characteristic features of a divine origin, of eternal truth, and of universal validity. Poems, in the ordinary sense of the word, as simply human creations, are introduced in the Scriptures only as quotations. The first of this class, which is also the oldest poem extant, originated in the family of Cain, whose race is distinguished by the invention or cultivation of various arts, while it exhibits a mournful decline in a moral point of view. It is a song characterized by the spirit of daring or defiance which it breathes, and was composed by Lamech, to whose son, Jubel, the origin of Music, the sister-art of Poetry is ascribed (Gen. 4 : 21–24).

Other instances, to which reference may here perhaps be made correctly, and which belong to later ages, are certain fragments of ancient collections of war songs, or songs of the Heroes, which are now lost (the Book of the wars of the Lord, Numb. 21: 14, 17, 18, 27-30; the Book of Jasher or of the Upright or Brave, Josh. 10: 13; 2 Sam. 1: 18); Jotham's fable (Judg. 9: 7, &c., with which compare 2 Kings 14: 9), Samson's riddle (Judg. 14: 12, &c.), the Song of victory sung by the women after the defeat of the Philistines (1 Sam. 18: 7), and David's Lamentation after the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. 1: 17, &c.)

II. *Origin, character and early history of Sacred Poetry.* The original germ of Sacred Poetry, properly so called, is imbosomed in the spirit and language of Prophecy. The lines of demarcation between Prophecy and Poetry, on the one hand, and Poetry and Prose, on the other, were not originally defined with distinctness. The style of the earliest historical records (Gen. ch. 1—9) rises above that of the later prose of history, and assumes in a higher degree a poetic and prophetic character. The most ancient prophecies, the blessings pronounced by Noah (Gen. 9: 25-27), by Isaac (27: 27-29, 39, 40) and by Jacob (ch. 49), are, with respect to their form, monuments of the oldest poetry in existence. The oracles occurring in the most ancient periods of Greek history are of the same character. The earliest poets of the people of Israel were prophets, messengers of God, men and women inspired by him, like Moses, Deborah, &c. The song of Moses after the Egyptian host had been buried in the sea (Exod. ch. 15), coinciding with the period of the formation of a national feeling in Israel, a feeling of their existence as a distinct nation, is the oldest sacred *song of the people* on record; it is a hymn of praise, a song of victory composed in honor of God, and is distinguished for its happy combination of lofty sentiments with a religious simplicity of style. It furnishes the key-note, or exhibits the original and essential character of Sacred Poetry in general. It does not contain the language simply of the devout and high-wrought feelings of a solitary worshipper, intended to relieve his own full heart, but the entire congregation of the Lord sings, praises, prays and laments in unison in this poem. The inspired poet, moved by the Holy Ghost (Matt. 22: 43; 2 Pet. 1: 21), is at all times simply the organ or mouth-piece of the congregation or the people of God; if, in David's Psalms,

for instance, his own personal history acquires special prominence, the circumstance is readily explained by his peculiar position, as the chief among the people. It is, further, worthy of special notice, that references to Jehovah, the living God, the holy and glorious Creator, Preserver and Ruler of all things, continually occur as the leading feature of Sacred Poetry, irrespectively of the special subject or class or form of a particular poem. The subjects of the divine songs may be taken from nature, or be furnished by experience; they may refer to the state of the nation, or the circumstances of an individual, and may be dictated by joy or by sorrow; the composition may belong to Lyric Poetry and utter the language of strongly excited feeling in brief terms, or to Didactic Poetry, and present sententiously the wise maxims taught by a prolonged experience of life, or furnish in detail the results of the reflections of the wise on the problems presented by the world or human life; the form adopted by the poem may be that of a monologue (soliloquy) or a dialogue, with several parts more or less artificially arranged, conducted in an elevated or an ordinary style—in all these modifications, references to Jehovah will invariably be found. HE is the central sun, illuminating and animating all things, in whose light the poet beholds his own life, and the life of all men and of the whole, widely-extended creation. Sacred Poetry thus rises to a degree of sublimity never attained by the most lofty productions of the secular poetry either of antiquity or of modern times.* Humboldt, the most distinguished naturalist of our age, felt himself impelled to confess, that the poetry of nature in the Book of Job and in the Psalms, which steadily views the universe in its relation to the omnipresent God, is invested with deep solemnity, is true to nature, never wanders astray, even in its loftiest flights, like the poetry of this world, (in-

*Ewald remarks: "Inasmuch as all the noblest powers and struggles of this nation referred to *one* great object—seeking after the true God, their poetry, accordingly, could assume a lofty and peculiar character in this direction alone. It is the essential office of this poetry to interpret and express the most sublime thoughts.—It is true that the impulse proceeds from Prophecy. But Poetry bears witness that these truths are founded on the life and experience of many, whose hearts and minds respond to them.—In periods of great public intellectual excitement, Poetry appears as the associate and assistant of Prophecy, and every true prophet is also a poet, although the converse is not true."

much as it is absorbed in viewing exclusively that which is divine), is as graphic in its descriptions of particular objects and events, as it is skilful in grouping them as the constituent parts of a whole, and that the poetry of nature which Arabia has furnished, is only a feeble reflection of the majestic views of nature presented by Sacred Poetry.

III. *Later history of Sacred Poetry.* In considering the progress and development of Sacred Poetry, Moses belongs to the present period, in view of two prophetic compositions derived from divine inspiration—the Song, and the Blessing in the concluding chapters of Deuteronomy (ch. 32 and 33). The “parables” of Balaam, which also find a place here (Numb. ch. 23, 24), as well as the first indications both of hymns designed for public worship (the sacerdotal benediction, Numb. 6: 24–26, and the form of words pronounced when the ark set forward and when it rested, 10: 32, 36), and of Lyric Poetry, in a restricted sense of the term (the Prayer of Moses, Ps. 90),—all properly belong to the age of Moses. Sacred songs, in general, were regarded as a part of public worship. Festive songs, and those that were combined with dancing (Exod. 32: 18) belonged to the idolatrous worship of Egypt, as the investigation of Egyptian antiquities has revealed to the eye. Thus too, the Chaldeans and the Phenicians, the Greeks and the Romans, possessed temple-hymns, sacrificial songs, and festive music. The tones of hymns employed in public worship are possibly still heard in Hannah’s song of thanksgiving (1 Sam. 2: 1–10). The earliest sacred song belonging to the lyrical kind, which we possess, the Prayer of Moses (Ps. 90), affords an illustration of the mode in which the prophet as the messenger of God communicated to the people in a poetic form the divine Word received by immediate inspiration. It also exhibits the influence exercised by divine revelations; while these suggest devout meditations on the ways of divine Providence, they also lead, through an influence of the Holy Spirit which is rather of a mediate character,* to out-pourings of deeply excited feeling, in a conversation of the heart with God, that is, in a prayer. The larger number of the poems usually termed *lyrical*, are, accordingly—*prayers*, the lan-

*The Rabbinical writers already distinguish three grades of inspiration: 1. The highest, granted to Moses, to whom God spake face to face; 2. The divine voice, which revealed the will of God to the prophets; 3. The impulse of the Holy Spirit, experienced by the writers of the books to which the special name of *didactic* has been given.

guage of adoration, tributes of praise and honor to the Lord for the grace manifested either to the people (Deborah's noble song of victory, Judg. 5; Isa. 12: 1-6, and several Psalms) or to individuals (Hannah's song, 1 Sam. 2: 1, &c.; Isa. 38: 9, &c. and certain Psalms of David*); they are, too, at times petitions or lamentations† uttered before the Lord, of which, (in addition to many of the Psalms,) Isa. 37: 16, &c., and Lam. Jerem. ch. 5, may be mentioned as examples. The Psalms of praise, especially, were sung in connection with the music of stringed instruments (*Kinnor*, Harp), corresponding to the *Lyra* of the Greeks, which furnished the musical accompaniment of their hymns (hence is derived the name of *Lyrical* poetry, as the word *Psalm* is derived from the Greek *psallein*, to touch the strings). Other musical instruments were added at public processions, when victories were commemorated, and at public worship; in accordance with the movements of the song and the instrumental music, which were alternately lively and slow, the procession advanced in a species of circular dance (Exod. 15: 20; 1 Sam. 18: 6; 5: 14; Ps. 87: 7.) In some of these psalms of praise, different parts are assigned to certain divisions of the choir, after the manner of responses. Even if we cannot discover with certainty the germs of Dramatic Poetry in this feature, the general remark is doubtless true, that Lyric Poetry, considered as the earliest, most general and most comprehensive kind of all others, and as the most direct, natural and popular mode of expressing the thoughts and feelings enkindled in the poet's soul, includes the elements, like germs, of all the forms of poetic diction. Moral truths and principles that may be applied to the business of life, animated narratives of the religious history of the fathers, and recitals of the struggles of opposing thoughts and influences, are capable of awakening deep emotions in a direct manner, and of producing poetic effusions; hence, we occasionally

*The name of "song of praise," *Tehillah*, prefixed to Ps. 145 alone, was applied by the later Jews as the common name of all the Psalms; in the same manner, the choir of singers is called the "choir of thanksgiving," Neh. 12: 8; 11: 17; 2 Chron. 31: 2. It is unquestionably true that the element of praise, the Hallelujah-key, accords with almost all the Psalms.

†Inasmuch as the voice of prayer, and the entreaty: "Lord! have mercy!"—pervade nearly all the Psalms, the name of *Tephillim*, *Prayers*, was also applied to the collection as a common name, Ps. 72: 20, and see Ps. 17; 90; 102.

meet with the elements of Didactic Poetry (Ps. 1 ; 15 ; 25 ; 32 ; 37 ; 49, the fifth verse of which indicates that the harp accompanied such poems, when they assumed an elevated and lyric style ; 67 ; 119) ; there are, also, indications of Epic Poetry (Exod. 15 ; Judg. 5 ; Ps. 78 ; 105 ; 106) and even of Dramatic Poetry (Judg. 5 : 28, &c.), although the general appellation of *lyrical* has been applied to all these specimens of sacred poetry. The three kinds of poetry now mentioned, all of which originally proceeded from lyric poetry as their common source, were not developed in their present form until a later period ; didactic poetry alone (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes) assumes a distinctive form in the Scriptures. While the apocryphal books of Judith and Tobit can claim no attention here on account of their subjects, inasmuch as, in addition to other considerations, they do not possess the attributes of the poetic style, no canonical book can accurately be styled an Epic or an heroic poem, if it is essential to the latter, that it should be a narrative embellished with legends and extolling the heroic deeds of *men*. Some writers have, in this sense, denominated Sacred History itself, an Epos, when viewed as a whole. But we cannot adopt this view, unless it is materially modified ; for while Sacred History is unquestionably a great and divine Epos abounding in facts that really occurred, in miracles and mighty deeds of God, still, the general subject was not derived from merely imaginary scenes, neither does a poetic form constitute its external character ; the narrative, on the contrary, proceeds in the ordinary prose style of history. In Dramatic Poetry, the thoughts that arose in the poet's soul and deeply impressed it, are presented to us through the medium of persons who appear in conversation and in action ; it depicts, especially, internal struggles of thought and feeling, and, generally, the various circumstances and relations existing in the intellectual and moral world. Poetry of this description, could not possibly assume, in the sphere of revealed truth, that peculiar shape or admit of that mode of cultivation by which it was distinguished in Greece or elsewhere. The exhibition of the appropriate actions by a person merely assuming for temporary purposes the sentiments, views and language of another whom he represents, is altogether incompatible with the serious character and the truth of the divine Word, and can have no attractions for him whose spiritual life flows from that Word ; indeed, the true life of the individual believer and of the people of God,

the conversation of the heart with God, and his answers, so plainly invested with a divine reality, the whole religious experience of that people—all these circumstances themselves constitute a drama so solemn, so unquestionably true, so deeply felt to be real, that the trivial scenes of the theatre could not suggest themselves to minds absorbed in such contemplations. The demand that Sacred Poetry should furnish tragedies and comedies, and the inference that the absence of such compositions is an evidence of imperfect or retarded literary development and culture, would betray an entire misconception of the true nature and purposes of the Bible. Even if some writers have designated the Book of Job and the Song of Solomon as the *dramas* of Hebrew literature, and have even attempted with great ingenuity and labor to distinguish the several successive scenes, particularly in the case of the latter, still, the idea of a scenical or theatrical representation does not and cannot, by any means enter into this view. In both books, the dialogistic form is adopted, and persons are seen in conversation and in action, simply for the purpose of giving additional distinctness and force to the sentiments intended to be inculcated. In the Book of Job, the prologue and epilogue of which are presented in the ordinary form of historic prose, didactic poetry assumes its largest proportions; the trials of the soul of the believer whom God is pleased to chastise, are vividly portrayed. In the Song of Solomon, in which lyric poetry appears in its most expanded form, the trials of the believer's love, amid the pomp and vanity of the world, are emblemized under forms, often occurring in the Scriptures, and derived from that conjugal love which the Creator has sanctified.

The most flourishing period of Sacred Poetry may be regarded as commencing with the religious reformation introduced by Samuel; analogous cases occur in history, in which the highest degree of cultivation to which the poetry of a nation attained, coincides with a marked advance in its intellectual or moral life. During the disturbed age of the Judges, when "the word of the Lord was precious, and there was no open vision" (1 Sam. 3: 1), the sources of sacred song seem to have ceased to flow after Deborah's death; the only productions were, possibly, additions made to the book of heroic songs, or Book of Jasher mentioned above (2 Sam. 1. 18), and these were doubtless of a rude form. But when Samuel arose, the people began to recover from their long-

continued religious, moral and political decline, and a new generation gradually appeared, educated and moulded by that prophet, whom the Lord had sent like another Moses. He was divinely guided in the task of collecting young men and forming the well-known "schools of the prophets," in which he introduced the singing of sacred songs as one of the chief occupations. These schools constituted a central source of spiritual life in Israel, powerfully attracting all minds in Israel that were in any degree susceptible, and inspiring them with holy sentiments. After Saul had been anointed as king, he was sent thither by Samuel, that his heart might both be warmed and acquire royal sentiments (1 Sam. 10 : 5, &c.); nay, even after his fall, he could not resist the powerful influences of sacred song and sacred music (1 Sam. 16 : 23 ; 19 : 23). After these preparatory measures, the Lord raised up David, "the sweet psalmist of Israel" (2 Sam. 23 : 1), and endowed him with lofty gifts. Sacred poetry was elevated to the highest rank, and presented as a precious treasure to the people, by David. He became himself the interpreter, on the one hand, of that new life which had been infused into the congregation in consequence of the reformation wrought by Samuel, and, on the other, he exercised a quickening and edifying influence on the popular mind. He produced such results, after he had ascended the throne and placed the ark in Zion; partly, by adopting a new arrangement of great extent and importance, when he permanently assigned the "service of song in the house of the Lord" (1 Chron. 6 : 41) to the Levitical choirs—the orders or divisions of singers (15 : 16, &c ; 25 : 1–31). These choirs were 24 in number, were directed by the sons of three priestly singers, Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun, and consisted of 288 persons ; the whole number, however, of those to whom the charge of the sacred music was entrusted, including the Levites who were selected for the office, was four thousand. (Singing women are also mentioned in 2 Chron. 35 : 25 ; Nehem. 7 : 67 ; Ps. 68 : 26). Asaph was stationed before the ark in Zion, while Heman and Jeduthun served before the tabernacle of Gibeon (1 Chron. 16 : 37–42). David manifested also an interest in the popular songs which were not immediately connected with the divine service ; he directed the children of Judah, for instance, to be taught the song of the bow (2 Sam. 1 : 18). Even if he did not proceed from the schools of the prophets nor receive in them his education as a poet, or rather, even if he was not indebted to

them for his divine inspiration, the communion of the same Spirit (1 Sam. 16: 13) connected him with them at an early period (1 Sam. 19: 20, &c). We still listen, in Ps. 8 and 23, to the notes of the songs which he sang as a youthful shepherd in the pastures of Bethlehem. His skill in vocal and instrumental music, which he practiced daily, conducted him, in the providence of God, to the royal court; he retained the companionship of music during his flight and on the throne, in war and peace, amid joyful and sorrowful scenes. Music prepared prophets for the reception of divine communications (2 Kings 3: 15), it elevated David's heart to the Lord in faith and prayer, and qualified his spirit to receive the answer of the Lord. It was not the throne that gave additional vigor to his poetic talents; they received their highest culture in the school of affliction, and the saying contains literal truth: "Would David's Psalms exist, if he had not been sorely tried?" But after he had ascended the throne, the gold of his faith, being purified in the furnace of affliction, received the divine impress in many noble Psalms, and thus became the common property of his people, and, indeed, an inexhaustible treasure of the people of God in all ages. His Psalms were repeated at divine service by devout singers as hymns of praise to the Lord, to which circumstance the inscriptions of many refer. Thus David represents the most flourishing period of sacred poetry, with special reference to *lyrical* poetry as its distinguishing feature, in all the different forms of the latter—in prophetic hymns, which occupy the nearest position to Prophecy, the source of sacred poetry (Ps. 2: 100;)—in inspired hymns of praise (Ps. 9; 18; 68; 103; 144, &c.)—in penitential hymns and lamentations (Ps. 6; 28; 51, &c.)—and in didactic hymns (Ps. 25; 32; 34; 37, &c.). In the department last mentioned, his eminent son, the wise Solomon, occupies the highest rank, as a poet; he presides over the assembly of sages (Prov. 22: 17; 24: 23; Eccl. 12: 11), as his father guided the choirs of devout singers. There are diversities of gifts; there are gifts of knowledge, of thanksgiving, of doctrine (1 Cor. 12: 4; 14: 6). The gift of wisdom and knowledge (1 Kings 4: 29) was bestowed on Solomon—a good understanding, and largeness of heart, so that he could understand the mysteries presented by nature and human life. He also received the gift of doctrine, which enabled him to communicate the treasures of knowledge acquired by

him, to all the people for their common good, and to give to his instructions a form adapted to the memory—the form of proverbs and songs. He spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were a thousand and five (ver. 32); these referred to the most important departments of human knowledge, especially to natural history (ver. 33). Only two of the whole number are placed in the Book of Psalms (Ps. 72 and 127), as, in all probability, the subjects of the others did not directly refer to religion. The Song of Solomon, termed by way of eminence “the Song of songs,” deserves this appellation not only on account of the distinguished beauty of its form, but also on account of the deep and powerful emotions which predominate in every part of the work, and of the high importance of the allegorical sense of the whole, to which reference has already been made above. The allegorical interpretation of this poem was universally recognized not only by the earlier Christian theologians, but even before the Christian era, and was regarded as its title to be admitted among the canonical writings; later interpreters have often denied the correctness of the ancient view. These have been at times misled either by the pre-conceived opinion that an arbitrary mode of interpretation, admitting of a play of the imagination and even the introduction of indecorous conceptions, is allowable in this particular case, or by the assumption that Shulamite, the bride, (6: 13) represents the individual soul, and not the Church, which often appears under this image in the Old and in the New Testament. But it is precisely this image, which so frequently occurs, and also the circumstance that various passages are found, perfectly unintelligible when a literal interpretation is attempted, but clearly and forcibly indicating the allegorical mode, that necessarily lead to the following conclusions. This poem does not design to sing the praises of carnal love, like an erotic idyl, neither is it designed to set forth simply the praises of the chaste and enduring love of two betrothed persons, but, under this latter image, it describes that holy love to the Lord, which remains true and unchangeable in the midst of its struggles with the temptations of the world. This view is confirmed by comparing with it the forty-fifth Psalm, which unquestionably refers, not to Solomon, but to the Messiah. Solomon took much interest in enigmatical sayings (“hard questions” 1 Kings 10: 1, translated also “riddle,” Judg. 14: 14; “dark

saying" Ps. 49: 4, &c.),* and this Psalm readily admitted of the expansion which he gave, in the Song, to the general thought pervading it; the splendor of his own court furnished him abundantly with new embellishments of style.

The proportion of Solomon's 3,000 proverbs omitted in the "Book of Proverbs" cannot be ascertained. Many of them, (partaking of the nature of epigrammatic or gnomic sayings) were doubtless constituent parts of the proverbial philosophy of the people before his day. But he polished and arranged these precious stones and pearls, with the skill of a master, added others to their number, and attached the whole to a common thread which bound all together; for the whole collection is pervaded by the same thought—wisdom, the fear of the Lord, is the sovereign good. He was that "one shepherd" described in Eccl. 12: 11, whose instructions and example enabled later sages and masters of assemblies to make new contributions of maxims of practical wisdom to this string of pearls (see Prov. 24: 23; 25: 1; 30: 1; 31: 1).—In Ecclesiastes or the Preacher, which approximates more closely to the style of prose, Solomon again presents wise sayings referring to practical life; here, however, these appear in closer connection with one another, and refer specially to the following leading thought: the fear of God can conduct us to undisturbed repose, to that peace of mind which enables us to receive gratefully all that the hand of God bestows, without being either distressed when other objects are denied, or tempted by the delusions of the world to undervalue the harmless enjoyments of the present hour. Hence the key-note of sacred poetry which we indicated above, or, a tendency to refer all the concerns of life to God, in whom alone the soul can find peace, characterizes this book also, although superficial judges have advanced charges against it which are totally at variance with each other; it has been accused of a desponding, doubting spirit—Skepticism; of a haughty contempt of the world—Stoicism; of a carnal love of pleasure—Epicurism. The question has been discussed whether Solomon was the author

*To this class belong the Parables, which are a prominent feature of the Talmud, and of oriental poetry in general. Our Lord himself has given us a series of inimitable parables. The Old Testament furnishes only two which were delivered by inspired prophets, 2 Sam. 12: 1-4; Isa. 5: 1-6.

of the entire book in its present form (ch. 1 : 1), or whether, as Luther conjectures (on 12 : 11), the greater part was derived from oral communications of Solomon, and the whole arranged subsequently by others. (The passages, ch. 1 : 12 ; 4 : 1 ; 5 : 7, &c. ; 10 : 6, &c. and 15-19 ; 12 : 12 by no means furnish decisive arguments against the opinion which assigns it to the age of Solomon and represents him as the author.) Independently of this question, the book, as a didactic poem, or a sermon founded on personal experience, is unquestionably a remarkable illustration of the internal struggles, doubts, temptations and even of the errors, amid all of which the Holy Spirit conducted believers under the old covenant to true peace in God.—The didactic poem entitled the Book of Job adopts a loftier and more decided poetic style, and employs richer resources of rhetorical art, but discusses similar subjects. The enigmas and contradictions presented by human life, the sorrows of the godly, the prosperity of the wicked—scenes which well nigh caused the steps of Asaph to slip (Ps. 73 : 2, &c.) are stated and solved by means of an exalted exhibition of the holiness and justice which really administer the affairs of the world, and which cause even the chastening of the people of God to yield unto them the peaceable fruit of righteousness (Heb. 12 : 11). It is regarded by J. F. von Meyer as a didactic dialogue, exhibiting a grandeur, in which probably no other writing on earth of the same class has ever equalled it.

Among the poets and sages who surrounded David and Solomon as their masters (1 Kings 4 : 31), may be mentioned Asaph and his descendants (distinguished for the composition of lyric didactic poems of an intermediate class, Ps. 50 ; 73-83), Ethan (1 Chron. 15 : 17, who is possibly Jeduthun, Ps. 89), and the sons of Korah (Ps. 42-40 ; 84, &c. ; 87, &c.), one of whom was Heman the singer (1 Chron. 6 : 3s, &c. ; 15 : 17, 19), and King's seer in the words of God (25 : 5). But they recede from the view during the period which immediately followed Solomon's reign, and, in general, as the voice of prophecy was then scarcely heard, sacred poetry itself languished and became silent. It was only occasionally, when great national events aroused the public mind, in the days of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. 20 ; Ps. 47 ; 48 ; 83), Hezekiah and Isaiah, and when Prophecy, the source of sacred poetry, again flowed more freely, that the voice of the latter was heard (Ps. 46 ; 75 ; 76 ; 87). In the case of

the prophet Isaiah, the language of prophecy often assumes a poetic garb, and adopts a lofty lyrical style (see Isa. ch. 8-12; 40-66). The people derived assistance in their devotions from the hymns of David and Asaph (2 Chron. 29: 30), and the words of the earlier sages are again heard (Prov. 25: 1). The secular songs of the people had always co-existed with those of a sacred character, and commemorated great public events, or domestic and national afflictions (2 Sam. 1: 17, &c.; Amos 5: 16, &c.; Jerem. 9: 17-19; earlier traces in Gen. 50: 10; Deut. 34: 8), or they were designed to promote the enjoyment of life (Job 21: 12; Ps. 55: 14; Eccl. 2: 8; Jerem. 25: 10; 48: 33; Lam. Jer. 5: 14). Even these declined with the character and condition of the people, when few subjects were presented for them; and after idolatrous tendencies again prevailed, and the national spirit had become extinct, these songs, assuming a still more degraded character, appeared at length merely as the "songs of the drunkards," (Ps. 69: 12; Isa. 5: 12; Amos 6: 6) and as parodies of David's Psalms.

After the priestly prophet Jeremiah, while gazing on the ruins of Jerusalem, had poured forth the words of deep penitence and of unshaken faith, in his Lamentations, and after the pining captives, while sitting by the rivers of Babylon, had lamented and wept, sacred poetry temporarily revived. The captives returned before the voice of prophecy had entirely ceased, and admirable temple-psalms then originated. To this period we may doubtless assign the greater number of those beautiful and devout popular hymns, termed "songs of degrees" (Ps. 120, &c.) sung by those who went up to Jerusalem, when the great festivals occurred. But after the men in whom a prophetic and royal spirit dwelt, like Zerubbabel, Zechariah, Ezra, Nehemiah and Malachi had passed away, the source of sacred poetry altogether ceased to flow; and the succeeding period, in which the learning of the scribes assumed a distinct form, merely furnished, in the "wisdom of Solomon," and Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), feeble and prosaic imitations of Solomon's didactic poems. The last brief appearance of the national spirit occurred during the age of the Maccabees, but the voice of prophecy was extinct (1 Mac. 4: 46; 14: 41); and, consequently sacred poetry found no soil in which it could bloom. If this age had produced numerous beautiful psalms, as some writers have asserted, the prolix books of the Maccabees, (for in-

stance 1 Mac. 4: 55-59) would unquestionably not have passed them over in silence.

The source of Prophecy did not again flow, until the Gospel period had arrived. Mary's song of praise (the *Magnificat*, Luke 1: 46-56), that of Zacharias (the *Benedictus*, Luke 1: 68-79), both of which combine the prophetic and poetic streams of the Old Testament, from Gen. 3: 15 and 12: 3 to Mal. 4: 2, and the song of the heavenly hosts (the *Gloria*, Luke 2: 14), furnish, in general, the keynote of the sacred poetry of the New Testament. The last especially, the song of the angels, (known as the *Gloria in excelsis*), in which we hear the echo of the angel's Gospel tidings, as the lyric poetry of the old covenant was an echo of prophecy, was regularly sung at morning service, in the early Christian Church, and it forms the leading theme of the whole sacred poetry of the new covenant. As long, however, as the Christians remained in connection with Jewish worshippers, they employed the psalms according to the usage of the synagogue. Christ himself sang them with his disciples, when he kept the passover (Matt. 26: 30), and declared them to be productions of the Holy Spirit, containing divine prophecies (Matt. 22: 43; Luke 24: 44; Matt. 27: 46). But hymns and odes, songs of praise and spiritual songs, in addition to the psalms, were, at an early period, introduced and sung, as original productions of poetic inspiration, in the primitive Church (Col. 3: 16; Eph. 5: 19; see Acts 16: 25). Sacred poems were, according to 1 Cor. 14: 26 the fruits of a special spiritual gift, a *charisma* of the Holy Spirit. Several passages, resembling hymns, occur in the new Testament (Eph. 5: 14; 1 Tim. 3: 16; 2 Tim. 2: 11, &c.; Rev. 4: 11; 5: 9-13; 7: 12; 11: 15-19); in Rev. 15: 3, &c. the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb, the first and the last specimens of sacred poetry, are mentioned in connection.

The poetry of the Greeks is incidentally mentioned in the New Testament. When Paul was in Athens, he referred to the words of certain Greek poets (Acts 17: 28), while speaking of the existence of the true God; and Greek poems are also quoted in 1 Cor. 15: 33; Tit. 1: 12. Like our missionaries in India, Paul availed himself of popular and familiar sayings, in order to open an avenue for his own instructions. Although all nations were suffered to walk in their own ways (Acts 14: 16), we may perhaps regard even the Greek tragic writers as uttering prophetic voices among

pagans, by which the Holy Spirit inclined the latter to seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him (Acts 17 : 27). At least the works of Sophocles, the most eminent of those writers, seem to support this view, if, namely, we consider Greek Tragedy in the light of a serious attempt to solve and unfold the problems and mysteries of human life, of sin and atonement, of the moral government of the world—if it is viewed as an effort of the soul to effect a reconciliation between man and God—if it is supposed to be a voice teaching a lesson of submission to God, and deriving that lesson from a burdened conscience. In this aspect, those writings bear an analogy to the books of Job and Ecclesiastes, which are genuine gifts of sacred poetry. But the heroic poetry of the Greeks, on the contrary, which is thoroughly imbued with the element of idolatrous darkness, and in which the human mind abuses the powers of the imagination, for the purpose of deifying man, assumes a position which is decidedly hostile to Christian truth.

IV. *The character and form of Sacred Poetry.* After this general view of the origin, the subjects and the history of Sacred Poetry, its structure or form, in which it differed, among the Hebrews, from the poetry of other nations, claims attention. The usual Hebrew word, *mizmor*, (hymn of honor, or, to the glory of the Lord), designating a psalm, refers less to the subject than to the artificial form of the hymn.

1. *The style.* The words, grammatical forms, and construction of sentence adopted by the Hebrew poet, are not restricted to those of common life, occurring in ordinary prose. The poverty of the latter would restrain the mighty flow of thoughts and feeling ; he therefore introduces rare or new forms of words, or restores from the treasures of antiquated words and phrases, those that are weighty in sense and solemn in sound. At other times, the living and forcible terms of the popular language, and the expressive sense which peculiar dialects often give to these, are chosen ; thus the song of Deborah and the Song of songs approximate to the dialect of the inhabitants of Lebanon. The poetic style abounds in figurative expressions, often deviates from the natural order of the words for the sake of emphasis, and frequently employs the well-known figures of speech, such as the apostrophe ; hence, in the psalms and prophetic scriptures, the vivid conceptions of the poet and prophet often

occasion rapid transitions—the absent are suddenly addressed as if they were present, future events are described as if they belonged to the present time, &c. (for instance, Ps. 91; Isa. ch. 54).

2. *The structure of the poem*, or of a complete sentence in verse. It is governed by the law of proportion in a peculiar manner; this law, applied to Greek and Latin poetry, regulates the order and alternation of long and short syllables, and, applied to the poetry of modern languages, determines, in connection with the rhyme or the correspondence of sounds in the terminating syllables of two lines, also the order of accented and unaccented syllables. The poetry of the ancient Hebrews is constructed on an entirely different principle, according to which the number of the syllables is of minor importance. It was only when Judaism was desirous of assuming an agreeable garb in the eyes of pagans, that Philo and Josephus attempted to discover the Greek law of quantity in Hebrew poetry (hexameters, for instance, in Exod. ch. 15; Deut. ch. 32). The sole result of such efforts is the discovery of accidental approximations to the measure of syllables (trochaic metre in Job 3: 2; iambic in Ps. 11: 1; dactylic in Ps. 29) and to rhyme (Gen. 4: 23, &c.; 1 Sam. 18: 7; Prov. 22: 10; 23: 23). While the Spanish Jews attempted, with inconsiderable success, to ingraft rhyme and quantity on their Hebrew poems, the Rabbins on the contrary, extolled Sacred Poetry as far superior to Greek and other secular poetry, inasmuch as it was not fettered by the measure of syllables, and was not intended simply to charm the ear, but rather to convey distinct and impressive thoughts. Its simplicity, gravity and sublimity, do not admit of the jingling sounds of rhyme; its language does not furnish short syllables, or those of which the vowels are naturally short, and it cannot introduce a well-proportioned combination of such with long syllables. Hence the law of proportion applies not so much to single words as to the sense which a combination of them presents,—not so much to the mere sound and the syllabic division, as to the spirit, the intellectual or moral weight and force of the word, or the thought expressed by it; the result is a *rhythm of thought*, a *parallelism of members*, a unison or rhyme of the thought,—a feature which is characteristic of Chinese poetry also. When the *external form* of Hebrew verse is considered, two peculiarities appear.

First, the single verse,* when regularly constructed, is not of such inconvenient length that it cannot be pronounced by any one without drawing breath; the number of syllables, without being rigidly fixed, is not, in general, less than seven, nor more than ten. The cases in which three or four, or twelve or thirteen appear, are rare exceptions. The limits of the verse afford the voice ample room both to rise and to fall; the time of the latter equals in length that of the former. Verses of undue length are deficient in animation and emphasis, and give a dull and heavy character to the style. Secondly, the number of the words and syllables of the corresponding or parallel verses is, in general, nearly the same; cases occur, as exceptions, in which the striking brevity of one of the parallel verses is adopted for the sake of emphasis (Ps. 7: 10; 30: 3; 40: 10; 91: 7). When the *internal character* of Hebrew verse is considered, its most remarkable feature is found to be the correspondence or *unison of thought* of the connected verses. This unison of thought, regarded as emphatically a rhyme in sentiment, may be termed the opposite of our rhyme in sound, by which the external sense is reached. Herder happily compares it to the two divisions of a choir alternately proposing and answering questions, or exhorting and encouraging each other. The principle on which the law of proportion is founded, is the following. The poet is, on the one hand, irresistibly impelled to give utterance to the powerful emotions which fill his soul; but, on the other, he is conscious that this flow of thought and feeling should not be allowed to become uncontrollable. While its progress should not be painfully curbed, its movements should be well-proportioned and be restricted to certain limits, in order that the desired effect may be successfully produced. True beauty consists in a combination of order and unity with variety and fulness, and in well-regulated action. Now when the emotions of the heart submit to the guidance of the mind—to the control

*[A VERSE, in poetry, is a single line. A stanza is a group of verses connected with each other; the series of verses in each stanza of the same poem, as in a hymn, &c. and the metrical arrangement, are the same. The classical *strophe*, to which this general definition also applies, is usually of greater length than the stanza, particularly when the form of the latter depends on the ordinary Long, Common and Short Metre or measure (four lines, that is, four *verses*). Heber's Missionary Hymn ("From Greenland's &c.") for instance, contains four stanzas, each of which consists of eight verses, containing alternately seven and six syllables. Tr.]

of thought, when the image in the bosom is revealed to the intellect in a distinct form, and unity and variety are clearly discriminated, the sentiments that are produced as the result of these operations of the soul, readily assume an external garb in well-proportioned words of corresponding beauty. The thoughts are impelled by their own fulness to find utterance in words of augmented power—their flow demands additional terms, marked by greater distinctness and greater variety. Hence the first verse or member of the entire sentence is not found to express with sufficient precision the whole conception—the flow of thought continues, receives a new impulse and expands in a second, often a third, and even a fourth verse or member, within the limits of the same stanza. In such cases, one of three modes which occur, is adopted. First—the member which occupies the second place in the sentence is not a mere repetition of the preceding, but is an emphatic echo of the thought expressed, and is variously produced, by an inversion of the order of the words, by the selection of others of deeper import, &c. This unison of thought, termed the *echoing* or *synonymous*, is of frequent occurrence (for instance in Gen. 4: 23; Judg. 14: 14; Ps. 1: 1, 2; 2: 1–5, 10; 8: 5; 19: 1; Job. 6: 5; Isa. 53: 9, &c., &c.). Secondly—the second member is the complement or antithesis of the first, (Ps. 1: 6; 18: 26, &c.; 20: 8; Prov. 10: 1–21, &c.), or the first member is the protasis, and the second the apodosis (Ps. 3: 4), or a comparison is made, (Ps. 4: 7; 21: 1), or a reason given (Ps. 3: 5; 5: 2;], or an additional circumstance or attribute introduced (Ps. 3: 6; 7: 10). This mode is the *complemental*. Thirdly—the second member merely continues the thought, when the full expression of the former would exceed the just limits of the first. If this mode, termed the *continuative*, were applied to a number of verses in succession, the poetic characteristics would disappear, and feeble prose be the result; it is, accordingly, of infrequent occurrence. Some writers prefer another arrangement, and specify a synonymous, an antithetic and a synthetic unison of thought; they include in the latter the continuative and the complemental modes, excepting from it the antithetic in all its varieties.—1. A verse may consist of merely *one* member, (which however rarely occurs,) as an introductory emphatic proposition (Ps. 18: 1), or as a summary at the close of a strophe or stanza (Exod. 15: 18)—2. It may consist of *two* members, and this form is the most usual.

The echoing unison of thought, the most animated of all, predominates here; when the complemental appears, it prefers contrasts and comparisons, particularly in proverbial poetry.—3. It may consist of *three* members, if two are not sufficient to express the whole thought. Several varieties occur. The three members are of the echoing kind, (Ps. 1: 1), the first sometimes containing a proposition (Ps. 18: 7), and the third a complement. Or—the second alone is the echo, and the third a complement (Ps. 6: 2; 18: 13) or a continuation of the other two (Ps. 2: 2; 18: 50). Or—the echo is completed only in the third member, on account of the intervention of a complement (Ps. 9: 6). Or—the second and third members are complements of the first (Ps. 4: 8). Other combinations of the same kind are possible. 4. The verse may consist of *four* members, in consequence of the combination of two equal or unequal portions; the first and third, and second and fourth members, correspond (Ps. 18: 15), or a resemblance exists between the two members of the one portion and the two of the other (Ps. 127: 1), &c., &c. Verses of four members furnish, by the well-proportioned alternations of the echoing and the complemental unison of thought, the most beautiful instances of rhythm; still, their frequent occurrence would retard the rapid movements of the song, and they are, accordingly, introduced only occasionally among verses of two and three members.—5. In a very few cases (Ps. 11: 4; 17: 13; 1 Sam. 2: 10; 2 Sam. 23: 5), *five* members are found in connection; the number of the syllables is then proportionably smaller. Such verses can assume new forms by means of contraction and abbreviation. Even the longest verse, however, is sustained and properly arranged, in consequence of its internal unity and regularity. When the limits of a single verse are too narrow to admit of a full development of the thought, it is developed anew and more fully in the succeeding verse (Ps. 96: 12, &c.; 98: 8, &c.); this practice, however, is, in general, adopted only by the later poets. This rhythmical law may be applied to several members in succession, so that, for instance, a member of a verse, when without an echo, finds that echo in a succeeding verse (Ps. 18: 12, &c.; Lam. Jer. 1: 9, 11, and particularly in several “songs of degrees,” Ps. 121; 123; 124; 126, the inscriptions of which, in view of the circumstance that these were songs of

the pilgrims, are rendered by some: "Songs of ascending.") The song of Deborah is distinguished for its animated and beautiful rhythm, which seems to imitate saltatory movements, and illustrates accordingly the fact that this fundamental law of the poetic style of the Hebrews was recognized and followed at an early period. The rhythm of thought appears in its greatest variety, and animation, and in its most fully developed form, in the Psalms of David. The rhythm of the Proverbs is more even and calm, usually exhibiting bimembral verses—a proposition with an antithesis, or an object and a figure of it. The later Proverbs often contain more than two members, and consist of several verses; the later Psalms, on the contrary, like the Book of Job, are characterized by the neat and regular structure of the verses and members. In Ecclesiastes, on the other hand, rhythm appears only partially; the language of doubt does not observe it. It may, indeed, be said that this rhythm of thought is specially adapted to sacred poetry and characteristic of it, in as far as it is the offspring of Prophecy. For Prophecy is irresistibly impelled to communicate to others the revelations received from the Spirit of God, to unfold, explain and impress these on the persons for whom they are intended. Hence this undulating movement, this wave-like mode of expressing divine thoughts in terms of increasing distinctness and force, spontaneously offered itself. Thus, too, the language of excitement employed in conversation by prophetic men like Moses and Joshua, assumes, without an effort a rhythmical character (Exod. 32: 17, &c.). It is one of the advantages flowing from this peculiar feature of Sacred Poetry, that the latter suffers less violence, and sustains less loss of meaning and force, when it is translated, than the poetry of any other language.

3. *The stanzaic structure of the hymn.* A single thought poetically expressed, cannot in general be adequately set forth within the limits of one member of a verse, but is expanded in two or more. Thus, too, the leading thought of a poem, or the fulness and depth of feelings that appear in great commotion and that often struggle with each other, cannot, (with the exception of the case of proverbial poetry) be compressed in one verse, or, at times, even in two or a few additional verses; to present such subjects in the several aspects indicated by the circumstances, a series of distinct groups of verses is needed. These groups of verses, each

presenting a particular view of the general subject, are called Stanzas. When the leading thought is fully set forth in one unimpeded flow, the hymn may be termed unistanzaic, (Ps. 23; 101; 117; 131: 132; 2 Sam. 33: 1, &c.) But the hymn consists of several stanzas, when the flow of thought and feeling is briefly suspended, and when the poet immediately resumes the subject. In this case, he either repeats the leading thought, in more emphatic terms, or in a gentler mood (2 Sam. 1: 19, &c.), or he illustrates it more fully, assigning reasons (Ps. 18: 4-20, &c.), or, amid the struggle of opposing thoughts and feelings, introducing an antithesis; the whole terminates in the language of union and peace (Ps. 2: 1-3; 4-9; 10-11). These hymns, the stanzas of which correspond in the order of the proposition, the antithesis, and the conclusion, produce the most pleasing effects. The stanzaic divisions are not observable in the hymn, and, indeed, the number of verses is not the same in all the stanzas, but is determined by the special movement of the leading thought. In the descending stanzaic structure, the leading thought, particularly when deep emotion is indicated at the beginning, is unfolded with the utmost animation in the first stanza, as when internal contests are described, (Ps. 39), the dead lamented, (2 Sam. 1: 17, &c.) or even when a growing feeling of despondency is to be portrayed (Job ch. 7); the emotion gradually subsides in the second and third stanzas; it is seldom that as few as two stanzas, contain the whole (Ps. 40; 109). In the ascending stanzaic structure, the leading thought is merely introduced indirectly in the first stanzas, but like a stream, which in its progress both expands and grows deeper, the main thought gradually gains in emphasis, until, at the close, it appears in its fully developed form; hymns containing petitions, or offering praise and thanks, are very frequently of this description (Ps. 5; 33; 92; Exod. 15; Judg. 5; Ps. 30; 45; 48; 80; 99; &c., &c.) In other cases again, the main thought is contained in one or more stanzas in the middle, being furnished with an introduction and an epilogue, (Ps. 4; 8; 26; 36; 41; 52; 59; 73; 75; 88; 103; 106; 140; Job 8; 19; 21; the song of Hannah, 1 Sam. 2: 1-10, of which the three parts are found in ver. 1, ver. 2-8, and ver. 9-10.) When the main thought is calmly surveyed by the mind of the poet, or when the hymn is specially designed for a choir, it is expanded in two, three

or four stanzas, each containing the same number of verses (two verses in Ps. 12; 13; 93; three verses in Ps. 24: 1-6; 98; 137; eight verses in Ps. 91), or nearly the same number (Ps. 6, of 3, 4 and 3 verses; Ps. 42 combined with 43, of 5, 6, 5; Ps. 46 of 3, 4, 4; Ps. 65 of 4, 4, 5; Ps. 55 of 8, 7, 8; &c., &c.) Festival hymns, and those commemorating victories, when sung by a choir during a procession, like the song of Deborah, contained occasionally more than four stanzas. A prelude or introduction, proceeding from a different affection of the mind, is sometimes prefixed to a hymn, the strophæic structure of which is already complete (Ps. 49; 50). The divisions of Deut. 32 are: Prelude, ver. 1-5; first stanza, 6-14, second, 15-27, third 28-43. A prelude and a finale or prolonged cadence appear in Judg. 5; Ps. 18; 29; 68; 107.—The stanzaic division is marked in some Psalms by the refrain or burden, or the repetition of the main thought or theme, to which the other parts now bear the relation of variations; the most perfect instances of this kind are those in which every stanza concludes with the main thought expressed in a full verse (Ps. 42; 43; 49; 57; 80; 107; 2 Sam. 1: 17, &c.—Ps. 46; 48; 72; 99; 56 are less perfect instances). Although it would be an error to suppose that the division into stanzas and verses originated in the distribution, at the performance, of different parts of the hymn among the several divisions of the choir, it is, nevertheless, true that the performance by alternate divisions of the choir, in a style which resembled singing, very readily adapted itself to the stanzaic structure, in songs of victory for instance (Exod. 15) and temple hymns (Ps. 118; 132; 134). The refrains in particular, consisting of solemn final words, as in Ps. 136, were perhaps sung by all the people (Ezra 3: 11; Nehem. 8: 6), according to the practice of the later Jews, when they worshipped in the synagogue. The occurrence of significant numbers which determine the number of the verses composing a stanza, is also worthy of attention, in connection with the stanzaic structure; they are such as these: 7 (=3+4); 10 (=7+3, or, 5+5); 12 (=6+6, or, 3×4). To this feature the number of times in which the names of God occur, in different arrangements, strikingly corresponds. The eighteenth Psalm may here afford an illustration. The number *Three* which predominates in it, points to the Mosaic benediction (Numb. 6: 24-26), so gloriously fulfilled in the case of the singer.

The name of Jehovah occurs *thrice* in the inscription, and *thrice* in the introductory verses. The names of God in ver. 2, in which the singer describes all the riches of divine grace, appear in *three* divisions, of which both the first and the third contain *three* names, while *one* appears in the second. *Seven* names accordingly occur, and the number which characterizes the Mosaic benediction (*three*), and which meets us five times, contributes to furnish the sacred number of the covenant (*seven*). The number *three* again occurs in the conclusion. This whole poem consists of five divisions, each containing *ten* parts, so that it is controlled by the number *Ten*, the symbol of completeness. (For this system of division according to significant numbers, see the able exposition of Hengstenberg, in his Commentary on the Psalms.) This mode of determining the division of the stanzas according to a symbolical system of numbers is as little to be termed a mere artifice or unworthy trifling, as such appellations are permitted to be applied to the significance (signature) given to certain numbers throughout the sacred volume, from Genesis to Revelations—a significance which may be found in the leadings and judgments of God, in the generations of men, in the law and its order of public worship, nay, in the whole vast plan of the divine government of the world. It may, on the contrary, be regarded as natural, that Sacred Poetry should be a reflection of the mode of division and arrangement, peculiar to Sacred History in general.—It is also unjust to represent the acrostic or alphabetical hymns, in which the internal division into stanzas is certainly attended with difficulties, as mere artificial imitations of poetic composition, or to affirm that they originated in a later age, in which the learning of the Scribes was substituted for genuine poetry, or in which mere art attempted to assume agreeable forms, after all internal life and power had become extinct. David had already, on the contrary, adopted this mode in four beautiful Psalms (Ps. 24 ; 34 ; 37 ; 145. In Ps. 33 ; 38 ; 103, the numbers of the verses correspond to the universal value of the letters of the alphabet). The following belong to a later age : Ps. 111 ; 112, the artificial arrangement of which is already striking ; Ps. 119, of which the eight verses of each stanza all begin with the same letter of the alphabet, in the established order of their succession ; Lam. ch. 1, 2, 4, in which beautiful poetic compositions of Jeremiah, the order of the letters is observed at the com-

mencement of the longer verses ; in ch. 3 each of the three verses composing a stanza, commences with the same letter, and the number of the verses of ch. 5 corresponds to the numeral value of the letters. To these may be added the praise of the virtuous woman in Prov. 31 : 10-31. This form afforded great assistance to the memory.

These statements show that even the external form or garb of Sacred Poetry is pervaded by the thought, which constitutes its living spirit. This Poetry does not exhibit, it is true, the external features with which we are familiar, rhyme, quantity, verses and stanzas of uniformly the same proportions. Still, it is governed by an internal living principle of its own, and even its external forms of division are harmonious and full of expression. We cannot understand and appreciate it, if we merely cast a superficial glance at it, while both the eye and the ear are prepossessed in favor of the polished forms and external attractions of classic and of modern poetry. It claims earnest and deep attention even to apparently unimportant features of its language—a sober judgment—a heart full of devout reverence in the presence of God's Word—familiarity with its true spirit—a practical acquaintance with the soil in which alone it can bloom, the revelations of God to his people. The equity of the demand has indeed always been conceded, that if we would form an accurate judgment of the popular poetry of India or of China, for instance, and recognize its beauties, it is our first duty to acquire a thorough knowledge of the habits of thought and feeling of the people, and, temporarily at least, make these our own. It is not unreasonable that Sacred Poetry should make the same demand.

V. *The preservation of the productions of Sacred Poetry.* These were communicated and preserved in the earliest times by oral tradition, particularly in the case of those hymns which, on festive occasions or at divine worship, were publicly sung by the priests or the people, and accompanied with music and dancing. It is specially directed that the young should learn them, in 2 Sam. 1 : 18 (where "the bow" is equivalent to "the hymn of the bow") and in the inscription of Ps. 60. The singing was, in all probability, not guided by regular tunes, corresponding to those of our modern hymns, but rather consisted in a species of cantillation, resembling the mode adopted at the celebration of the

Romish mass. The only musical notes, found in the original text, and of which the explanation is attended with considerable difficulty, occur in the inscriptions. Ten different keys are supposed by some to be indicated, for instance, that of Gath (Ps. 8 ; 81 ; 84), that of the Virgins (Ps. 46), that of Jeduthun (Ps. 39), the eighth (Ps. 6 ; 12), &c. To these may be added the word *Selah*, which occurs only in forty hymns to which musical notes are prefixed, and perhaps indicates the part at which the musical accompaniment began. The accents are a later addition to the text, and were intended, in conformity to the structure of the verses, to regulate the chanting style in which other books also, like Job and the Proverbs, not adapted to be sung by the people, were read in the synagogues in later times.—In addition to the oral tradition, or, independently of it, those larger didactic poems were committed to writing. The collections of songs however, to which reference has already been made (the books of the wars of the Lord, and of Jasher), lead us to suppose that others also (for instance, Judg. 5 ; Ps. 90) were committed to writing at an early period ; and although we cannot suppose that David wrote while he composed poems, these were no doubt collected in a written form before he died. Solomon's songs and Proverbs were also committed to writing (Eccl. 12 : 11), even if his own hand did not perform the task. Those portions of the latter which could not be regarded as productions of *Sacred Poetry*, shared the fate of the greater part not only of Hebrew secular poetry but of the literature in general which preceded the Christian era, and perished amid the destructive storms that agitated succeeding ages.

ARTICLE VII.

THE SALUTATIONS OF PAUL.

By Rev. J. B. BITTINGER, A. M., Hanover, Pa.

IN the world's library of books the Bible stands alone. It has no peer and no rival. It is truly a royal volume—God's *opus palmare*, Ps. 138 : 2. This dignity and grandeur are not

owing to any adventitious excellencies of style, or any considerations, due to its unequalled antiquity; they flow directly from its divine origin. It is an utterance from God, in human speech. It is God, come down to us in the likeness of human speech. Acts. 14: 11. As an organic unit, it is "vital in every part," and whether we read Isaiah or James, Job or Matthew, it is the same sceptred volume. The insignia change, but the authority remains unchanged. The human element enters in different degrees into this incarnation of God, and thus furnishes that marked variety, so characteristic of the Scriptures, when we consider them as God's work. Whether we regard this human element as a divine necessity, or as a condescension to our infirmities, its existence is no less marked, its uses no less manifold. If we except the Psalms, there is no part of the Bible that appears so human as the Epistles, and among these especially Paul's. Taken out of the body of the canon, bound up by themselves, judged by the epistolary standard they would challenge attention. In age they would be the equals of Seneca's and Cicero's. In good breeding—that benevolence which belongs to small things—they are as instructive as Chesterfield's, without a taint of his lordship's hypocrisy; while in morality they are too far removed from the „letters to young men, and young women," even to suggest comparison. Let us, just for a moment, divest ourselves of all the associations which a Christianity of eighteen centuries old, and an antecedent, inherited Judaism of eighteen centuries more, a patriarchal theophanism of an equal extent, have exerted on our views and judgments concerning these letters as inspired, and regard them merely in the light of their antiquity, contents and origin. What a singular problem they would present to the student of human history! A manuscript in Greek, contemporaneous with Plutarch and Dionysius, written by a tent-maker, a man belonging to a nation unknown and unrecognized in literature or civilization; a work grappling with the profoundest problems that ever exercised or agonized the human intellect and heart; and yet handling them with a familiarity that showed how well assured his tread was among such perilous deeps, and such sublime heights. And then leaving these high speculations, and witnessing the minute and tender treatment which characterized other portions of the correspondence—finding unmistakable proofs of a heart alive to every sympathy, and emotions thrilling with anxiety for individual welfare. 1 Tim. 5: 23. What a field of study,

what an arena of conflict, and what a question for solution, would such a MS. offer. The dialogues of Plato would fail, in competition with these letters, to challenge the equal interest of mankind. Familiarity has dulled our appreciation. Niagara has satiated the ear, and not, till we withdraw from its sound of many waters, to the mute side of smaller streams, do we realize that God Almighty pours forth that eternal anthem from the hollow of his hand. If we could leave Paul, and be seated by the side of other men—the pundits of India, or the sages of Greece, and listen to the lore of their untaught hearts, their drops of wisdom would seem like the cold tricklings of a cave, by the side of the broad, sunny river of God, whose waves murmur, and break, and clap their hands, at the feet of the Great Apostle of the Gentiles.

But our subject does not engage us to discuss these grander themes. We have chosen the salutations of Paul's epistles as not unworthy of attention. Their significance, to those to whom they were addressed, has lost only part of its weight. It is an indestructible musk; time may regale itself upon it, but cannot waste it. Study will show that it is the same fragrance, if not as fragrant to us as to the recipients of the letters. When we open and read these salutations, it is as if the box of spikenard were broken afresh, and where-soever that Gospel is preached, to which these epistles of Paul are united, there also, throughout the whole world, these salutations will spread their blessed aroma. Mark 14: 9. We think we are not mistaken, in saying that the epistles themselves have lost their proper place in the Christian consciousness, if they ever had it, by being regarded as inspired, and inspired in such a sense that there is no place for humanity, and of course, none for human sympathy. The very word "Epistle" puts a veil on face of these scriptures. Call them Paul's letters, and think of them as theanthropic utterances, and the salutations even will throb with a life not foreign to any Christian age. It may be doubted whether, the salutations are ever read by Christians, except as they read "in course," and then their flavor is like that of the genealogies in Chronicles and Ezra, or the building specifications in Exodus. We should think it strange, uncivil and unkind, if any of our correspondents should omit the "Dear sir" at the beginning, and the "Yours truly" at the end of their

letters; and yet we seem to think it strange, that Paul should not have done these very things. He "was a man subject to like passions as we are," Jas. 5: 17, and when writing to his dear fellow Christians at Rome, or Corinth, or his beloved sons in Christ, Timothy and Titus, we demand, or at least feel, that he should not utter his affections. What mean we thus to break his heart. Acts 21: 13. His love for his friends is also the fire of God burning for an outlet. What God therefore hath cleansed, let not us call common. Acts 10: 15. Regarding then these salutations as an integral part of the Epistles, as instinct with inspiration, and as stamped with the same seal that authenticates to us the whole canon, we ought to look in them for something of value. They may be the sands of the stream of truth, but sand-washings often yield the pure gold, and the imperial diamond. The chief value of his greetings is doubtless in their revelation of the emotional element in Scripture; but their incidental value, in throwing light upon the age in which they were written, the constitution of Christian society, the chronology and geography of Paul's ministry, and other related topics, is not to be disregarded or underrated.

The salutations of Paul naturally divide themselves into individual and general. The latter class may be sub-divided into greetings addressed to households, household churches, brotherhoods, and churches; to these we may also add indefinite salutations. These kinds are personal to Paul, then as allied to these, and expressing the same emotional element, may be joined those salutations which sought Paul's letters as a vehicle. These are the greetings sent by the Apostle's present friends, fellow-laborers, and fellow-sufferers, &c., the greetings of households, and of churches, and finally the mutual salutations enjoined by the Apostle conclude the series. These ten classes are distributed in the following manner through the Epistles.

1. The individual salutations of Paul are found only in Rom. 16: 1-15; Col. 4: 15; 2 Tim. 4: 19.
2. The household salutations are in Rom. 16: 10; 16: 11; 2 Tim. 4: 19.
3. Household churches are saluted, Rom. 16: 5; Col. 4: 15.
4. Brotherhoods—Rom. 16: 14; 16: 16.
5. Churches—1 Cor. 16: 21; Col. 4: 17; 2 Thes. 3: 17.
6. Indefinite greetings—"every saint," "the brethren"—Phil. 4: 21; Col. 4: 15; 1 Thes. 5: 26; Heb. 13: 24.
7. Individual greetings using Paul's letters as a conveyance:

Rom. 16: 21-23; 1 Cor. 16: 19; Col. 4: 10-14; 2 Tim. 4: 21; Philemon 23: 24. 7. Households—1 Cor. 16: 19; Phil. 1: 22. 9. Churches: Rom. 15: 16; 1 Cor. 16: 19; "all the brethren:" 1 Cor. 16: 20; "all the saints:" 2 Cor. 13: 13; "they of Italy:" Heb. 13: 24; "the brethren with me:" Phil. 4: 21. 10. Mutual salutations enjoined: Rom. 16: 16; 1 Cor. 16: 20; 2 Cor. 13: 12; Phil. 4: 21; 1 Thes. 5: 26.

This we believe to be a complete schedule of the expressed salutations in Paul's letters. Taking it as the basis of our remarks we shall consider these salutations:

- I. In their relation to Paul himself;
- II. In their relation to the primitive Church;
- III. In their relation to the inspiration of the Scriptures.

I. (1) Under the first general division, let us notice the fact of the compass and liveliness of Paul's recollection of individuals. This mental peculiarity is striking in him, and betokens his fitness for the itinerancy upon which, by divine command, he had entered. Acts 9: 15, 16. It seemed fitting, if not necessary, that he should carry in his mind, if not in his heart, like the high-priest, the names of the chosen of God. No one, who has held public position, or who has, in the discharge of his duties, been called to revisit former fields of labor, or to meet former associates, despises the high value of a ready individualizing memory: the power to name, and with the name, to characterize. This faculty Paul possessed, and whether quickened by duty or affection it stood him in good stead. It is almost as grateful to us, who now read his letters, as to those who first read them, that he remembers so many and so well. Our minds follow boldly the certain path which he leads, and the little halt which occurs, 1 Cor. 1: 16, instead of shaking our confidence, rather establishes it. He there shows that he not only knew his uncertainty, but he assigns the reason for it, v. 17: "For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." Neither can the two-fold benediction in Rom. 15: 33 and 16: 24 be made to impugn his happy memory. These benedictions are essentially, even intensely emotional, and therefore express the heart chiefly. So too in the "N, B" Rom. 16: 17, and the "P. S." 16: 25-26, it is the full heart, not the empty head, that speaks—not that Paul had forgotten his previous benediction, but the affections are repetitious. It is the "Amen and amen" of Ps. 72: 19; 89: 52; the redupli-

cated "verily" of Jesus ; the "εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν" of Phil. 4: 20, In a word, it is the heart cleaving to its object, and murmuring, at intervals, the same love, in the same words. Let every minister covet and cultivate his memory of persons. It was this faculty with many others that made Paul "the chosen vessel" (σκευὸς ἐκλογῆς picked instrument,) and the chosen one too for God's purpose. The ready recollection of Paul is apparent in many instances scattered through his wide-reaching correspondence. Witness for example, in his Epistles to the Thessalonians, how often he refreshes their memory by appeal to his teachings, while with them. 1 Thes. 1: 5; 2: 1; 5: 9-11; 3: 4; 4: 2, 6, 9, 10; 5: 2, 11; 2 Thes. 2: 5, 6; 3: 1, 7.

(2) Let us look at these salutations as a revelation of Paul's thoughtfulness; this trait differs from the former. That was purely intellectual, this is intellectual and emotional. Thoughtfulness is the memory, quickened by affection. Thoughtlessness is a fault—not merely a weakness, but Paul was not thoughtless. The proof of this is abundant, both in the individual salutations of the Apostle, as well as in those of his friends. Turn first to the record of persons Rom. 16: 1-15. He characterizes them all. In that aristocratic age the poor had no names, and he names them, and what names! they shine on the page like the footsteps of angels. Phebe is "a sister" (in Christ), "a deaconess of the Cenchrean Church," "a succorer"—προστάτις a patroness. It has the same root with "commend" and "assist," and seems an instance of Paul's pregnant word-play. Then begin the salutations proper. Priscilla and Aquila have the place of honor: first in his heart, and first in his memory: "My helpers in Christ Jesus." We can see Corinth in this salutation. Acts 18: 1-3 and Ephesus: 1 Cor. 15: 32 and other places, not forgotten, nor to be. Comment can add nothing to the eulogium contained in ver. 4. Priscilla though a woman takes precedence here, as also in 2 Tim. 4: 19. There was a reason which satisfied Paul and did not dissatisfy Aquila. Epenetus is "my well-beloved" and "first-fruits of Achaia unto Christ." From 5-15 the names are further unknown to us, but not to Paul, who during his missionary tours, had gathered them into the kingdom, from the highways and hedges of heathenism, and Judaism—neither were they unknown to the Roman Christians. Whatever it was that had gathered those souls into the great drag-net of the imperial city, there they were, to avert its destruction for the time,

Gen. 18: 16-23, and afterwards to be gathered, by the angels, into a better city, even an heavenly. These greetings therefore if only epitaphs, how noble, how immortal! They are embalmed in Paul's words like the Saviour's body in spices, and their fragrance makes the troubled sea of life "smile o'er many a grateful league." But we must not delay on each name, much as the heart loves to linger amid such blessed fellowship. All are marked, all ennobled. Even the women are not forgotten, in an age and place, where they were little recognized. It seems to do the Apostle good to count out his friends, in that remote city, and to give them a name in history, and a place in the heart of the Church. He makes frequent use of the pronoun—it is "*Amplias my* beloved," "*Urbane our* helper in Christ," and we may say of his pronouns, what Luther said of John's—each one weighs a ton. Now in this thoughtfulness of the Apostle, this kind recollection, we recognize another fitting trait for "a chosen vessel to bear God's name before the Gentiles." God prepared this instrument, and we are glad that one of the proofs of its adaptation for the work, is so firmly bound up with the scriptures—in their golden amber it is safe for all time. If now, in further illustration of this characteristic, we turn to those greetings, which his friends and fellow-laborers sent by him, we see the same thoughtful wording. Timothy is "*my* work-fellow," Gaius is *mine* host, and of the whole Church." Even Tertius, the amanuensis, embalms his name in this perennial monument—Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Now this thoughtfulness serves a two-fold purpose. It becomes a tie between Paul and his fellow-Christians, in every part of the Church; and between those Christians themselves. It cements their hearts by presenting a common object of labor and affection. They are brought to feel that they are members of the same guild. But if we regard this thoughtfulness as only resulting from the elevation of feeling into which the Apostle had been temporarily raised, by meditating on the condition of his remote friends and kindred, instead of seeing in it the settled habit of his mind, that constitutional frame, which God had given, and on account of which he chose him; we shall do him, and his divine Master injustice. Paul was always alive to a large circle of interests and of individuals. He had an open heart for all that concerned his mission, and this trait, with others, entered into the secret of his special usefulness, as the "travelling agent" of the Gospel. We are not shut up to the salutations,

for our proofs on this point ; though the compact series of those facts contained there may be the first to suggest this law of his mind. Scattered all over the surface of his writings, like errant boulders, are found the evidences of a parent stratum, from which they had come. So homogeneous is it, that it becomes almost punctilious in its expression. Every messenger of his to the churches carries his character, in the letter, entrusted to him. Tychicus—goes before the Colossians as “a beloved brother, a faithful minister—*διακονος*, and fellow-servant in the Lord.” Col. 4 : 7 ; so too Epaphras carries an open letter of commendation. Col. 4 : 12. It is not necessary to exhaust the details which evince this law of the Apostle’s mind. Every thoughtful reader of the Epistles, whenever his attention has been directed towards it, can verify it for himself. We will pass therefore to another of the Apostle’s traits, as suggested and illustrated by the salutations.

(3) Paul was magnanimous—the foundations of his soul were broadly and deeply laid. He was not easily shaken. Envy, jealousy, suspicion, vindictiveness and every form of meanness was foreign to him. In the salutations, this trait first discloses itself in the frequent use of the preposition *συν*—which our old English word : fellow, in its old-fashioned sense, so admirably translates. In Romans and Colossians we have *συνεργος*, *αιχμαλωτος*, affirmed of many persons. The same generous terms, together with *συνστρατιωτης*, occur in Philemon, where other names are associated with him in toil and danger. Where the use of this most intimate Greek preposition might lead to error, as in the introductory salutations in I and II Cor. and Col. and yet a friend’s name and position may lend influence, he claims the Apostleship for himself and binds Sosthenes or Timotheus to his heart as “a brother” by “*και*”. In the introduction to the Philipians it is “Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ,” while I and II Thes. place him and Silvanus and Timothy on the same level. Paul feared no rival, hence he was not afraid to be just to his fellow-workers, neither was he afraid to praise, lest attention should be withdrawn from himself. Rom. 16 : 7 contains a touching illustration in point. Andronicus and Junia are saluted as his kinsmen : *συγγενεις*, their first distinction in the eyes of the Christians at Rome ; then they are fellow-prisoners : *συναιχμαλωτοι*, another proud distinction in those “times that tried men’s souls ;” and then they are of note—*επισημοι*, honorably known to the Apostles,

this is a third distinction ; and last, but not least, they were “in Christ *before* me”—says the noble-hearted Paul, and is not afraid thus to record their pre-eminence. His heart could not fail to recur to a time, when he was not Paul—the preacher, but Saul—the persecutor ; a time so feelingly and humbly alluded to in 1 Cor. 15 : 9, “For *I* am the least of the Apostles, that am not meet to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God.” Magnanimous soul ! not afraid to speak well of others—not afraid to speak ill of himself.

This generosity, towards his fellow-workers and fellow-sufferers, is a part of that same magnanimity which made him shun building on another man’s foundation. Rom. 15 : 20, and of that “honesty :” *σεμνότης*, which would not allow him to accept a clandestine release from the Philippian prison ; Acts 16 : 37, when he was entitled to an *honorable* one. This is a virtue specially enumerated on that roll of honor, to be coveted and sought by the Philippian Christians. Phil. 4 : 8—a virtue also more than once enjoined as characteristic of church officers. 1 Tim. 3 : 8–11 ; Tit. 2 : 2, a virtue may we not add it, without offense, a virtue that never should be obsolete in the ministry. If there were space, we should like to give illustrations as proofs that Paul was most tender-hearted. Tenderness and magnanimity are sister and brother, and we should the more love to do this work, because there is a tradition current as doctrine among women that the Apostle was not gentle—but “Phebe our sister,” “Priscilla my helper,” the laborious Mary, the true yoke-fellows Tryphena and Tryphosa, “The beloved Persis,” the mother of Rufus, the sister of Nereus, all mentioned and commended in one letter, rise up against the popular fallacy, that tenderness was not characteristic with Paul. And as closely allied to this trait, we can only allude to sympathy, as another active quality of Paul’s heart. Fellow-feeling *with*, not only *for* others, belonged to the Apostle. He was weak enough to weep, weak enough to be unfit for labor till his friends came. Acts 19 : 5 ; Phil. 2 : 27, 28 ; 2 Cor. 2 : 13, weak enough to stand as the symbol of that religion, which was made for the weak, for women, for little children, for the poor, for the oppressed, for the suffering. Its divine Master wept with his friends, John 11 : 35—and Paul was not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ—in its author or in its fruits.

Let us not be misunderstood, we have said that Paul was weak, but his weakness was tenderness, not imbecility. Take an illustration from the 2 Epistle of Tim. 4: 14. Here Paul has occasion to refer to "Alexander the coppersmith;" his weakness here becomes strong, his indignation glows, and only does not come to a clear light, because shrouded in the remote vengeance of God. It recalls the spirit of Ps. 94, and only escapes its language, because the spirit of the dispensation is different. That was the dispensation of law, embodied in a theocracy, and the Psalmist was its inspired utterer; this is the dispensation of grace, and the martyr Paul is its voice. If under the former dispensation of grace the molten lava of wrath was permitted and commanded to pour forth its torrent of fiery words; in the latter it only comes to the rent surface, injected into the clefts by internal energy, and burning dull and red. In his *letter* to the Romans 12: 17-21, Paul reproduces the sermon on the Mount; in his conduct, he sometimes recalled the thunders of "that mount which burned with fire." The two mounts utter two notes of the same strain; the indignant prophet recalls wrongs, the patient martyr waits for God to right them. We find another outcrop of the Davidic soul in Paul's rebuke of the High Priest, Acts 23: 3, "God shall smite thee thou whited wall, for sittest thou to judge me after the law and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law." The concluding words seem like the far-coming echoes of Ps. 94: 20, "Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law?"

Before concluding this part of the subject, justice to the Apostle requires that we should not pass over that which, in the popular apprehension, is the most pronounced feature of his character and life—his heroic, martyr spirit. The allusions to it, or rather, we should say, the incidental mention of it, is frequent in the salutations. Rom. 16: 4-7; Gal. 6: 20; Phil. 1: 13; Col. 4: 18; 2 Tim. 4: 6; Philemon 1, 9, 13, 23. But these last sufferings here referred to are a mere pendent to the manifold sufferings of a long life. I Cor. 11: 23-58; I Tim. 3: 11. We may say that from the beginning of his ministry, Acts 9: 23, he "dragged at each remove a lengthening chain." The clink of its last links comes muffled from the Mamertine prison, 2 Tim. 4: 7, but it is the same fetter, whose sharp sound startled us before Agrippa, Acts 26: 29. It was all in the prophecy, Acts 9: 10, which dedicated him to the work. God made the way

hard, but he bound up the feet that had to travel it. Paul's heroism was a Christian heroism: Rom. 16: 7; Philemon 23; He suffered for Christ: Gal. 6: 17; And Christ helped him. Phil. 4: 13. We have indicated sufficiently on this point, and now pass to the last use that we shall make of the salutations in reference to Paul's character.

(4) To the superficial reader the first reflection on reading the sixteenth chapter of Romans, if he made any, would be how many names, and how many too, nowhere else mentioned. If the reader stopped here, though a valuable reflection had been made, the real significance of the list of unknown persons would be missed, they would be like:

"Snow flakes on the flowing river,
A moment white—then gone forever."

But if we start the question how come these names to be so many and so unknown, we shall find much to admire, in the Apostle's character; and much to marvel at, in the religion of Christ. Here we have to do with the first thought only. The bare number of persons saluted gives us a new view of Paul's large-heartedness—the wide compass of his affections. In a city, hundreds of miles from his field of labor, a locality more remote, in time even, than in space, he has more than a score of personal friends; all of whom he greets, names, characterizes, and commends. Their names show that they were gathered from Jews and Gentiles, from Greeks and Romans,—but especially from the humble walks of life. In this classification we recognize the height and depth, as well as the length and breadth of the Apostle's love and influence. Educated himself, he had not unlearned how to reach the unlearned, Rom. 1: 14; 1 Cor. 1: 26. It was not only with Priscilla and Aquila, in a secular craft, that he was *συνεργός* Acts 18: 3, but he was conformable with all classes, to win them to Christ, 1 Cor. 9: 19-23. This adaptableness was the resultant of the different forces already alluded to: his quick recollection, his thoughtfulness, his generosity, tenderness, sympathy and heroism. He was made to make friends, and we are not surprised at the number whom he greets at Rome, or whom he mentions in other Epistles. God gave him the large capacity for friendship, and then filled it. Through this gift he became the hundred-handed, and the hundred-eyed. Not only is Tertius his right hand to the Romans, Rom. 16: 22, but

"they of the house of Chloe," 1 Cor. 1: 11, are eyes for him at Corinth; and these eyes and hands by proxy, see for him, and labor for him, everywhere. So it is, that his large heart spreads itself "from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum," Rom. 15: 19. And then through the friends already prepared, and sent in advance, he meditates larger conquests, calling at Rome on his way to Spain. Rom. 15: 24. He counted back the many miles from the remote East, to the *Milliarium aureum*, and perhaps re-counted, very probably re-counted them; but whether "shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace" he ever trod the military road, to the remote West, we know not, but we feel assured that, whether he went that road or not, he continued to be the same many-friended Paul. The power to make, but especially keep personal friends—other-selves, is not enough accounted of, among Christian ministers. We have lost sight of the first teaching of revelation, Gen. 1: 26, and its inspired vouchers, Col. 3: 10; Eph. 4: 24: that the Christian is a reduplication of God and Christ, Matt. 5: 14 compared with John 8: 12, in setting forth truth, in the Earth. The man, who can reproduce himself, in personal friends, most fully and frequently, has the largest and most efficient influence. The same is true of books. The command and law of reproduction is the command and law of preservation, perpetuation and conquest. It should be a minister's highest ambition, so to preach the Gospel, that many who hear should also desire to preach it—he should reproduce himself, in his ministerial office. If Paul had preached, in some of our parishes, from which, now, not a single minister, in a life-time, goes forth, he would have sent out a dozen. He would have accomplished this result not merely by magnifying his office, but chiefly by bringing to bear his magnetic power to make personal friends, and to make them for Christ. I. Tim. 1: 2; Titus 1: 4.

II. Leaving the personal aspects of the subject, let us proceed to the relations, which these salutations bear to the Apostolic church.

1. The salutations impress us with the activity of the affections, among the primitive Christians. It has already been shown how freely the affections of Paul manifested themselves, in those greetings; and so far they illustrated the general truth. But the same affection is incidentally seen to animate others. Priscilla and Aquila had, for his life "laid down their own necks," an act of heroism for Christ, which

moved not only Paul to thanks, but found a responsive utterance, in "all the churches of the Gentiles." The laborious devotion of Mary sprang largely from personal affection, and the same was true of others. The greetings, which Timothy, Lucius, Jason, Sosipater, Gaius, Erastus, Tertius and Quartus send, had their origin in the kind interest, which a common faith had begotten. These testimonies are gleaned from the Epistle to the Romans, but the same, in kind, are found in the salutations appended to Colossians, II. Timothy and Philemon. It was a pervasive spirit, animating all who had tasted the love of God. For it was because they loved God in Christ, that they loved one another. Christ's legation, to this world, was one of love, John 3 : 16, and his last legacy, to his followers, was a legacy of love, John 13 : 34-45. We must therefore regard the greetings as something more than empty forms, or barren ceremonies ; and when we turn back, from the individual greetings in Romans, to some portions of the letter itself, we will see their real and heartfelt origin. As already mentioned, Paul had seen, for years, his converts and friends drifting towards Rome, so many, that the scale of his affections almost seemed to gravitate that way. He had had "a great desire, for many years," Rom. 15 : 23, to go and see them ; but thus far his engagements, in other places, hindered, v. 22. His feelings were dammed up, behind increasing barriers. Deferred opportunities, disappointed hopes, and unsatisfied longings pressed him more and more, in spirit, Rom. 1 . 8-12, and when, at length, he found opportunity to write, he wrote long and lovingly. He had meditated on all the dear names, in that distant Babel, and conned their individual characters, until they stood before him, in the halo of past kindnesses and present gratitude. His thoughts had, by communication, kindled the affections of his companions in labor, and when the letter was sent, it was freighted with genuine good-will. If we examine a little closer, we shall discover that, while the love was Christian, it was also personal. The Apostle's wish to see them, was not merely to discharge an official duty, he was drawn thither by an affectionate personal regard. He longed to mingle, in their Christian fellowship, to feel the warmth of their presence and previous acquaintance, Rom. 1 : 12 ; 15 : 24. The intimacy, which a common hope, created among the Christians of Paul's time, is strikingly exhibited, in the mutual salutations, so often enjoined and exchanged in the Epistles. The foundation of the manner

of their greetings was oriental, but on it was built the Christian style. Phebe was to be received *in the Lord*, as it became saints to receive saints. They were to salute one another with a kiss—but it was to be a holy kiss—not out of “feigned lips,” nor unsanctified. Rom. 16: 2, 16; I. Cor. 16: 20; II. Cor. 13: 12; Phil. 4: 21; I. Thes. 5: 16.

In the body of the Epistles, this same affection is frequently enjoined. “Now I beseech you, brethren, * * * that ye be perfectly joined together *in the same mind*,” I. Cor. 2: 12. And again, “Finally, brethren, * * * be of *one mind*,” II. Cor. 13: 11. So Phil. 1: 27; 4: 2; and many other passages. Concord is the spirit of these injunctions, a concord, which flows from affection.

2. We discover in the salutations, evidence of a strong tendency to organization. The new principle of love seeks to embody itself, to create for itself a suitable body. We find churches spoken of as common and numerous, as saluted and saluting. Aside from these large bodies of associated Christians, there are house-churches mentioned, Rom. 16: 5; Col. 4: 15. These assemblies differed from the kind first mentioned, because we find both kinds alluded to in the same letter. In Col. 4: 15 “the brethren which are in Laodicea” are saluted, and then besides, “the church which is in the house of Nymphas,” Col. 4: 15. In addition to these two kinds of organizations, there were household churches, churches that took their name, not from being held in private houses, like those in the houses of Nymphas, Philemon, and Priscilla and Aquila; but churches composed of the members of the household: children and servants, masters and parents. Such are those mentioned, Rom. 16: 11 “the household of Narcissus; also v. 11, “which are of Arstobulus’ household.” Comparing these two verses, and noting the closing clause of v. 11, “which are in the Lord,” there can be little doubt that these Christian household communities, were restricted to the believers in the families named. The “*ἐκ τῶν*” seems to imply that the heads of these families: the masters or parents, were either dead, or that they were not Christians. The parent would carry his children with him, Acts 16: 15, and the master, his slaves, but not the converse. But however this may be, the fact that Christianity strongly tended to organizations is indisputable. Another illustration is suggested by Rom. 16: 14, 15. Here manifestly fraternities are alluded to, “Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas,

Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them," are a distinct community, from whatever cause these separations may have arisen. They represent different individuals from those comprising the household of Aristobulus and Narcissus; different bodies from those worshipping in the house of Priscilla and Aquila; neither can they be identified with "Philologus, and Julia, Nereus, and his sister, and Olympas, and all the saints which are with them." Perhaps they were "praying circles," which the extent of territory made advisable; perhaps they were "bands" which the *Ergastula* of cruel Rome made necessary; perhaps the peculiar laws of slavery put restrictions on their Christian life. The characteristic feature of this organizing tendency, in the primitive Church, is also disclosed, and that frequently, in the salutations. It was God in Christ seeking to incorporate himself with humanity- The incarnation was the first step, in the renewal of the old relation, between God and man; and ever since, the head has been mysteriously selecting, and collecting for itself, a body out of the world. Love by casting out selfishness, which is the disorganizing power, the anarchal spirit, prepares the way for union, and reunion, and communion, among men. Love attracts and concentrates, and when it is sanctified, works for the visible establishment of that Church, which is the body of Christ. The laborers in the Church with Paul are designated and greeted as beloved, as first fruits, and as fellow-helpers in "the Lord," Rom. 16: 2-9; "in Christ Jesus," v. 3; "in Christ," v. 5. Indeed the whole series of greetings takes its separate character from the *εν κυριω*, and *εν χριστω* which, at intervals, seal it. We are therefore not surprised at the evidence, which even "the tittle" of the inspired record furnishes, of the constructive nature of Christianity. We expect to find "the brotherhood" a fundamental fact, often recognized, in the salutations. The salutations themselves sprang from the fraternal feeling, and every feature of them is an expression of this same sentiment. The brotherhood is the parent cell, out of which, by reproduction, the whole body of the Church comes. To deny it, in theory is heresy; in practice, is schism. Hence the recognition of it was made a criterion of the Christian life, I. John 3: 14-17. Its prominence in the Apostolic teachings, I. Thes. 4: 9; Rom. 12: 10; Heb. 13: 1; I. Pet. 1: 22; II. Pet. 1: 7, was not incidental. Not to believe in the Church, was not to believe in Christ. Of the individualism of our time, the atomic church theory,

they knew nothing. With them the Church was a reality and the instinct to organize they looked upon as the true Christian instinct.

(3) But if the salutations show how creative and concentrative love is, in some of its operations, they show, no less clearly that, it is "dispersive," in others, Ps. 112 : 9 ; II. Cor. ch. 9. One is struck with the assiduity, industry and laboriousness, of the Christians of Paul's time. The naked enumeration of names is impressive. In Romans, Colossians, and Philemon ; Priscilla and Aquila, Andronicus, Junia, Urbane, Timothy, Mark, Justus, Epaphras, Archippus, Lucas, Demas, and Aristarchus, are all saluted as fellow-workers in the Gospel. To these names we must add others who had part in the same ministry, but who are differently designated. "Mary who bestowed *much labor* on us, Rom. 16 : 6." "Tryphena and Tryphosa, who *labor* in the Lord," Rom. 16 : 12. "Persis, which *labored much* in the Lord," Rom. 16 : 12. To these we must add still another order "in the ministry"—the letter carriers of Paul, the bearers of verbal messages, and contributions, the deputies going by command to inquire after the condition of churches, and coming from churches to inquire after the Apostle, and serve him. In this class come such names as Titus : "my partner and fellow-helper concerning you," II. Cor. 8 : 23. Timotheus : "who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways, which be in Christ," I. Cor. 4 : 23, Tychicus : "a beloved brother, and faithful minister in the Lord, who shall make known to you all things ; whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts," Eph. 6 : 21, 22. Time would fail us to write out the manifold labors of Epaphras, Artemas, Epaphroditus, Onesiphorus, Erastus, Silas, and "with others his fellow-laborers, whose names are in the Book of Life," Phil. 4 : 3. These names and portraits would make a fit companion-piece to that which Heb. 11, calls up before the imagination. These current facts show that not only was the primitive Church organized, but it was organized on a wide-working basis. We lose the force of the idea of Christian industry here presupposed, because we have permitted ourselves to regard "laboring in word and doctrine," as almost the whole of Gospel work. The labors of hospitality, of fellow-imprisonment, of helping the poor, ministering to the sick, &c., which we have committed to the state,

or to voluntary associations, the early Church gladly assumed for herself, and in the spirit of its divine founder, "went about doing good," bending her shoulder to every burden, under which men were groaning and sinking; pointing the way, to the lost and bewildered; and pouring forth the oil and wine into the wounds of a way-laid and perishing world. Such love and labor made Christian intercourse close and frequent, notwithstanding the obstacles presented to the traveler, in those days of few good roads and many bandits. We almost marvel at the frequent intercourse suggested, in the salutations of Paul. We find, in Rome, a score of persons, whom Paul had met remote from the capital, men who had labored with and for him, in Eastern Europe and Asia, and who are now again, for the first, or second time, in that city. But our idea, of the wide-spread activity of those times, is still further enlarged, by the fact that many of these fellow-helpers, in the Gospel, are women. How came they, the "homely," as Milton defines it, so far from home? It was the intense "dispersive" power of Christianity that caused it. It was following Christ's example, and Christ's last command, Matt. 28: 19, upheld by his last promise, Matt. 28: 18-20. With these words burning, in their hearts, even the Christian women feared no evil. The same faith which, in our day, has bloomed, in the life of Florence Nightingale, Dorothy Dix, and Elizabeth Fry; the same faith which bloomed in the mission of Mary Fisher to the sublime Porte; that same faith then blossomed in the lives of Mary and Priscilla, and Persis.

We shall be pardoned, if we extend this thought a little more, though it will be done in the simplest catalogue style. In an age and country, where woman had little name, or place, Matt. 6: 3, we find in Paul's greetings, the following individuals: Phebe, Priscilla, Mary, Junia, Tryphena, Tryphosa, Persis, the mother of Rufus, Julia, the sister of Nereus, Pudens, Claudia, Euodias, Syntyche, and Apphia. The roll is illustrious. It is a worthy continuation of the succession, which began with the founder of Christianity: the three Marys, Joanna, Salome, "Susanna and many others which ministered unto him of their substance," Luke 8: 2-3. To these may justly be joined, in glorious fellowship, Lydia, Acts 16: 14, Chloe, I. Cor. 1: 11, Damaris, Acts 17: 34, in Thessalonica, "the chief women not a few," Acts 17: 4, in Berea, "the honorable women," Acts 17: 12 and "those

women which labored with me, in the Gospel," in Philippi, Phil. 4: 3.

Under this free and frequent Christian intercourse, grew up such noble characters, as Gaius and Stephanas. The men, who "kept minister's tavern" in those days. The former was "Paul's host, and of the whole church," Rom. 16: 23. One of the few men whom Paul had baptized, I. Cor. I: 14, but one who never seems to have forgotten that he was a life-long debtor to the Church. We know that some of the commentaries, and perhaps Geography too, Acts 19: 19; 20: 4; I. Cor. 1: 14, are against us, in supposing that this is the same person to whom John addresses his third Epistle, but "the well-beloved Gaius" of John so strongly resembles the Church's host mentioned by Paul, that we take them as the same,—certainly the same in spirit and practice, III. John 5-8, and probably in body. He had now grown old, and infirm in body, v. 2, but hale and young in soul, v. 2. There were many calls for "the prophet's chamber," in those days, and "the house of Stephanas," I. Cor. 16: 15, had also, "addicted (*τασσω*; fitted up, themselves and house) themselves to the ministry of the saints." In those days, when all this work was done by a poor church, such things were necessary, and the Church adapted herself to her circumstances. The community of goods, Acts 4: 32, had ceased to be a practice, but, succeeding that exuberant growth of liberality, there followed the better regulated, but hardly less glorious, aftermath. In these degenerate days, when ministers are invited to preach installation and dedication sermons, at their own charges, it is refreshing, and re-proving to see how Paul threw himself, on the liberality of the poor churches, of his day. He expected to be "brought on his way," in his missionary journeys, Rom. 14: 24; II. Cor. 16: 6; II. Cor. 1: 16. This had been their liberal conduct, in the beginning of the work, Acts 15: 3,—for this he commends the Philippians, again and again, in his letter of thanks to them; and such also was the conduct, that he expected to be shown towards others, as well as towards himself, Titus 3: 13. They had a lively sense of that indebtedness to the Church, which Paul so touchingly alludes to, in v. 19 of the Epistle to Philemon. They owed all their hopes of the future to the Gospel, and it seemed a small thing to them to give their all for its promulgation.

(4) One other thought seems necessary to complete this part of the subject. The salutations furnish many facts

illustrative of the truth, that God has, in the administration of the kingdom, a special reference to, and reverence for, the family. That was the first form, in which the church and state were organized, the primordial matrix, which should determine all such future forms of government among men. The history of the Church, under the old dispensation, is full and emphatic, on this point, and it is easy to see that God had a special regard for this paradisiacal institution. The first "holy family" was not that one, which Raphael's immortal pencil has made the common heritage of Protestant as well as Catholic households. The first holy family lived in Eden. To this sacred pair Luke traces the lineage of Jesus of Nazareth, Luke 4: 23-48. The next "holy family" was that one, which God called from beyond the Euphrates—Abraham and Sarah. From this sacred household Paul deduces the descent of Christ, Gal. 4: 16. Then comes "the holy family," in which God was "manifest in the flesh." The old benediction remains, and the salutations show it frequently. We have already shown, under the organizing tendency of the primitive Church, that the Gospel was a household gift. Parents and masters embraced their children and slaves, in the arms of a common faith. The Abrahamic covenant was recognized as in undiminished force, the old and partial seal was broken, and a new and larger one affixed; but it was the seal, not the covenant that was changed. Now in turning to the greetings of Paul's Epistles, we are struck, with the repeated recurrence of *συγγενής*—kinsman. Blood seems to transmit every thing but grace. The kindred of Paul who had embraced the Gospel, and whom he has occasion to mention are: Andronicus and Junia, Herodion, Lucius, Jason, and Sosipater. If we look at the list again we find that it contains the names of Priscilla and Aquila: husband and wife; Nereus and his sister; Rufus and his mother. Beside these it is highly probable that Andronicus and Junia, Philologus and Julia, Philemon and Apphia, Linus and Claudia, and Eubulus and Pudens, were husband and wife. In Timothy there was a direct descent of faith through these generations, II. Tim. 1: 5. God loves the family. Even among the twelve Apostles there were three pairs of brothers: Peter and Andrew, John and James, James of Alpheus and his brother Judas.

III. We come now to the relations, which these salutations bear, to the inspiration of the Scriptures. It is two-

fold : first, as they relate to the Epistles themselves, as part of the canon ; and secondly, as they stand related to the subject of inspiration.

1. Let us look at the bearing of the salutations on the letters themselves. The most obvious thought here is the air of reality, with which they invest each letter. This realism, which they serve to impart and infuse, is one of the most distinguishing features of the Bible, in contrast with pretended revelations. This is the rock upon which the mythical theory is dashed to pieces. These names are so many witnesses attesting the genuineness of the document. They stand out on and illuminate this portion of Scripture, as do the rivers and mountains of the holy land, whose names are interwoven with the life of Christ, and whose channels and shadows are there to-day, testifying that the things written of him are verily so. These names are a part of that system of proofs, by which God has made the Bible an integral portion of the external world. Its Geography and Botany, its climate and architecture, its laws and customs, have been so framed into the structure of his word, that we can now subsidize these stereotyped witnesses. When the most destructive criticism has flattered itself that the Old Testament lies a ruin—behold Nineveh is exhumed, and after a silence of four-score generations, “the (sculptured) stone cries out of the wall, and the (charred) beam, out of the timber, answers it, Hab. 2: 11. It is by the side of this kind of testimony that the names, in Paul’s greetings, take their place. They were the cotemporaries and co-laborers of the Apostle, and are so wrought into the texture of these Epistles, that like the flowers in damask silk, they give to it both its beauty and strength. When we read these names, such is the number and force of the associations, which at once present themselves, that it is impossible to resist the conviction, that, here, we have real men and women. No fable, however cunningly devised, could frame such “a counterfeit presentment” of a true historical letter. So impossible is it for man to create a plot of events, in which, self-destructive collisions shall not occur. Each name, in the salutations, and there are many, had a history, and that history was a part of the plot of the times ; no two could change places, without conflict and confusion. We may flatter ourselves that we could blot one out, and there would be no vacuum. We might as well attempt by murder, to take one of our fellow-men out of the line of life and again close up the breach ; or

strike a star from the Pleiades, and not mar their "sweet influences." The astronomer would see, by his celestial scales, that a star had been lost; the sharp eye of Nemesis would hunt down the wretch, who had struck out the living link; and a future developed criticism of the Bible would demand that the erased name should be inscribed anew. These names were not incidental, much less accidental, for "nothing is accidental in the Bible;" They are there because they belong there, and because they belong there, their testimony to the genuineness of the letters is so important, and so significant.

In this connexion, we must also consider that it is mainly by these names that we are able to form a just conception of the character of each letter: the nature of its contents, and the circumstances under which it was written. It is in this way that we learn how these Epistles found their place, in the sacred canon. Take these names away from them, and you shake the foundations of their inspiration. You destroy the moral ground for their composition. Epaphroditus is sponser for the letter to the Philippians. Without him we have no evidence that it would have been written, or was written. He had been sent, by the church at Philippi, to Rome, to inquire out, and supply Paul's wants, Phil. 2: 26; 4: 18. He carries back the letter now bearing their name, and the necessary explanations concerning the Apostle's state, Phil. 2: 19. On this one name therefore hangs the genuineness of the Epistle. In the same manner Epaphras, and Tychicus, and Onesimus are incorporated with the Epistles to Philemon, and the Colossians, and the encyclical letter to the Ephesians. These, and such like men, not merely served as commentators on the Epistles entrusted to their hands; they did not exhaust their mission in merely complimenting them; but they became, in their visits, to the different Churches the occasions of the origin of such letters, and of just such. Their names therefore bear a double relation to the genuineness of the Epistles. They stand, at the beginning or end, to seal them; and are placed in the body of the letter as the nucleus about which the whole grew, and took its peculiar complexion and texture. If therefore we cut off, the introductory and concluding greetings, from the Epistle to the Romans, we destroy its canonicity. It might still resemble Paul's other letters, in style; it might teach nothing inconsistent with the Epistles authenticated by this set of double seals, but it would not be an in-

spired letter, nor, indeed, a letter at all. The Epistle to the Hebrews is a partial illustration in point. It has no Epistolary introduction. Names, authority, greetings, prayers and doxology, are all omitted, and, but for the conclusion, would be destitute of all *prima facie* evidence of being a letter at all, least of all, a letter from Paul. We are therefore shut up to these initial and concluding proofs of a genuinely inspired correspondence. The names may seem, as only the fine dust in the balances, but it is their weight which inclines the critical scale on the side of genuineness. Vanini, in his trial for Atheism, declared that, the existence of God could be proved, from a straw. We think it may also be affirmed that, such are the compact and vital inter-relations of all scripture, and such their connexion with circumstances of time, place and persons, that their inspiration may be proved from these salutations.

2. The fact, which first arrests the attention, in considering the relation which these greetings sustain to the inspiration of the scriptures: is that the epistolary form should have been chosen, as the means of divine communication. It is a fact of much significance; for the medium was one, hitherto, untried, in making up the contents of either canon. The Old Testament had its History, ranging through the entire scale, from bare annals to a poetical Idyl; its prophecy, touching all the chords of hope and fear; its allegory; its ethics: practical and theoretical; and its poetry, but no letters. In the New Testament we have also History, Biography and Prophecy, and these may be considered as forming the parallel, as far as it goes, between the two canons,—but here we have, in addition, the letter as a vehicle of inspired communication, and in the use of this form, the difference is marked. The choice of this new mode would determine, in a good degree, the contents of the revelation. It would necessarily be emotional, individual, colloquial and subjective. Such communications too would be peculiarly racy, for through them the writer would pour, in a commingled stream, fact and feeling. Some would be called forth by a sudden exigency, others would be longer maturing. Those springing from, and prompted by, gratitude, would differ widely from those, which were apologetic, or polemic. The purely didactic would bear little resemblance to those called out by threatened defection, or apostacy. Now the Synoptical Gospels, considering their authorship, are singularly objective and unimpassioned; the self-control so ap-

parent, in them, is one of the distinctive facts, in the proof, of their authenticity. Even John is objective, though not unimpassioned, but the feeling is not subjective to the writer, it only seems so, because it brings us so near the great sufferer himself. There is colloquy, in the Gospels; but Christ is the Master of the dialogue, the other interlocutors being little more than mutes. When the Gospels are individual, Christ is again the chief figure; and so, when the subjective element arrests our attention, it is Christ, and not the writer, whose heart is laid open. We readily concede, to the Son of God, the privilege of uttering his own feelings and urging his personal interests. As the prophetic "man of sorrows" he may pour out his griefs—they are divine; as "the Lord of all" he may invoke our sympathy or aid, for himself and cause—all his desires are inspired. He is with us, in the guise of a man, nay, a servant, yet *Omnia Jovis plena sunt*. But we must advance a long step, in our idea of inspiration, if we would accord to Paul—a mere man, such immunities. True he was inspired, but so were Matthew and Mark, and yet they ask no interest in their tears. If they did weep, over the afflictions which befel Christ and his cause, their records are unstained by the mark of a single tear-drop. Not so Paul's writings; they are stained on every page, and when God chose him, as the author of the inspired correspondence,—and the epistolary form, as the medium of its communication, he accepted and approved of all that would flow through his pen, out of that noble sur-charged heart. In the Old Testament, David the Psalmist is his analogue. The Epistles of Paul are prose psalms, and the subjective psalms are poetical epistles. It was conceded to David as to Paul, to record his own feelings—his emotions of joy and sorrow, of hope and fear, and to have them bound up in the canon as the normal and approved utterances of a sanctified soul. Their language ceases to be individual; it is the liturgy of the Church, the dialect of God. It is not an accident that, this large liberty of uttering personal feelings, was limited to the Apostles—Jude, James, John, Peter, and Paul, and their Old Testament compeer, David. Paul, to whom was permitted and committed the immunity of writing the chief part of the inspired correspondence, was, as we have seen, a nature singularly rich in its emotional endowments. His true greatness lay in his heart, though his intellect and acquisitions were of a very high order. God might have chosen an inferior moral nature, as his instrument, but God de-

lights to honor that nature, which, also, and already, is his work, by adding to it that which is above nature. This is the genesis of the truly supernatural. So the wonders of Egypt were superadded to her natural resources, to form the plagues. So Christ was in the habit of engrafting his works upon those already existing, and so making miracles. So God took David from the sheepfolds. The son of Jesse had a noble nature, rich in endowments of the heart, and was thus fitted to be made the medium of a revelation so subjective as many of his psalms are. And so he chose Paul. What the ardent and energetic Jew already possessed, made him "the chosen vessel" for the peculiar office with which God entrusted him.

If now the question is asked: why did God choose the epistle, a form of communication subject to so many restrictions, from the writer's own feelings? We think, in the light of the previous discussion, an answer can be returned. Given a nature, such as Paul's; a work and experience, such as his, and divine aid; and the Epistle was the best possible medium. Between Christ's bodily presence, as a teacher, and the unembodied presence of the Holy Spirit, it would seem as if a connecting link should be put in,—a dispensation partaking of the character of both: personal and subjective like Christ, impersonal and subjective like the Holy Ghost. We think this dispensation is found first: in the surviving Apostolic college, and then on the Apostolic correspondence. In this manner Christ was gradually withdrawn from the Church. His "forty days," before his ascension, prepared the Church, for the rule of the Apostles in person; and this interregnum, for the era of the Epistles, after which, she could go on her mission with the subjective influence of the spirit alone—the objective being no longer present in the flesh and blood of inspired men, but simply in the Church, her ministry, records, and sacraments. The sun had gone down, the twilight had disappeared, and all that remained to the primitive churches, before they committed their feet to the general guidance of the Spirit, was the zodiacal light, which in the Apostolic letters, yet glimmered, from the heavens, on their upturned faces. This accounts for the letters, and this, too, we think, accounts for the large human element which God permitted to enter into them. It was the divine condescension sympathizing with an orphaned Church—or rather, we should say, with a Church that thought and felt herself orphaned, when the local presence of its founder, and the twelve, were

withdrawn. Therefore God seemed to speak so human-like, and to bend to the very earth, in his condescension. It is a part of the divine *κρησις*. In other portions of holy writ, the divine is preponderant and almost exclusive; here the human takes precedence, and only does not expel the divine. The scale of inspiration is like the mystic ladder of Jacob. It stands upon the earth, it reaches to the heavens. There sits Jehovah, and here lies the Church, and holy men of old as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ascended and descended upon it. The salutations are the lowest round of the ladder; in them it seems as if only man spake, but it is nevertheless God.

In treating of the relations of the emotional element to the inspiration of the Scriptures, we have, thus far, cited only the salutations. We have done this because they are most obviously human, and because they lie on the surface. The more concealed exhibitions of the subjective element, of which the letters are also full, though full in differing measures, it was not our purpose to present. A complete exhibition of this part of the subject however, demands that we should, at least, enumerate the other external forms, in which, the personal and subjective element in the Epistles shows itself; but we shall not expand the topic. The *first* mark of its presence is in the claim of Apostleship. This claim is made, in all the letters, except the following: Philippians, I. and II., Thessalonians, Philemon and Hebrews. The *second* is found, in the persons joined in the opening salutation: I. Cor. 1: 1, "Sosthenes a brother;" II. Cor. 1: 1, "Timotheus a brother;" Gal. 1: 2, "all the brethren with me;" Phil. 1: 1, "Timotheus a servant of Jesus Christ;" Col. 1: 1, "Timotheus a brother;" I. and II. Thes. 1: 1, "Silvanus and Timotheus;" Philemon v. 1, "Timotheus a brother." *Third*, the person or persons greeted, Rom. 1: 7; I. Cor. 1: 2, 3; II. Cor. 1, 2; Gal. 1: 1, 3; Eph. 1: 1, 2; Phil. 1: 1, 2; Col. 1, 2; I. Thes. 1: 1; II. Thes. 1: 1, 2; I. Tim. 1: 2; II. Tim. 1: 2; Tit. 1: 4; Philemon 1: 3. *Fourth*, the prayers and thanks which are offered on behalf of the spiritual state of the persons addressed. These are found in all the Epistles, but Galatians, I. Timothy, Titus and Hebrews. *Fifth*, the doxologies ejaculated in the course of some of the letters, viz: Rom. 1: 25; Gal. 1: 5; Eph. 3: 21; I. Tim. 1: 17; 6: 15, 16; Rom. 16: 27; Phil. 4: 20. The *Sixth* and last mark of this kind is found in the closing benedictions:

Rom. 15 : 33 ; 16 : 20 ; 16 : 24 ; I. Cor. 16 : 23 ; II. Cor. 13 : 14 ; Gal. 6 : 18 ; Eph. 6 : 24, 24 ; Phil. 4 : 23 ; I. Thes. 5 : 28 ; II. Thes. 3 : 16, 17 ; Col. 3 : 18 ; I. Tim. 6 : 18 ; II. Tim. 4 : 22 ; Tit. 3 : 15 ; Philemon 25 ; Heb. 13 : 25. These passages are so many indexes, all pointing to the heart of the writer. They are like the palms and oleanders of an oriental water-course, showing where the stream comes to, or near the surface.

We cannot lay aside our pen, without alluding to a picture, which has again and again, while we were engaged in studying the salutations, presented itself to our imagination,—and that is, what a noble subject, “Paul and his friends,” would offer to the genius and skill of some Christian artist. With the person of the great Apostle to the Gentiles as a central figure, surrounded by the portraits of his co-laborers. The majestic form of Barnabas, Acts 14 : 12 ; the noble presence of Luke, Silas, Timothy, and Titus ; the angelic faces of the Christian women ; the benevolent features of Gaius and Stephanas, and those other illustrious names, unknown to us, but inscribed in the Book of Life, Phil. 4 : 3,—what a halo would they throw about his person ! Well might he call such a company his “joy and crown.” Phil. 4 : 1. When we dwell on this thought, we can think of nothing but Murillo’s “Annunciation.” Here too, as in that picture, the atmosphere is cherubic, and the rustle of wings is it not that of “ministering spirits sent to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation,” Heb. 1 : 14.

ARTICLE VIII.

SELF-CULTURE.*

Growth is the design of all Culture. He who does what he can to develop his individual nature, to bring into active exercise all his powers and capacities, so as to become well-proportioned, efficient and excellent, engages in the work of Self-Culture. Man has been endowed with moral and intel-

*This is the substance of an Address, delivered, some years ago, before the Alumni Association of Pennsylvania College. Fragmentary parts have been printed, but they are here given, by request, in a connected form, so as to complete a series of similar Addresses.

lectual faculties, which not only distinguish him from the whole visible creation, but which entirely separate him from any affinity to it. These powers are progressive and susceptible of improvement. With culture they continually advance and become more and more enlarged and invigorated. Without it, they are subject to deterioration. They decline, decay and perish, unless they are permitted to exercise the authority assigned them by a wise and beneficent Providence. Self-Culture is the great instrument by which the character of man is formed, the instrument by which the intellect is to be unfolded, and the heart, the seat of the affections, is to be moulded. It lies at the foundation of all good character; it is the source of all rational enjoyment, the means of all genuine distinction. In this is involved our dignity, our usefulness, our influence, our happiness, our all. Without it we are nothing; with it we may be everything. Its influence over human character is very great, influencing it with an almost invincible power to good or evil results, shaping its destiny for time and eternity. It is the only lever which can raise us from the degradation to which the tendencies of human nature incline us.

To train the intellectual and moral powers, to give them the proper reliance on their own resources, to fit them for spontaneous and harmonious action, is all important. By culture the mind may be supplied with exhaustless stores of wisdom, the evil passions may be subdued and the better part of our nature developed and strengthened. Man, that is content, like the worthless weed, to rot where he grows, instead of embellishing society with his intellectual and moral worth defeats the end of his being and can scarcely be said to live. In the accomplishments of those around him he takes no delight, for they remind him of hours mispent and powers unimproved, opportunities slighted, talents wasted; and deriving no pleasure from without, he has no world within, to which he can retreat for consolation or repose. In this condition he yields to the unholy seductions of vice, herds like the prodigal with swine, extinguishes the spark of the divinity, that once burned brightly within him, and prostitutes his glorious birthright to everlasting infamy.

Self-Culture is intellectual. The pursuit of knowledge is our duty and our privilege. This we may infer from the objects around us and the forms within us. It is this that chiefly dis-

tinguishes man from the brute. It is this, which produces so great a diversity between savage and civilized life, that makes the principal difference between men as they appear in the same society. It is this that lifts a Franklin from the humble position of a printer's boy to the highest honors of his country, and engraves his name on the roll of immortality. It is this that takes a Sherman from the *last* and gives him a seat in Congress, and there makes his voice heard among the wisest and best of his compeers, till the eyes of a nation gaze upon him with wonder and admiration ; that elevates Bowditch from a cooper's shop, Burritt from the *anvil*, Simpson from the *loom* to a place among the first of mathematicians, and Herschel from the obscure office of musician in a military regiment to a prince among astronomers. It has even fired the bosom of the slave and, sundering his ignoble bonds, has raised him to the most honorable rank in philosophy. Knowledge is power. It is the philosopher's stone, the true alchemy, that transmutes everything it touches into gold ; the sceptre which gives us our dominion over nature ; the key which reveals to us the treasures of the universe. Knowledge is a birthright which nature prompts us to cultivate and acquire.

"For this the daring youth
Breaks from his weeping mother's anxious arms
In foreign climes to rove ; the pensive sage,
Heedless of sleep, nr midnight's harmless damp,
Hangs o'er the sickly taper."

Knowledge is the proper aliment of the soul. The uninterrupted pursuit and constant acquisition of new truths is often attended with a greater enjoyment than that which accompanies the accumulation of wealth, a successful campaign for high office, or the most brilliant achievement. Witness the almost frantic exultation of the philosopher of Syracuse on the discovery of a method for testing the purity of the crown of king Hiero, and the still more remarkable manifestation of delight in the great Newton when, verifying his theory of gravitation ; as he approached the conclusion of his reasoning, the intensity of his pleasure deprived him of all power over the nerves of motion, and he found it necessary to call in the aid of another hand to finish the operation. When the sage of Samos completed his demonstration of the equality of the square of the hypotenuse and the sum of the squares of the other sides of a right-

angled triangle, there were no bounds to his joy. No California explorer ever opened a mine with the ecstasy he experienced. A hecatomb to the gods could not adequately express his gratitude and triumph.

Among the appliances of Self-Culture or the elements, necessary to its success, is *Resolution*. This is a characteristic which seems born in some, but which can be cultivated by all. Even those who are naturally indolent and sluggish may acquire a resolute purpose. Its power is almost omnipotent. It imparts strength to weakness, and opens to poverty the world's wealth. It spreads fertility over the barren landscape, and bids, as if by magic, the choicest fruits and flowers spring up and flourish in the desert. It disarms difficulties at first apparently insurmountable, and almost endows us with a new sense. The determination to attain a certain end is nearly the attainment itself. He that has resolved upon a certain thing, by that very resolution has scaled the greatest barrier to its accomplishment. But an unconquerable resolution must take possession of the soul, so that all its powers may be exerted, and the *vis inertiae* of our nature overcome, so that we may be deaf and dumb to the temptations that surround us, and press forward continually towards the prize, which is to be the reward of our toil. Such a determination it must be as the Romans manifested when Hannibal, after the slaughter of Cannæ, triumphant and apparently irresistible, stood thundering at the gates of Rome; such as Lucan ascribes to Cæsar—*nescia virtus stare loco*—an inflexible resolution, undismayed by obstacles, uninfluenced by opposition, or rather so influenced, that opposition will make us like the fabled "spectre ships, which sail the fastest in the very teeth of the wind." Difficulties, instead of discouraging us, must rouse us to action, and stimulate to greater exertion. Our language must be Lord Bacon's motto, *Invenian viam, aut faciam*. Our spirit must be that of Bonaparte, who, when told on the eve of a battle that circumstances were against him, replied: "Circumstances! I make or control circumstances, not bow to them." Robert Bruce, the restorer of the Scottish monarchy, being out on an expedition to reconnoitre the enemy had occasion to sleep at night in a barn. In the morning still reclining on a pillow of straw he saw a spider climbing upon a beam of the roof. The insect fell to the ground but immediately made a second effort to ascend. This attracted the attention of the hero, who with regret saw the spider fall a

second time from the same eminence. It made another unsuccessful attempt. Not without some curiosity the monarch twelve times beheld the insect baffled in its aim, but the thirteenth effort was crowned with success. It gained the summit of the barn, and the king, starting from his couch, exclaimed: "This little insect has taught me a lesson; I will follow its example. Have I not been twelve times defeated by the enemy's superior force? On one contest yet hangs the independence of my country." In a few days his anticipations were fully realized by the glorious results of the battle of Bannockburn. Little more than two centuries ago, you might have witnessed a small, sickly, timid boy, at a country-school in England, subjected, in addition to the harsh treatment of his master, to the tyranny and frequent blows of his associates. One of them was particularly severe in his mal-treatment of the poor lad, who in a corner, alone and friendless, in bed, in the still hour of night, shedding bitter tears, would reflect on his unhappy state and the cruelty of his school-fellows. "I cannot," said he, "repel blow by blow; I cannot pay back in kind what he inflicts, but I will take my revenge. I will apply myself to my books; I will be at the head of my class; I will look down, as a superior, upon this cruel boy." The resolve of the disconsolate youth was acted upon. He did apply himself, and with such success as not only to be at the head of his class, but afterwards of England, of Europe, and of the world. It was the great Newton himself, who, as the high-priest of nature, searched out many of her mysteries, and removed the covering that had been spread over her since her foundation. Frequently in subsequent life did this philosopher allege that if he had done more than his fellow-men, it was due to a resolute purpose rather than any genius he possessed. It was the same spirit, too, that gave a hemisphere to the world. Now that the continent on which we live is fully known, it may seem to many that its existence must have appeared a plain truth, which Columbus could have had no difficulty in detecting. But does not history tell us that the distinguished Genoese was obliged to persevere amid the opposition of the learned and the indifference of the rulers of that day, wandering from court to court, trying in vain to procure a hearing for his chimerical scheme, as it was then regarded? Determined, however, in his convictions, he persisted till he saw and reached the new world. Instances, too, are on record in which this feeling has overcome the dis-

advantages of defects which seemed at first to forbid its exercise. One of the most eminent illustrations is the well-authenticated case of Saunderson, who, though deprived in infancy not only of sight, but of the organ itself, contrived to become so well acquainted with the Greek language as to make himself master of the ancient mathematicians in the original. His distinguished success in the higher departments of the science is attested by the fact that he was appointed to fill the chair that had been occupied by Newton at Cambridge. The lectures of this blind professor on the most abstruse points of the Newtonian philosophy, and especially on optics, filled his audience with admiration; and the perspicuity, with which he communicated his ideas, is said to have been unequalled.

Patient application and unwearied effort are essential in the work of Self-Culture. It was thus that Demosthenes, clause after clause and sentence after sentence, elaborated his immortal orations. There is no excellence without great labor. *Nil sine sudore*. The greatest results of the mind, like the coral reefs of the ocean, are produced by small, but continuous efforts, by the plying of constant assiduities; and as the sweetest rose often grows upon the sharpest thorn, so the severest labor often produces the most profitable results. Indefatigable labor is necessary to overcome that indolence of our nature, which often clings to us as tightly as the serpents entwined themselves around the bodies of Laocoön and his sons. The mind, unemployed, is like the blade of Hudibras:

"Which ate into itself for lack
Of something else to hew and hack."

There is a disparity in men's natural endowments, but how often does the less favored far outstrip him, upon whom Nature has more generously lavished her gifts! Too much influence is often ascribed to Nature. Many, with all that has been done for them, sink into oblivion and contempt. It may be to the sluggish and supine a pleasing doctrine that Nature does every thing, and without her aid nothing can be accomplished. For then, if we are favorites, we are excused from further exertion, and if we are proscribed, no exertion will avail. But the man who entertains this doctrine of intellectual predestination usually predestines for himself. Without industry, all Nature's gifts are like the steward's buried talent; they produce nothing, and moulder in their

native soil: the heart, of which they were designed to be the ornament, becomes their sepulchre; their garden is their grave. Man is formed for activity. Exertion is the true element of a well-regulated mind.

We must be in earnest. No other engagements must interfere with our pursuits. We must have a distinct aim, a single devotion to the object, which will exclude all aims that do not directly or indirectly tend to promote it. This was the spirit of those who have accomplished most for their race, who *being dead, yet speak*. It was in the ruins of the Capitol, that Gibbon conceived his immortal *Rome*. In a cavern on the banks of the Saal, Klopstock meditated his *Messiah*. In the retirement of Woolsthorpe, Newton investigated the law which governs the universe. It was in the seclusion of Erfurt that the Saxon Reformer received into his soul the new *evangel* of faith and freedom. It was also in solitude that the eloquence of him was formed, who addressed the Athenian people in those fervid strains, which

“Shook the arsenal, and fulmin’d over Greece
To Macedon and Artaxerxes’ throne.”

Nothing could seduce Socrates from the rigor of his devotions. It is said he could remain a whole day, utterly lost in profound reflection. Fichte, even in childhood, had acquired the power of abstraction to such a degree that he could stand motionless for hours, gazing on the distant ether.

But this spirit of endurance cannot come, except from a habit of labor, carefully acquired and steadily maintained. The habit of close investigation cannot be formed in a day. Exercise is the principle of all culture. As the arm tied up in a sling gradually loses its strength and becomes averse to motion, so for want of exercise the mind is enfeebled and loses its vigor. The power of intellect is strengthened by effort. *Posse tollere taurum, qui vitulum sustulerit*. It was by commencing, when a boy, to carry a suckling heifer that the shoulders of Milo became strong enough to carry an ox. Repetition enables us to perform that which was at first difficult, perhaps painful, with ease and satisfaction. As a traveller is apt to fall into a beaten path and follow its direction, so the thoughts are disposed to pursue the course which they have often followed before; or as the stream gradually wears the channel deeper, in which it has been wont to run,

so the current of the mind is influenced by the course in which habit has taught it to flow.

Bitter and fruitless have been the regrets of some of the literary master-spirits of the age, those whom the world delights to honor for the extent of their knowledge, and even the devotion of their application, over the misspent hours of their early life. How much would this sentiment be aggravated, if it were not softened by the redeeming application of after years! In his autobiography, Sir James Mackintosh, speaking of his deficiencies at school, says, "I went, came and lounged as I pleased, but no subsequent circumstance could make up for that invaluable habit of rigorous and methodical industry, which the indulgence and irregularity of my school-life prevented me from acquiring, and of which I have painfully felt the want in every part of my life." Scott also makes the following declaration: "It is with the deepest regret, that I recollect in my manhood the opportunities of learning, which I neglected in my youth; through every part of my literary career I have felt pinched and hampered by my own ignorance, and I would at this moment give half the reputation I have had the good fortune to acquire, if by so doing I could rest the remaining part upon a sound foundation of learning and science."

But a want of leisure is often presented as an apology for the neglect of mental culture. Those, however, who constantly urge this plea, are daily wasting time which might be devoted to self-improvement. The industrious, systematic man always has leisure, and it is surprising what a methodical disposition of the time will achieve. How much has frequently been accomplished by men who have been engaged in occupations, involving an immensity of responsible duty, by gathering up the fragments of time! At the time that Sir Walter Scott was publishing works at the rate of four volumes a year, he was faithful and efficient as an advocate and a clerk of the Court of Sessions in Edinburgh. The best productions of Lord Brougham were written when he was barrister in full practice and leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. Those profound and labored works of Cuvier which are unrivalled in depth of thought and accurate research, were the result of hours abstracted from the multifarious duties of high and official position. No matter how arduous the labors of a man's profession may be, he still has time for literary culture.

Faith is necessary to the successful exercise of the mental faculties. There must be faith in the practicability of Self-Culture. An individual must believe that he is capable of producing successful results. There must be confidence in our own powers, confidence in the power of effort, confidence in a higher than human power—that God will help us, if we will help ourselves. This faith is often the forerunner of success. The very belief of the possession of capacity to achieve any just and meritorious object often impels the mind to active effort. We should be schooled to draw on ourselves, to feel that there is a power within us which can reason, and that, under Heaven, it depends upon our own will, whether these faculties shall reach their exalted destiny. That which is timorously undertaken is often relinquished in despair, or, if performed at all, is seldom well performed. Pope furnishes an illustration, who, in his youth, thought that there was nothing he could not accomplish, to which he would devote his energies; and Dr. Johnson has observed that this minute perception of his own powers was the occasion of his reaching as high a point of perfection as it was possible for a man with his moderate endowments to attain. A modest estimate of our own powers is always becoming, but it is by no means inconsistent with a proper reliance upon ourselves. We continually see the salutary effects of this self-reliance; but notice the single exemplification, furnished in the faculty of memory. Engage in the investigation of any subject you please with an entire confidence in memory, and it will rarely desert you; distrust it, and it has gone. Such is the nature of all the properties of the mind.

But the active mind, when it once begins to operate, seizes knowledge from every direction, and collects from every source its appropriate food. A single thought, or a casual circumstance exciting inquiry, has been the means of leading to some of the greatest discoveries and some of the most wonderful inventions. Copernicus had heard that one of the Greek philosophers believed that the earth revolved on its own axis every twenty-four hours, and performed its revolution round the sun in the course of a year. The remark had been made again and again by others before Copernicus, but was doubtless regarded as a wild hypothesis. He made it a material for his thoughts to work upon, and the result was an entire revolution in the opinions of the schools, and the universal adoption of what every tyro sees

to be among the simplest truths of astronomy—the relative position and motion of the planets, with the sun for their centre. A beautiful illustration is also afforded by Galileo's discovery of the regularity of oscillation in the pendulum. It was while standing in the cathedral of Pisa, that his attention was directed to this most important fact by observing the movements of a lamp suspended from the ceiling, which some accident had disturbed and caused to vibrate. Now this was a phenomenon which had often been observed, but no one had seen it with [that philosophical attention, with which it was examined by Galileo. The young Italian philosopher saw at once the important application which might be made of the thought suggested to his mind, and by careful and repeated experiment he discovered the principle of the most perfect measure of time which we yet possess. The residence of Priestley in the vicinity of a brewery arrested his attention to the extinction of lighted chips in the gas, floating over fermented liquors, which led him to examine and analyze the several gases; and the various results of his first experiments were succeeded by others, which, in his hands, soon became pneumatic chemistry. To the mind of Galvani, the muscular contractions upon the leg of a frog suggested the idea of galvanism; and so simple a thing as the falling of an apple, seen by all the world a thousand times before, presented to Newton the thought, that gravitation was the mighty bond of the universe, upon which the mechanism of the heavens is balanced. The man who is intent upon the business of Self-Culture will make every thing tributary to this purpose. Every object, with which he comes in contact, will minister to his improvement, and will, like the fabled touch of the Phrygian king, be turned into gold. It is said of Sir Walter Scott that he never met with any one, even the most stupid servant who watered his horse when he travelled, from whom he did not gain some new ideas which were of value to him.

Our own country affords peculiar facilities for the exercise of Self-Culture. Here the ancient and trite maxim, *Quisque suæ fortunæ faber*, is strictly and emphatically true. Under the influence of our free and equal institutions, the door of competition is thrown wide open to well-directed talent, no matter how obscure its origin. Here no distinctions are recognized but those of intellectual and moral

worth. With us there is no royal favor to court; "every freeman is a chartered king," and an improved intellect will shed a greater lustre around his brow than the brightest jewel in a monarch's crown. No human power can give it to him without his will; with or without his will, no human power can deprive him of it.

But culture will fail to accomplish its best ends, unless the intellectual is accompanied with the moral and religious.

"They, who know the most,
Must mourn the deepest o'er the fatal truth,
The tree of knowledge is not that of life."

Although we may reverence the intellect, it must not be exalted above the moral principle. If we desire to produce a healthful, vigorous result, the heart must be disciplined. Man must be educated religiously as well as intellectually, or the first law of his nature is violated. The moral faculties have been given to us for noble purposes. If we use them wisely, they will secure our happiness and advance our highest interests; if otherwise, they will enhance our misery and work out our destruction. With the power to perceive the beauty of virtue and the deformity of vice, we must, if we would be happy, pursue the one and avoid the other. This provision of our nature we can neither resist nor evade. We cannot shake off this law, which is coiled around our very being. Very defective, then, is any culture which is not directed to the improvement of the heart—which does not aim to embrace becoming sentiments of morality and religion. Uncontrolled by the principles of the Gospel, it may prove an occasion of sorrow to the individual himself as well as to his fellow-men—a curse instead of a blessing to the nation. Let it be intellectual without this, and the powers of the human mind may be perverted to blight and destroy: they may be distorted to waste and devastate a continent, enslave and debase a people, corrupt and vitiate a whole community. Misapplied energies are terrible weapons of ill. Knowledge is indeed power; but it has power to do evil as well as good—to kill as well as to make alive. Unsanctified, it is an instrument in the hands of a madman, and increases his ability to do mischief.

"A foe to God was ne'er true friend to man."

Mere knowledge, however much it may be applauded, is worse than ignorance, if this be all. The educated rogue or

sceptic is certainly the more dangerous man. Extraordinary intellectual strength sometimes, it is to be regretted, defies restraint, and spreads dismay over those smiling regions it was designed to fertilize and bless. Intellect which, under proper culture, might have expanded and qualified its possessor for active usefulness, has often, through misguidance, assumed an inclination for the most debasing pursuits, and been brought into the most vigorous exercise only to augment human wretchedness and to prolong the reign of sin. The cultivation of the intellectual at the expense of the moral part of our nature, has presented the world with many lamentable examples of the perversion of genius—of men, highly gifted, who have devoted their talents and their learning to the advocacy of the grossest errors, and have attempted to undermine those principles on which human exaltation depends. The infidel Voltaire, in genius, attainment, and industry, had not perhaps a superior in the age in which he lived; yet what did he accomplish? To what useful purpose were the powers of his mind ever directed? What treasure did he lay up for himself either in this life or in the life to come? What legacy has he transmitted to posterity? His genius kindled, only to wither and consume, infusing poison and death into the atmosphere around him! There is Byron, too, so richly favored, who might have sung in strains as pure and as full of sweet benevolence as the author of *The Task*, and been an instrument of so much good to his fellow-men; yet, destitute of moral principle, he is blown about, like a skiff in the storm, without chart or compass, anchorage or helm, attempting to gild his monstrous vices with the meretricious ornaments of an extraordinary but depraved genius. Thus learning has ever been abused, attainments prostituted, and all talent profaned. Poetry, science, and literature, have in their turn all been devoted to some bad object. Gibbon and Hume, Bolingbroke and Laplace, became the advocates of a blind and mechanical atheism, or employed their unrivalled powers in advancing cheerless scepticism and in defaming the champions of Christianity.

“Talents, angel-bright,
If wanting worth, are shining ornaments
In false ambition’s hand, to finish faults
Illustrious, and give infamy renown.”

True greatness cannot exist unless there be a sympathy between the intellect and the heart. It is only when there is

the adaptation of the one to the other, that the perfect character is developed. It was the expansion of the moral principle that caused the seeming mystery in the character of him whose image in its grandeur rises above all others, and who was pronounced "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." All his actions were under the influence of this principle; and whether we view him in the retirement of Mount Vernon, or at the head of his little band of devoted patriots, or in the Executive chair of the Union, the eyes of all the world rested upon him:

"A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem^d to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man."

Although exposed to temptation, and surrounded by fascinations and enticements, he remained unseduced, and in the generosity of his nature endeavored to impart to others the virtues, which his own heart possessed. The moral influence of his example was irresistible. The faithless and the false shuddered and shrank beneath his glance. The corrupt quailed before him. Those who plotted against him were overawed. His enemies were discomfited; their malicious designs recoiled upon their own heads. In intellectual endowments he had his superiors, yet in his moral qualities he surpassed them all; in his peerless worth he towered above all his cotemporaries. Compare him with Aaron Burr—a man of more than ordinary ability, of varied attainments, distinguished for his bravery in the field, his power in the cabinet, and unrivalled in the versatility of his genius, around whose brow the honors of the camp and the forum were successively entwined, and who was already hailed as the second magistrate of the young Republic—and how marked is the contrast! how vast is the difference in the influence they exerted! Turn to the brightest pages of history, and single out the proudest models of excellence in classic story, and where will you find one equal to our beloved Washington? His character, as it goes down to other ages, will become brighter and brighter, and, gathering fresh lustre with every succeeding age, will ever furnish an illustration of the truth of the inspired sentiment, *The memory of the just is blessed*. Of the value of moral culture we find a beautiful instance, also, in the character of Chief Justice Marshall, whose life was a national blessing, whose death was a national calamity! It was this

which enabled him to discharge the graver duties of the highest legal tribunal of his country with an integrity and a fidelity which, for more than one-third of a century, soared above the reach of party malediction or of personal envy, and rendered him the ornament of the forum and the bench, and the pride of his country. He commenced his career with the determination that he would never swerve from what he knew to be right—that all his actions should be regulated by moral principle. In his life, pure and holy, justice seemed embodied.

“He lived as one
Sent forth of the Omnipotent, to run
The great career of justice.”

History affords the most ample proof, that where genius and attainment are united with high moral worth, and then alone, we have an approach to the perfection of human character, which is sure to be a blessing to mankind. Science is best studied by the lamp of inspired truth, and he who in his investigations would proceed without that safety-lamp is, like the miner groping in darkness, beneath the surface of the earth, exposed to constant danger from the explosive gases, which surround him, or liable to be crushed beneath the very object for which he toils. Science commits suicide when it severs itself from religious belief. Without the light of Christianity, intellectual knowledge can only be compared to Milton's Pandemonium :

“A dreary plain, forlorn and wild
The seat of desolation, void of light,
Save what the glimmering of its lurid flames
Casts pale and dreadful”—

revealing only the miseries and ignorance of man, and betraying its own inability to relieve the one, or truly enlighten the other. Philosophy most successfully promotes her highest interests, her true dignity, by a cherished sympathy with the oracles of divine truth.

We are also admonished on this subject by the obituary notices of ancient republics which have come down to us in the history of the world. The experiment, too, was made in modern France, and with human reason and human power to aid in the trial. The idea of moral obligation was publicly and fearlessly renounced; the law of God was declared void; his existence was denied; his worship was abolished; his temples were closed; the Bible was burned; and instead of

the bright hopes of immortality, *Death is an eternal sleep* was inscribed upon the tomb; and the result may be learned in one of the darkest records in the history of time. The consequences were too terrible to be endured. France was forsaken in her madness by the offended God of the universe! She was converted into one vast field of carnage and crime, and made the theatre of horror and blood, the most appalling the world ever witnessed. Profligacy and vice, in all their terrific forms and most shocking aspects, every where shed dismay and desolation. In the eloquent language of Montesquieu, "This period was the consummation of whatever was afflicting or degrading in the history of the human race. On the recollection, I blush as a scholar for the prostitution of letters; as a man, I blush for the patience of humanity." Virtue is an indispensable requisite for the successful administration of any government. Says the learned Cousin: "We have abundant proof, that the well-being of a people, like that of an individual, is in no wise secured by extraordinary intellectual powers or very refined civilization. The true happiness of a people is founded in strict morality, self-government, humility, and moderation. No human institutions, in which men are assembled together to act in concert, no matter how limited be their number or how extensive, however wise may be their government or excellent their laws, can possess any measure of duration without that powerful cement—virtue in the principles and morals of the people." *Quid leges sine moribus vane proficiunt?* "Sooner," says the pious Plutarch, "might a city stand without ground than a State maintain itself without a belief in the gods. This is the cement of all society, and the support of all legislation."

We have the highest authority—the authority of Inspiration—for the deeply-interesting truth, that for our own happiness and the happiness of our fellow-men, for our present and future felicity, for its influence domestic and social, moral worth is of far greater importance than all the gifts of intellect, the advantages of position, or the wealth of the world.

"Peace follows virtue, as its sure reward;
And pleasure brings, as surely in her train,
Remorse and sorrow and vindictive pain."

It is a mistake to suppose, because the vicious man is sometimes successful and prosperous in life, and the virtuous man is often the victim of disappointment and adver-

sity, that therefore the condition of the former is to be preferred to the latter. Shadows and clouds may for a season obscure the path of the good man, and he may suffer sorrow and persecution; but he possesses within him a peace "which passeth understanding," which worldly pleasure can neither impart nor destroy. Not so, however, with the vicious. Although surrounded by objects of enjoyment, and soothed by flattery, and saluted by the acclamations of admiring thousands, the sword of Damocles, suspended by a single hair, hangs above him in his nightly slumbers; the ghosts of departed years—departed, never to return—dedicated, as they may have been, to selfishness and vice, to cruelty and folly,

"Flit through his brain in endless horror,
Till naught remains of life but fear of death.
And all of death is suffered but the name!"

How affecting and terrible the confession uttered, towards the close of life, by him whose extraordinary genius was exceeded only by his impiety and wickedness:

"The thorns, which I have reaped are of the tree
I planted—they have torn me and I bleed :
I should have known what fruit would spring from such a seed!"

We are responsible for the use, or abuse of the privileges entrusted to us, and our efforts, rightly or properly exerted will operate for time upon our country, and for eternity upon ourselves and those who may be influenced by our example. Truth will either rejoice in our agency, or weep over the wrongs, which we have inflicted upon her interests. What rich advantages of culture have we enjoyed and what solemn duties such advantages impose! If we have lived well, every moment as it passes will bear testimony to our claims to endless happiness; if we have lived ill, it were better that we had never been born. If time prove not for us, the decision of eternity must be against us. Let us constantly remember, that

"He most lives
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."

How vain are all those sources of enjoyment which spring not from the heart and which tend not towards the beneficent Creator of heaven and earth! How inestimable the treasures and triumphs of a conscience void of all offence, of a hope built upon the eternal Rock of Ages and mounting to the

skies! How many heroes in the time of trial have "dropped their masks and shrunk to less than men." Lycurgus, the distinguished Spartan, fell a victim to his own inordinate vanity. The stern and inflexible Cato, in the hour of disaster and distress, meanly deserted his post, and rushed unbidden into the presence of his Maker. The patriotic and magnanimous Brutus, instead of encountering misfortune, and resisting the storms of adversity, ingloriously plunged into the gulf of eternity. This is the character of all worldly philosophy. When its practical results are contrasted with those of the Christian religion, the spirit inculcated by the blessed Redeemer and practiced by his disciples, how wide the difference! The one is the offspring of this world, and dies in the death of the objects, that inspired it; the other is Heaven-created and Heaven-directed; its source, duration and reward are eternal.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A Text-Book of Church History. By Dr. John C. L. Gieseler. A New American Edition revised and edited by Henry B. Smith, D. D. Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. In Four Volumes. Dr. Gieseler was born at Petershagen, Prussia, in 1793. Losing his mother at a very early age he received his first instructions from his grandfather who taught him, before he had reached his fourth year, to be a good reader. In his tenth year he was sent to the Orphan Home at Halle, where he enjoyed the counsels and care of Niemeyer, for whom in after life he always retained a profound regard. He assisted him in his studies and, on their completion, secured for him a position, as teacher in the Institution. Whilst engaged in these duties in 1813 he responded to the call of his country to enter the ranks, as a volunteer in the War for the freedom of Germany, and was present at the siege of Magdeburg. When peace was declared in 1815 he resumed his literary labors, and soon after was chosen Rector of the Gymnasium at Minden, and subsequently Director of the Gymnasium at Cleve. In 1819 he became Professor in the University at Bonn, by which Institution he had already been honored with the Doctorate of Divinity. His rapid advancement was, no doubt, due to his Critical Essay on the Origin and earliest History of the Written Gospels, which appeared in 1818, and was received by the public with so much favor. He also, at an early period in his career, published an essay on the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, and contributions on the Science and Grammar of the New Testament, which indicated talent of a high order and his thorough

philological culture. He was connected with the University of Bonn upwards of twelve years, devoting himself during the time with great assiduity to the prosecution of his favorite studies, the department of Ecclesiastical history, in which he gave instruction. It was at this period he commenced the publication of his "Text Book of Church History." In 1832 he was transferred to the University of Göttingen, where identified with every good enterprize and filling many important positions, he labored faithfully and efficiently until his death, which occurred in 1854. The name of Gieseler is scarcely more familiar to Germans than to English and American Theologians. In reference to the great value of his History there is no difference of opinion. It has received the general approbation of scholars in all countries of every ecclesiastical name. Of its kind it has no rival. The matter is interesting and generally reliable. Results are given with precision and impartiality. Accurate citations from the original authorities are carefully presented in the notes, so that the reader, in the critical examination of the subjects, is at liberty to judge for himself as to the correctness of the statements.

In the first three volumes of the History, which come down to the time of the Reformation, a thorough revision of the translation by Drs. Davidson and Hull, in the Edinburg edition, has been made with additional references to more recent German works, as well as to English authorities. Important changes have been made by the American editor, in presenting more fully the meaning of the original and in correcting numerous mistranslations. The fourth volume has been translated entirely by Professor Smith, so competent for the task, and is characterized by the same excellencies as distinguish his version of Hagenbach's History of the Doctrines. This is the most thorough and elaborate portion of Gieseler's great work, and was the favorite object of his indefatigable labors, although not, perhaps, so well known in England or in this country. We here have exhibited the whole history of the Reformation and its results, the theological conflicts which prevailed, the doctrinal development during this period to the peace of Westphalia, the mutual relations of the two great branches of the Reformation, the German and the Swiss, the changes in Luther's views, and the growth of Protestant opinions. The fifth volume will contain an authentic history of the Roman Catholic Church during the same period, and also a history of the whole Church from 1648 to recent times, as published from notes left by Dr. Gieseler under the editorial supervision of his colleague Dr. E. R. Redepenning. The work when completed will form a full and accurate history of the Christian Church till 1848, and will be found an important help to the student, a valuable guide to all who are interested in ecclesiastical investigations, as it cannot fail to foster a love for historical truth and the dissemination of Christian freedom.

A Manual of Church History. By Henry E. F. Guericke, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Halle. Translated from the German by W. G. T. Shedd. Ancient Church History, comprising the first six centuries. Andover: W. F. Draper. Guericke's Church History in the original has passed through eight editions, which in a country so devoted to this branch of study as Germany, is the strongest evidence of its great excellence; and perhaps it would be difficult in the same space to

find so much matter, or so complete a history during the period, of which it treats, as is given in this Manual. The author in his theological position sympathizes most thoroughly with the peculiar views of Luther, and is very cordial in his reception of the Symbols of the Church. The work shows a deep interest in evangelical truth and is marked by accurate learning, careful research, and the exhibition of the practical, as well as the intellectual, aspects of Christianity. The facts are presented with great clearness, fulness and discrimination. The volume is one of the most valuable of its kind, in the department of ecclesiastical history.

The Book of Psalms, in Hebrew and English, arranged in Parallelisms. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1863. The Hebrew text is according to Hahu, and the arrangement in verse with a few variations is that of Rosenmüller. In the English text the common version has been adopted, excepting the use of capitals at the beginning of each line. The Hebrew and English are so arranged, that the corresponding members are placed opposite each other. The occasional instances, in which the idioms of the two language interfered with such an arrangement, are indicated by braces, enclosing the translation. This attractive volume, printed on good paper and in clear type, is quite creditable to the Andover press.

Memoir of Nathanael Emmons. With sketches of his friends and pupils. By Edwards A. Park. Boston. Congregational Board of Publication. 1861. We have seldom experienced so much pleasure in reading a memoir, as Professor Park's Life of Dr. Emmons has afforded us. It is one of the richest works in the department of Biography ever published. The subject, a most eminent, original and able preacher of his time, is sketched by an accomplished scholar, a gifted writer with rare endowments; whose vigorous and graceful pen adorns every thing which it touches. The incidents in the long life of Dr. Emmons have been diligently and carefully garnered up, and with great skill employed in delineating and illustrating the peculiarities of his character, as a man and a preacher, and his position as a theologian. We have risen from the perusal of the work, feeling, that we have been in close contact with a most remarkable man; we have received a vivid impression of his habits of life and of the views he entertained, on almost every question of general and ecclesiastical interest and gathered many important suggestions and practical lessons. The volume, we are sure, will be read with interest and profit not only by Congregationalists but also by Christians of all denominations.

Memoirs of Mrs. Joanna Bethune. By her Son, George W. Bethune, D. D. With an Appendix, containing extracts from the writings of Mrs. Bethune. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863. Mrs. Bethune was the daughter of Mrs. Isabella Graham, so well known for her earnest and active piety, and her disinterested and noble efforts on behalf of suffering humanity. The daughter was of a kindred spirit and was incessantly engaged in similar labors, establishing Sunday Schools, the Orphan Asylum and other Institutions, abounding in every good work, and humbly seeking Divine aid in the minutest and most secular duties. Her correspondence indicates a life of great activity, of deep spirituality and strong faith in the promises of God. The work is a most beautiful and touching memorial by a gifted, devoted son of a sainted mother, whose influence over his earlier and maturer years he always gratefully appreciated. Among the benevolent labors of Mrs. Bethune most prominent was the founding of the New York Asylum, in which were

associated Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Hoffman and other excellent women of the city of New York. We were interested in reading the volume, to find credit given to our own Francke for the influence, which his Life and the History of his Orphan House at Halle exerted in the establishment of an Institution which accomplished so much good, at a time too when comparatively little attention in this country, was given to such subjects. "It [the Life of Francke] became a study," says the biographer, "around the fireside and was regarded as a means, used by Providence to assist them in their benevolent difficulty."

A Manual of Worship, suitable to be used in legislative and other public bodies, in the Army and Navy, and in Military and Naval Academies, Asylums, Hospitals, etc. Compiled from the forms and in accordance with the common usages of all Christian Denominations. And jointly recommended by eminent clergymen of various persuasions. Philadelphia: George W. Childs, 1862. Dr. Shields, the compiler of this beautiful Manual, has shown himself peculiarly fitted for the difficult and delicate task, undertaken by him. He has accomplished a work, which in advance would have been pronounced by some altogether impracticable. The compilation seems to meet with general satisfaction. It has received the cordial endorsement of eminent clergymen of different Protestant denominations, such as Bishops Potter and McIlvaine, Presidents Woolsey and Sears, Drs. Boardman, Barnes, Durbin, Krauth, Williams, Stockton, Hodge, Dales, Harbaugh, Cooper, De Witt and Thompson. The Forms of Worship presented contain nothing sectarian, or to which any denomination might object; the selections have been made on the principle of retaining as much as is possible of what is common to all Christian people and as little as possible of what is peculiar to any. There is also a collection of choice Hymns, appended, together with complete and valuable Tables of Scripture Lessons, Psalms, Hymns and Prayers, as a Directory for ordinary and particular occasions.

Chamber's Encyclopædia.—A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. Illustrated. Vol. IV. Phil. J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1862. We have already spoken in high terms of this publication. It is a most excellent work, emphatically an encyclopædia for the people. We have examined with some care the volumes that have already appeared and are satisfied that the work is what it professes to be. The articles are brief and condensed yet fully comprehensive and sufficiently extended to meet the wants of the general reader, that large class of individuals who desire a reliable encyclopædia and yet, on account of the expense, are precluded from procuring a more extensive work. In opening the volume before us we find the articles on *Erfurt*, *Epistolæ Obscurorum Viro-rum*, *Erasmus*, *Fagging*, *Fasting*, *Genevieve*, *Grenade*, *Gesta Romanorum* and on other topics, clearer and more satisfactory than those often presented in similar works of greater pretensions. The beautiful wood-cuts, with which the work is illustrated, very much enhance its interest and value.

Churches between the Mountains. A History of the Lutheran Congregations in Perry county, Pennsylvania. By Rev. D. H. Focht, A. M., Pastor of Christ's Lutheran Church, New Bloomfield, Pa. Baltimore. T. N. Kurtz, 1862. Mr. Focht deserves great credit for his industry in the preparation of this work, in gathering together the facts and incidents, the valuable statistics here presented. The volume is full of information in reference to the origin and growth of the Lu-

theran Church in Perry county, and furnishes, in the historical sketches of the churches, abundant illustration of the toil required and the self-denial practiced by those, who labored to build up our Church in this region. The book is interesting and instructive not only, as a local history, to those who are identified with these congregations, but to all who love the Lutheran Church. It is from such sources that the future historian will derive his materials for writing a full and connected history of our Church in this Country.

Simple Conversations on Engineering, with illustrations from Nature and applications to Spiritual Life. For the use of Sunday Schools. Philadelphia. Lutheran Board of Publication. 1863. The author of this volume, Lewis L. Houtt, Esq., not only occupies a prominent position in the profession, to which he has devoted himself, but for many years has been actively and efficiently engaged as a Sabbath School Superintendent and in other services, connected with the benevolent enterprises of our Church. In the present effort he has shown a disposition to make himself useful, and has furnished a valuable contribution to our Sunday School literature. The book, we are sure, will entertain and instruct the young. It presents a brief and satisfactory account of engineering and of the steam-engine with illustrations from nature, applied to spiritual life. It abounds in ingenious thought, expressed in clear and forcible language, and contains many practical lessons, sound religious instruction, which will be especially useful to those for whose benefit the work was prepared. We are gratified that we have those among us who are able to supply the Church with the kind of literature which is required.

The Life of our Lord upon the Earth. Considered in its Historical, Chronological and Geographical Relations. By S. J. Andrews. New York. Charles Scribner. 1863. The object of the book is to arrange the events of our Lord's life, as presented by the Evangelist, in chronological order, and to state the reasons of this order. The author is evidently a thorough scholar, a man of industry and patient research and has carefully examined all the resources in Europe and this country for throwing light on the subject. The theme is treated with reverence and great candor, the discussion is clear and methodical, difficulties are explained, and the conclusions reached, satisfactory. The book may be safely recommended to students of the Scriptures, to teachers of Bible Classes and to ministers of the Gospel, as a valuable aid in their investigations.

Political Fallacies An examination of the false assumptions and refutations of the sophistical reasonings, which have brought on this Civil War. By George Junkin, D. D. LL. D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. The author of this volume has long been known to the American public, and, at the time of the breaking out of the Rebellion, was President of Washington College, Lexington, Va. In consequence of his devotion to the Union he was obliged to relinquish his position and flee to the North for security. In the introduction of the work there is an interesting narrative given of his sufferings, and the manly stand, which he resolutely took in opposition to the doctrine of Secession. The book is not designed to give a history of the Rebellion but to expose the fallacies, which lie at the root of the great conspiracy and have contributed to its success. The miserable sophistries of Calhoun and others are critically examined and successfully confuted by historical testimony. Dr. Junkin is a man who thinks for himself, and

is fearless in the expression of his opinions. He is thoroughly acquainted with the questions he discusses, and wields a vigorous pen. Although in some of his conclusions, we may differ from the cherished friend of our youth, with whose name are associated many pleasing recollections, we thank him for his book and regard it as a most valuable contribution to the literature of the present Civil War.

The Bible, as an Educating Power among the Nations. By John S. Hart, LL. D. Philadelphia, J. C. Garrigues & Co. This is a discourse, originally delivered before the Bible Society of Pennsylvania College and of the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, and subsequently repeated before other Institutions of the country. Professor Hart is a man of original, vigorous thought, of extensive and varied knowledge, and of sincere, active piety, whose whole life has been devoted to practical efforts for the benefit of the rising generation. The address before us is one of the best productions of his pen, and is fully worthy of the favorable notices it has received. The subject is discussed with peculiar ability. Important truths, illustrative of the influence of the Bible in moulding individual, as well as national, character, are presented with great force, and in pure, beautiful language, calculated to arrest the attention and make an impression. The diffusion of such sentiments, particularly at the present day, cannot fail to do good.

Döderlein's Hand-Book of Latin Synonymes. Translated by Rev. H. A. Arnold, B. A., with an introduction. By S. H. Taylor, LL. D. Andover: W. F. Draper, 1863. We have been acquainted, for some years, with the merits of this work, and cordially commend it, as one of the best Manuals on Latin Synonymes, and admirably adapted to the wants of the student. The distinctions, in words of greater or less similarity, are generally well founded, and presented by the author with great clearness. The advantages, derived from the study of Synonymes, are too great to be disregarded by the student who desires an intimate and comprehensive acquaintance with the Latin tongue.

The National Almanac and Annual Record. Philadelphia, George W. Childs, 1863. We are under many obligations to the enterprising publisher for this interesting and important work. It is a great improvement on any thing of the kind ever published in this country, not only in the variety and extent of the topics introduced, but in the fulness and accuracy, with which they are given. As a compend of statistics, political, educational, religious, agricultural, manufacturing and commercial, as a narrative of facts, as a record of events, as an epitome of the condition and progress of the United States, it has never been surpassed. To the scholar, the statesman, to men of all professions and pursuits, it will be found a treasury of information, reliable and most valuable, as well for immediate and constant use as for future reference. The work cannot fail to supply a great public want. Its preparation has involved an immense amount of labor, but it has been executed with eminent success, and the facts, carefully gathered from original sources, are brought down to the latest possible date. The obituary notices of the most distinguished persons, who have died in the United States during 1861 and 1862, is an interesting feature of the work, as is also the list of books, with their titles, sizes and prices, published during the last year in this country. There is likewise an instructive article, with several diagrams, in connection with the statistics of the Census, indicating the changes in the relative population of the

States, and the varying ratios in the increase of the free and slave population, worthy the careful study of the enlightened statesman.

The work is most creditable to our own country, and we trust its circulation will be such as to encourage our friend Childs to continue the publication of so valuable a *Serial*.

The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events. 1860-62. Edited by Frank Moore. New York. G. T. Putnam. Four volumes of this valuable *Serial* have appeared. They contain a full and concise Diary of events, connected with the Great Rebellion of the nineteenth century from the meeting of the South Carolina Convention in Dec. 1860 to the capture of New Orleans inclusive. The official reports and narratives of all the battles and skirmishes, that have taken place during the War, are given, together with numerous songs and ballads, loyal and rebel incidents and anecdotes of personal daring and courage, and finely executed portraits, engraved on steel, of the most celebrated men of the time. The work is executed with diligence and ability, and possesses great value and special interest, as a repository, not only for present perusal but for future reference. It is indispensable to every private and public Library.

The Wonderful Testimonies. A Sermon preached at the anniversary of the Philadelphia Bible Society, on the evening of December 14th, 1862. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co.

A Discourse, delivered in St. Peter's English Lutheran Church, Middletown, Pa., On Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 27th, 1862. By Rev. Charles J. Ehrehart, A. M. Lancaster, Pa. E. H. Thomas & Son.

On Magnifying God's Work. A Thanksgiving Discourse, preached in the Dutch Reformed Church of Rhinebeck, Nov. 28th, 1861. By Rev. W. H. Luckenbach, Pastor of the Third English Lutheran Church of Rhinebeck. Albany: J. Munsell.

The Union of Christ and Believers: A Sermon preached in the English Lutheran Church, Selinsgrove, Pa., May 25th, 1862. By Rev. D. H. Focht, A. M., Pastor of Christ's Lutheran Church, New Bloomfield, Pa. Gettysburg, H. C. Neinstedt. 1862.

The Nation's Gratitude and Hope. A Sermon preached in the First Presbyterian Church, Pittsburg, Pa., On Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 27th, 1862. By Rev. William M. Paxton, D. D., Pastor. Pittsburg, W. G. Johnston & Co.

A Discourse, delivered at the Funeral of Samuel Osgood, D. D. Springfield, Mass. By Wm. B. Sprague, D. D., Minister of the Second Presbyterian Congregation in Albany. Charles Van Benthuyzen, 1863.

A Discourse, delivered at Spencertown, N. Y., at the funeral of Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, D. D., who during his whole ministry was the subject of total blindness. By Wm. B. Sprague. D. D. Albany. 1863.

Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Banking Department of the State of New York. Transmitted to the Legislature, Jan. 9th, 1863. By Hon. H. H. Van Dyck. Albany. Comstock & Cassidy.

The Prophetic Times. A New *Serial*, devoted to the exposition and inculcation of the doctrine of the speedy coming and reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, and related subjects. Edited by Rev. Drs. Seiss, Newton, Duffield and others. Philadelphia. W. Z. Harbert. 1863.

CONTENTS OF NO. LVI.

Article.	Page
I. THE UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES OF THE CHURCH, 452 By Rev. W. B. SPRAGUE, D. D., Albany, N. Y.	452
II. M. FLACIUS ILLYRICUS AND HIS TIMES,..... 481 By CHARLES F. SCHAEFFER, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.	481
III. THE MYSTERIOUS UNION OF THE DIVINE AND HUMAN NATURES IN THE SON OF GOD, 523 By G. A. LINTNER, D. D., Schoharie, N. Y.	523
IV. LUTHER'S BATTLE-SONG OF THE REFORMATION,.. 537 By W. M. REYNOLDS, D. D., Chicago, Illinois.	537
V. THE LORD'S SUPPER,..... 558 By PROF. L. STERNBERG, A. M., Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.	558
VI. THE UNIVERSAL FATHERHOOD OF GOD AND THE UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD OF MAN, GOD'S AR- GUMENT AGAINST OPPRESSION, 578	578
VII. NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS, 599	599

The characteristic features of this issue is the number, variety and excellence of its translations, excellence both of the matter rendered, and of the workmanship. One is on Luther's preaching, translated from Eberle, by Dr. Schaeffer, of Germantown; another is Aphorisms on the practical explanation of the Scriptures, translated from Thomasius, by Rev. G. A. Wenzel; the third, St. Paul and St. James, is from the French, by Prof. W. L. Heydenreich; the fourth, is on Hebrew Poetry, from Zeller, by Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, whose reputation as an accurate and tasteful translator is not confined to our Church. Another characteristic of this number is its high exegetical standard. Three of the translations are exegetical. The article on the salutations of St. Paul, by Rev. J. B. Bittinger, belongs to the same class. No one, who reads it, will think that we exaggerate, when we pronounce it one of the finest articles of its kind which have ever graced the pages of any American Theological Review. It is as finely analytic as Paley in his *Horæ Paulinæ*, and has a warmth and poetical life in addition, of which Paley has nothing. The practical element is sustained by Dr. Finckel's "Luther and the Reformation, and Rev. P. Bergstresser's "Christian Sabbath." To the hand of the Editor we owe the more purely literary features of the number, to which he contributes some very sound and useful hints on "Self-Culture," and a number of "Notices of New Publications." The Review shows everywhere the careful hand of the Editor.—*Lutheran & Missionary*.

The articles entitled, "Luther's Preaching," "St. Paul and St. James," and "Hebrew Poetry," are well elaborated papers, suggestive, important. Mr. Bittinger's "Salutations of St. Paul" deserves special notice. It evolves much matter for thought, out of seemingly small material. It applies the microscope of patient investigation to God's revelation of the Word, and demonstrates that like the revelation of nature the closest scrutiny unfolds only profoundest truths.—*Lutheran Observer*.

The Evangelical Quarterly Review for April presents us with Luther's Preaching, its Origin and its Peculiarities, by Dr. Schaeffer, Luther and the Reformation, Aphorisms on the Practical Explanation of the Scriptures, the Christian Sabbath, St. Paul and St. James, by Prof. Heydenreich, Hebrew Poetry, by Dr. Schaeffer, the Salutations of Paul, by Rev. J. B. Bittinger, and Self-Culture, a very instructive and finished production, originally delivered as an address before the Alumni Association of Pennsylvania College.—*New York Evangelist*

This number is one of great excellence. The opening article, on Luther's Preaching, is a translation from the German, as are also two or three of the others. These translations are a peculiarly valuable feature of the Quarterly. German theological literature furnishes some of the richest anywhere to be found, and certainly the work of selection and translation could not well be committed to better hands than men of German origin, like many contributors to the work before us. The article named, for instance, is a masterly analysis of the Great Reformer's preaching. We wish all our ministers could have the privilege of judging it for themselves. The whole work is able, scholarly, and above all thoroughly "evangelical," as its name implies.—*The Morning Star*.

In the present number we have no less than three articles which are translated from the German. The Lutheran Church is thus kept in literary communication with the rich treasures of German theological literature. To those who have learned to value the theological literature of Germany, without having access to the theological sources, the *Evangelical Review* deserves to be recommended, as a store-house of German Theology.—*The Methodist*.

This able Review is the most punctual of all the Quarterlies, and is always freighted with good things.—*Sunday School Times*.

THE
EVANGELICAL
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. LVI.

JULY, 1863.

ARTICLE I.

THE UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES OF THE CHURCH.

By Rev. W. B. SPRAGUE, D. D., Albany, N. Y.

In the kingdom of Nature, of Providence and of Grace, we find every where the operation of the principle of gradual development. The seed that is cast into the earth has, bound up in it, the sturdy oak that will ere long defy the blast of the tempest. The infant, opening its eyes upon the light for the first time, has within itself the elements of a power that may, by and by, move the world. An event, that seems altogether trivial at the time of its occurrence, may prove the germ of some great national convulsion, or revolution, or reformation. The Christian Church, originally consisting of a few individuals, of an ordinary type of intellect, and of no worldly consideration, has been gradually extending itself for almost two thousand years, until it is now represented in almost every portion of the globe. And yet the glory of the Church has only begun to appear; it has within it resources which are yet to be developed in a state of greatly increased purity and effi-

ciency, and in a progressive and finally universal extension. What then *are* the undeveloped resources of the Church?

In order to answer this question intelligently, we must understand definitely in what the *resources* of the Church consist. In one word, they consist of whatever is adapted to minister to the Church's prosperity or extension. We say to whatever is *adapted* to bring about this result; for many things are *over-ruled* for its accomplishment, which yet have no natural adaptedness to it. We know that God's purposes, and perfections, and promises are all pledged for the final complete triumph of the Church; and we know that he is always moving forward towards this grand issue, and that even the most hostile agencies, in which there seems a full embodiment of the spirit of evil, are, by his infinite wisdom and almighty power, rendered ultimately tributary to the advancement of his cause and the illustration of his glory. But this, surely, is not the divinely appointed instrumentality for doing God's work; for though *He* may render evil the minister of good, *our* only concern with evil is to avoid or resist it. He has prescribed the use of certain means for sustaining and carrying forward the interests of the Church, between which and the end at which they aim there is a natural and obvious connection. And these means constitute what we here intended by the *resources of the Church*. They are chiefly the following:

Talent, or good natural intellectual endowments. The slightest glance at mankind reveals to us the fact that there is great diversity in men's intellectual constitutions; and that this diversity has respect, not only to the proportions in which the different qualities are blended, but also to the general strength and completeness of the whole intellectual man. The multitude may be said to occupy, in this respect, about the same level; while here and there one towers far above the rest, and performs, for his every day work, what, to minds of an inferior order, seems well nigh miraculous. Now we are far from saying that intellects of only an ordinary capacity may not perform much good service for the Church—and that in various ways; but it is especially important that the *greater* lights should be put in requisition; that men of the largest comprehension, of the keenest discernment, of the greatest skill to encounter

difficulties, and the highest ability to control the popular mind, should be at the command of the Church, and ready to place their fine powers as a willing offering at her feet. While minds of a humbler mould are laboring diligently in the honorable sphere which Providence has marked out for them, (for there is no sphere of Christian duty that is not honorable,) the services of these more gifted minds are demanded on some wider or grander scale; perhaps to develop new plans, or to harmonize discordant influences, or to infuse fresh life and power into some languid and waning enterprise for good. Those who would know what the highest order of talent can accomplish in the pulpit, may read the sermons of Davies, and Dwight, and Mason, and a multitude of others; though even this will give but an inadequate idea of their power—and above all, let them read the history of Whitefield—his history rather than his sermons; for while he could sway a vast assembly, as no man of his day, or perhaps any other, ever could, the moment he put pen to paper, strangely enough, he dwindled into an ordinary man. And there is scarcely one of our great benevolent institutions, which has not had for its pillars great as well as good men; whose history could be written without revealing the workings of at least some one spirit that bore the stamp of true intellectual nobility.

As another of the resources of the Church, closely allied to the preceding, we may mention *learning*, or high intellectual acquisitions and accomplishments. There are two ways in which learning may be rendered subservient to the interests of the Church. This result may be accomplished indirectly, as the process, by which learning is acquired, is nothing more nor less than a process of intellectual culture, by means of which the faculties are developed and strengthened, and fitted to act with increased efficiency or to occupy a wider field. Or the influence may be direct; for while Christianity is the patroness of all sound learning, equally true is it that learning is one of the accredited auxiliaries of a pure Christianity. While all the various departments of knowledge may be rendered tributary, in some way, to the progress of human society, and ultimately to the well-being of the Church, there are certain branches that are indispensable to the proper elucidation of Scripture truth, and the legitimate workings of the Christian ministry. It is to a minute acquaintance with the languages, in which the Scriptures were originally written, as well

as with the whole science of Biblical interpretation, that we are indebted for the almost numberless auxiliaries to the study of the Bible, with which both the Church and her ministry are now favored; and as we believe that it is as true now as when the venerable Puritan Robinson recorded it, that "there is yet further light to break forth from God's word," so we cannot doubt that this is to be accomplished by the yet higher efforts of biblical and theological learning. Against the doctrine that learning is the natural ally of the pulpit it has sometimes been urged that those model preachers, the Apostles, were uneducated men; but the obvious answer to this is that while one of them at least actually *was* one of the most highly educated men of his time, they were all *inspired* men—they spake and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost—and this surely was far more than an off-set for the lack of human accomplishments. But herein was also manifested the wisdom of God; for their humble intellectual rank gave additional force to the wonderful success of their ministry, as a demonstration that they had received their commission from above. We admit, indeed, that learning may be, and often has been, perverted to render the ministrations of the pulpit powerless, by overtasking the ordinary intelligence, and dealing not in principles or results, but in the details by which they are reached—but is there any good thing that is not liable to be perverted? We admit, too, that there are some eminently gifted and pious men, who, without much mental acquisition, preach the Gospel with far greater effect than many others of a vastly higher order of intellectual culture—but this does not at all affect our general position in regard to the importance of a learned ministry. Learning, when rightly applied in the pulpit, simplifies, and illustrates, and removes obscurity instead of creating it. Few preachers have succeeded better in putting themselves into communion with the common mind, and we may add in enlightening and directing it, than *Archibald Alexander* and *Moses Stuart*; and yet the mind of each of them was, beyond almost any of their contemporaries, a vast treasury of biblical and theological knowledge.

Yet another of the Church's resources is to be found in her *pecuniary means*. The whole Christian enterprise, by which we mean the universal publication of the Gospel as preparatory to the universal triumph of the Church, necessarily involves vast expenditure. The men who preach

the Gospel must, according to the Apostle's doctrine, live by the Gospel; for if they devote themselves to their appropriate work, what shall sustain them if it be not the bounty of the Church? Then there are public churches, which, from a protracted suspension of the ordinances of the Gospel, seem almost on the point of extinction—these require to be helped, and cherished, and revived; and this cannot be done unless somebody contributes the means of doing it. There are extensive regions of our own country which are simply a spiritual desolation; where no churches have ever been established, and the Gospel has never been preached, unless at long intervals, by some passing missionary—here is another call for funds to sustain the heralds of salvation, who shall go thither, as the instruments, in God's hand, of making all things new. And, finally, there are the far-off dreary wastes of Paganism, and Mohammedanism, and Romanism, and other kindred systems of error, where Christianity has yet to plant her standard, and proclaim her heavenly truths, and perform her renovating work—but who does not see that a vast amount of silver and gold must be put in requisition before this mighty enterprise can be consummated? To sustain and keep in good working order the moral machinery of the Church that is in operation to-day, is a prodigiously expensive matter; and who will venture even to conjecture the amount that will be necessary to sustain her future benevolent operations, as they become gradually extended and intensified to compass the wants of the entire world? We say, then, money—however prolific of evil it becomes by perversion—is one of the divinely recognized means for spreading the Gospel through the world, and securing the Mediator's universal reign.

The last of the Church's resources that we shall notice, and that which constitutes the crown of all the rest, is *living, earnest piety*. You may blend all other means for advancing the interests of the Church in a common enterprise—you may put in requisition the finest intellects of the age, and as many of them as you can employ—you may command the most profound and critical and varied learning—you may draw without stint from the coffers of the rich—and yet, if, along with these various and necessary means, there be not a spirit of enlightened and active piety, a plentiful baptism of divine influence, the great work of extending and building up the Church can

never go on, and the reason is that this would be at best a mere self-righteous instrumentality, destitute of all vital energy, which God could neither approve nor bless. And you reach the same result if you look at this work in detail; for while nothing but the spirit of piety could be expected to bring into existence the various organizations on which the prosperity, not to say the existence, of the Church depends, nothing else could give them a right direction, nothing else could supply to them a living power. Suppose, for instance, the ministry of the Gospel to be exercised from mere worldly considerations, and without any recognition of dependence on Christ, even admitting the pure Gospel to be preached, what else could you expect than that that which never came from the heart would reach the heart, and that there would be at least as little faith in them who heard as in him who preached? What would a band of careless and worldly Sunday School teachers do towards guiding the youthful minds, committed to their care, in the ways of truth and holiness? What would become of the various benevolent institutions now in existence, and where would be the ground of hope that others would arise, accommodated to future exigencies, unless the former were to be sustained, and the latter originated, by a spirit of active piety? Without this, where would be that faith that brings Almighty Power to help our weakness? Where that vigorous, well-directed, persevering activity, that never falters in the presence of obstacles? Where that hearty co-operation in carrying forward good enterprises that has its origin in the fact that Christians are one in Christ? Where that hallowed inter-communion between earth and Heaven, through which the spirit of Heaven is conveyed to the Church on earth, by way of preparation for its immortal triumph? We repeat, the Church has no resources that are independent of a living piety. Other things are important, even indispensable, in connection with that; but without it they are as powerless to accomplish the desired result as an infant's breath would be to hush the tempest.

We have spoken of the resources of the Church—but on what ground, it may be asked, do they belong to her? Why, on the ground that they are committed to Christ as Mediator for her benefit, and He is pleased to employ them as the means of leading her on to her final triumph. She claims them then by the authority of her Head; and

there is no power on earth or in hell that can dispute her right to them, or that is adequate to wrest them from her.

But if such are her resources, what then are her *undeveloped* resources?

We answer, in the first place, they are those which, as yet *have no actual existence, though it is within our power, by God's blessing, to create them.* It does not, indeed, come within our province to bestow powers of intellect that have been withheld by the Creator; but we may be instrumental in cultivating, to an indefinite extent, those which the Creator has bestowed. There is to be found, even in the humblest walks of life, many a young man of naturally vigorous intellect, surrounded by influences, utterly adverse to anything like mental development, and perhaps there is nothing about him that betokens even an aspiration for learning; but let some benevolent individual, or the charity of the Church, take that youth in hand, and let him feel that there is a possibility of his being educated, and not improbably his whole soul will be fired with the ambition to become a scholar; and at no distant period he will have traversed the whole ground between an illiterate boy and a learned man—and why may not these acquisitions, by God's blessing, be appropriated for the benefit of the Church? A young man enters upon life deeply interested in the advancement of Christ's kingdom, and yet dependent upon his own efforts to earn his daily bread. But he will address himself industriously to the labors of some honest vocation, not merely that he may thereby provide for his temporal wants, but that he may be able to quicken the onward movements of the cause of truth and righteousness. He becomes possessed, perhaps, of what the world calls a large fortune—and this in respect to him is like a new creation. All around us, and whithersoever we go, there are persons who are strangers to the renewing power of the Holy Ghost, who, instead of being fellow-helpers together unto the kingdom of God, are mutual auxiliaries to each other's destruction—all these are susceptible of being born from above; of being moulded into the faithful servants of God, and the heirs of a heavenly life—and though a Divine agency is requisite to accomplish this result, yet it is the ordinance of God that, in all ordinary cases, a human instrumentality should be joined with it. In this last mentioned case, there is literally a new creation, requiring the

exercise of Divine power; and yet it is as legitimate a field for man to labor in, as if the work to be accomplished came within the range of his own unassisted ability.

We remark, again, the undeveloped resources of the Church are those *which exist without being recognized*. There are many men, especially young men, who are admirably qualified by nature, by grace, by training, to occupy important positions, perhaps in the Christian ministry, perhaps in the great field of evangelical benevolence, whose mature qualifications for these places have hitherto been overlooked, in consequence of which the measure of their usefulness has, to say the least, been greatly abridged. So, too, there is much wealth in the Church, that is now utterly useless as a means of its prosperity, that ought to be, that might be, rendered greatly tributary to its advancement. Hundreds of thousands of dollars, which every one knew might be consecrated to objects of Christian benevolence, without injustice to any body, would have remained as a ruinous legacy to children, but for the suggestion of some discreet friend, that the money would yield a better interest, if it were given directly to the Lord. Here again, the resources were in existence, but they had not till now been recognized in any such sense as to be rendered available.

We only add, under this article, that those resources of the Church *that exist and are recognized, but not applied*, may be said to be undeveloped. Every thing here is practical, and is to be judged entirely by the result which it accomplishes. Take, for instance, the case of a young man who has been educated, perhaps by the charity of the Church, for the Christian ministry—he becomes possessed of the requisite intellectual furniture, passes successfully through his appointed trials, and comes forth a regular accredited ambassador of God. But his mind becomes gradually drawn away from the duties of the ministry, and, at no distant period he has abandoned them altogether, and is in the vigorous prosecution of secular engagements. There are in that man's mind resources which are, to all intents and purposes, undeveloped, because unapplied. Take another case—a benevolent individual has made a bequest for some charitable object; but the sum bequeathed, instead of being judiciously applied in furtherance of that object, is suffered, from mistake, or oversight, or inattention, to remain utterly unproductive, when it might be, ought to be, as it was designed to be, employed as a benevolent minis-

istration. It cannot be considered as developed before it is applied to its legitimate purpose.

Our next general inquiry is, *How are the undeveloped resources of the Church to be developed?* The answer is, partly by a *human*, and partly by a *Divine* agency.

In illustration of the power, we may mention, first, *the Pulpit*, or the Divine ordinance of the preaching of the Gospel. This institution is designed to act upon two classes of persons, which, together, constitute the whole world, saints and sinners; and in either case its tendency is towards the result which we are now considering.

It accomplishes its legitimate effect upon the impenitent, the unforgiven, the unholy, by subduing their rebellion, and pacifying their consciences, and moulding them not only into the servants, but the children, of God. But in every case in which this effect is produced, there is a new instance of the development of a principle of piety, which, of necessity, converts its possessor into a pledged auxiliary to the great interests of the kingdom of Christ. The individual supposed may have his lot cast in a more public or a more private sphere, he may become a minister of the Gospel, or he may be called to preside over some department of benevolent action, or he may move in the humblest circle, and never even be heard of beyond the limits of his own neighborhood, but in each case he has his own field of active usefulness, and there is that within him that will ensure his occupancy of it.

And if such be the action of this Divine ordinance upon an ungodly world, gathering lively stones for the Heavenly Temple out of the wastes of spiritual death, what influence, in the way of developing the Church's resources does it exert upon those who have already enlisted under Christ's banner? In general it advances the work of their sanctification, purifying their spiritual discernment for the better understanding of their duty, and strengthening them with all might in the inner man for the more vigorous and faithful discharge of it. But more than this; it exhibits to them their duty in detail; in connection with their various relations, and in view of the diversity of circumstances in which Providence may place them; and it enforces the claims of duty alike upon all classes. It makes prominent the great truth that all our faculties, all our possessions, come from God, and are to be consecrated, in some way, to his service.

It illustrates the obligations of the rich to contribute of their abundance, and of all to give according as the Lord hath prospered them, in aid of the great work of evangelizing the world. It encourages the young to form habits of Christian activity, to seek positions of Christian usefulness, especially to make their influence felt in connection with the Sunday School, and if Providence opens the way into some wider and more prominent field of benevolent labor, to hold themselves ready to occupy that also. And to crown all, the teachings of the Pulpit are invested with a Divine authority—they are nothing less than God's own teachings—they come to us, claiming, by a Divine right, our attention and regard—and hence the power which they are fitted to exert, actually do exert, in revealing and bringing into active service, the resources which God has committed to the Church for her own extension.

Another part of man's agency in the accomplishment of this object is by the *Press*. The art of printing does for the eye what the ordinance of preaching does for the ear; except that mind acts upon mind with far greater power through the utterances of the living voice than through the medium of insensible types. Still the tract, the volume, above all, the Book of Books, may and often does find its way where the ministry of the Gospel has never been established; and it is quite supposable that it should convey the good seed into some mind where it would otherwise never have been lodged. But the Press and the Pulpit, instead of being regarded, each as an independent agency, should be looked upon as mutual auxiliaries of the same great cause, the Pulpit possessing the greater power, the Press taking the wider sweep. To say nothing here of the almost innumerable works which the Press is constantly pouring forth, designed to arouse the attention of the careless, or to illustrate Christian obligation, or purify and invigorate the inner life, we will advert only to the prodigious influence of the religious periodical press, especially as we witness its operation in our own country. Like all other good things it is, indeed, liable to perversion,—sometimes actually is perverted, to purposes of great evil; but still it is mighty to move the heart of the Church for good—it diffuses an enlightening, quickening, elevating influence far and wide. A single number of a well-conducted religious newspaper, who can estimate the amount of rich and varied blessing, of which it may prove the medium? It may

contain some appeal, condensed into a single sentence, that shall turn the conscience of the sinner into a minister of wrath, and urge him away to the Cross of Christ to get it sprinkled with atoning blood; or that shall fall with a mountain's weight upon the heart of some backslider Christian, and send him off to his closet to pray and weep. Or it may contain some suggestion that shall give to the heart of a young man, anxious to know his duty, a direction towards the Christian ministry, and be the means, ultimately, of bringing to that blessed work one who shall be the instrument of turning many to righteousness. Or it may contain some information in respect to the wants or woes of the world, or in respect to what has already been done to meet them, that shall set some Christian, whose eye rests upon it, to devising liberal things, in the train of which shall come light and blessing to some dark portion of the earth. Or it may contain some record of a revival of religion, that shall touch, as a fire from Heaven, some half-discouraged Christian, and thus not only mark a bright epoch in his own personal experience, but perhaps also make him the instrument of reproducing the same blessed state of things in his own neighborhood. The religious press is a power, mighty in developing the Church's resources.

So also much may be done to the same purpose by both the *individual and associate influence of members of the Church*. If individuals sometimes over-rate their personal influence, giving themselves credit for a measure of power over other minds that does not belong to them, it is not less true that they often under-rate it, and, in the strength of this false estimate, most unnecessarily circumscribe their own usefulness. It is not easy to fix a limit to what may be accomplished by one well-directed mind that is always upon the look out for opportunities of doing good. Yonder is a Christian missionary, in whose bosom is reproduced the spirit of David Brainerd or Henry Martyn; whose labors are fast changing the wilderness into a garden; and whose whole life is the testimony that he would shrink from no sacrifice, by means of which he might help forward the cause to which he is devoted—if you find out the history of that man, it will be something like this—a living, earnest, self-sacrificing Christian was attracted to him first by some exhibition of superior intellect; and then, by God's grace, he succeeded in changing the purpose of his life, and giving his affections an upward tendency; and then he bid him

quit the farm or the workshop, and, with a generous hand, dealt out to him the means of becoming trained for the sacred office—and in due time he was invested with it; and he chose his field of labor in the wilderness; and already many a wandering savage has been enlightened and saved through his instrumentality, and waits to shine forth as a gem, not only in *his* crown, but in the crown of his benefactor also. Yonder is a well-endowed and well conducted institution for training young men for the Christian ministry—hundreds, and it may be thousands, have passed through its prescribed course, and are scattered all over the land, all over the world, fulfilling their duties as the heralds of salvation—but that institution had its origin in the suggestion of a single mind; and though the influence of that mind was immediately seconded by that of other minds, and may perhaps speedily have been lost in the combined influence of a multitude, yet it will always remain true that it was the germ of the enterprize that gave to the Church one of its noblest institutions. Yonder is an Education Society, gathering the Church's bounty for the training of her sons; or a Missionary Society, taking them in charge, when they are trained, to do the Lord's work in heathen lands; or a Bible Society, whose business it is to dispense the written word to the wretched and destitute—but, here again, there is, or there has been, somewhere upon the earth, a mind in which this noble conception existed in solitary grandeur; and though no one now may be able to point to the individual, and say "Thou art the man," yet the day of revelation and retribution will at once show who he was, and measure out to him a glorious reward.

But if a member of the Church may do so much to develop its resources, in an individual capacity, what may not be expected from a well organized and well sustained effort on the part of many? Each of those combinations for purposes of good, to which we have just referred, as illustrative, in their origin, of the power of individual influence, becomes a fixed, and enduring, and mighty agency, for testing and developing the powers of the Church. And when united, and especially when considered in connection with the whole sisterhood of benevolent associations which the Church now embosoms, must not this agency possess an energy that transcends all human comprehension? Under its benign workings, talent finds its way out of its original obscurity; learning offers itself as the hand-maid of truth;

wealth shows a large heart, and opens a liberal hand; and piety, full of life, and love, and power, divides her time between the closet where she supplicates God's gracious help, and the world where she scatters her benefactions. Indeed we may consider the whole Church as one grand community engaged in revealing and applying her own resources; and the more united, and earnest, and faithful she is, the larger will be the treasures that she will reveal for the advancement of her prosperity.

But there is a *Divine* as well as human agency employed here—and it is two-fold,—the agency of *Providence* and of *Grace*.

God's *providence* is to be acknowledged in the ordering of our lot, no matter how much it may seem to be the result of our own devising. That youth just now referred to, as having been raised from obscurity, perhaps positive degradation, by the hand of Christian charity, and conducted by the same hand into a field of honorable usefulness, was all the time under the direction and care of God's gracious providence—it may have seemed an accident that he came under the eye of his earthly benefactor; but it was no accident—it was in perfect accordance with an arrangement made by Him, who guides the winged arrow, and directs the sparrow's fall. Not unfrequently affliction becomes, in this way, the minister of good—the darkest cloud discharges itself in a shower of the richest blessing. That man who is now doing valiant service for Christ, would never have entered on the Christian life, much less on the ministry of the Gospel, but for some fearful casualty that put his life in jeopardy, and brought him to serious reflection. That man who is now giving his hundreds of thousands in aid of the cause of Christ, received his first benevolent impulse on what he believed at the time was his death-bed, where he saw all his worldly treasures weighed in the balance and found wanting. The profligate sale of indulgences by Tetzel was necessary to enlighten the conscience and fire the heart, and nerve the arm of the great Luther, at whose bidding the accumulated darkness of centuries rolled back, and a light shone, revealing God's outstretched arm for the deliverance and purification of his Church. And who can doubt that, when the thick cloud that now rests upon the bosom of our own beloved country shall be lifted away, those terrible scenes in which nothing appears to human view but man fighting against man, the citizen in rebellion against his

government, the sword refusing to return to its scabbard because the whole land is not yet deluged with blood,—who can doubt, that this fearful procedure, in which the friends of darkness seem to be holding a jubilee, will be found to have had in it the elements of a grand purification; will be introductory to a brighter day for the Church than she has ever seen yet? And thus it is always—

“God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform.”

His providence is always developing new resources for the Church, and just as certainly in the darkness and the storm as in the sunshine.

And He accomplishes this end by His *Spirit* no less than by his providence. In all those cases of moral renovation which we have already referred to a human instrumentality, God's Spirit is to be recognized in an infinitely higher sense—for in that alone dwells the power that turns the heart of stone into flesh. If you will behold the operations of this Divine Agent, in developing the resources of the Church, on a grand scale, contemplate an extensive revival of religion. First of all, you see new helpers in the great work of carrying up God's spiritual temple, multiplying around you; for each one upon whom God enstamps his image, becomes, in consequence of that act, a pledged laborer in the cause of human salvation. And besides, such a scene always brings with it a fresh baptism of spiritual influence to those who were previously enlisted in the good work, invigorating the weak and the weary, swelling the tide of Christian charity, and making all more vigilant to observe, and more diligent to improve, the opportunities for doing good. Wherever God's Spirit is copiously poured out, and religion extensively revived, there you may set it down as a fixed fact that the facilities for promoting religion will be greatly increased, and every movement in favor of truth and right will receive a higher and stronger impulse. Such then is the agency of man, and such the agency of God, by which the process of developing the resources of the Church has been, and is yet to be, sustained.

It only remains now to *illustrate the obligation of the Church to see to it that this object is attained*; that her resources are not only rendered available, but are actually applied to their legitimate purposes.

And our first remark here is, that this is necessary to *the accomplishment of her own sublime mission*. This is the specific work which God has committed to her; which He has not only required her to perform, but has rendered it certain, by his own ordination, that she will perform. He has placed in her keeping what may be regarded as the germ of her own final and eternal exaltation; and that germ is to unfold under her own watchful and fostering care. She has her part to perform in bringing into exercise all the appointed means of fulfilling the divine purposes, and thus educating herself for immortality, just as truly as if the providence and grace of God had nothing to do with the enterprise. To suppose that she should fail in this were to suppose nothing less than that she were recreant to her adorable Head; that she were a traitor to the great Captain of salvation; that she had abjured, at once her confidence in his wisdom and power, and her allegiance to his authority. She must and she will keep on in the truly loyal work of developing her own resources, and applying them to their legitimate ends, until her mission upon the earth is fully accomplished.

The Church is bound to this also from a regard to *the perfection of her own character*. It is a law which, so far as we know, pervades the whole intelligent creation, that improvement is consequent upon exercise; that the faculties, while they are working out noble results, are themselves strengthened and exalted by the very effort by which those results are attained. The mind of the philosopher, which has been struggling for years to solve some great problem of life, or to fix definitely some one of the creation's laws, has, on reaching a successful termination of its efforts, accomplished a double purpose—not only has it solved the problem or ascertained the law, but the very exercise by which it has done this, has re-acted as an invigorating influence upon its own powers. And this remark applies to the moral and spiritual as truly as the intellectual—let the will and affections be brought into exercise in favor of some good object,—for instance, the relief of some sufferer or the reclaiming of some wanderer, and besides the accomplishment of a worthy object, the very spirit of the man will acquire a fresh impulse towards all that is good. And thus it is with the whole Church—in developing her own resources, she brings into exercise her own energies, both intellectual and moral; and these energies rise and expand

and brighten in proportion as they are exerted ; and thus her own character is always advancing from glory to glory.

Moreover, it is necessary to *the attainment of her allotted destiny* that the Church should develop her resources. The Israelites, on their march through the wilderness, and in their arrival in Canaan, strikingly typified the Church in her scene of labor and trial, and in her final entering into rest. God had ordained that his poor suffering people in Egypt should have a safe home at last in the fertile and beautiful land of Canaan ; but they had much to do before this could be attained—they had to encounter the perils of a protracted journey through the wilderness ; and though God provided them with the means of doing this, they were necessitated to keep their own faculties in constant exercise in obedience to the divine will. In like manner God has provided a glorious resting-place for his own ransomed Church ; a place where the inhabitants shall no more say they are sick ; where the light of the sun and the moon is not needed because the Lamb is the light thereof ; and this is secured to her by the decree, the promise, the oath, of Jehovah. Still, she has her preparatory work to perform ; and that work is nothing less than the development and application of her own resources in preparing her for the glorious destiny that awaits her in Heaven. Here on earth the Church sees through a glass darkly ; she is oppressed by a sense of her own weakness and impurity ; she is conscious of her unfitness to breathe a perfectly holy atmosphere, and mingle with perfectly holy beings in perfectly holy employments ; but in the development of her own resources, she undergoes a baptism of suffering and of love, that qualifies her for her appointed destiny,—that of engaging in an everlasting ministration of praise around the throne.

And last of all, and above all, let the Church be faithful in this service we are contemplating, in view of the fact that *it is essential to the Mediator's final triumph*. The grand mediatorial undertaking,—that of gathering a Church from the ruins of the apostacy, of redeeming it by an infinite sacrifice, and presenting it without spot before the throne, to be an everlasting monument of the wisdom and power and grace of God,—this mighty enterprize, was committed to the Lord Jesus Christ. It has placed Him, from the beginning, in an antagonism with all the powers of evil ; and between Him and them there has always been, and still is, a contest going forward, which sometimes vibrates to the

innermost heart both of the Church and of the world. But while He is the grand agent, the Church is the instrument which He employs in conducting this contest; and she performs her part in the use of those resources which He has placed at her command; and she cannot be neglectful in respect to these resources without not only trifling with her own best interests, but retarding his full triumph. Let the Church, then, as she loves and adores her gracious Redeemer, and as she would behold the mediatorial crown resting upon his head in full-orbed glory, labor with fresh zeal at her appropriate work of using all the means which He has placed within her reach or has given her the power to create, for consummating his purpose of redemption in respect to our world. And when the ransomed shall all be gathered in, how will thanksgivings flow from their lips to Him who hath redeemed them; and how will benedictions pour forth upon them from his throne, in consideration of the poor service which they will have been privileged and honored by his grace to render as preparatory to his complete mediatorial exaltation !

We shall not have gained our purpose in this train of remark, unless the effect of it shall be to quicken the sense of individual responsibility in reference to the great duty we have been urging. If we mistake not, the fact that almost every object, connected with the progress of Christ's kingdom, has some association pledged for its furtherance, including of course the creation, or the discovery, or the bringing into exercise, of all possible means of promoting its interests, renders it more than possible that those who are not connected with these societies, will imagine that there is nothing for them to do, while this vast associate agency is at work; and more than that,—there may be danger that even those, who constitute these societies, will relax individual effort, under the false idea that there is some mysterious power in combination that supersedes the necessity of it. It is, indeed, one of the brightest signs of the times that the Church has her representative associations in almost every department of the field of Christian benevolence; but it is not true that this fact neutralizes or lessens the obligations of any member to exert himself individually for the advancement of Christ's cause up to the full measure of his ability. Be it so that the Church looks first to her ministry for the development of her resources; but she can

do something in the person of every member,—for even he who has no access to the world, may still have access to God, and thus faith may move the hand that moves the planets. Let the ministry be more watchful, more earnest, more resolute, to reveal and appropriate all the resources which God has put within their reach. Let every private Christian look about him, and see at what point, or by what instrumentality, he can labor to the same end most successfully. Suppose you rescue from obscurity some brilliant or powerful mind, and put him in the way of being educated for the service of the Church, and the history of his life should turn out to be a history of well-nigh apostolic usefulness; or suppose you should touch some hitherto undiscovered spring of Christian charity, the effect of which should be, that fresh auxiliaries to the good cause should spring up, or some far off moral wilderness bud and blossom; or suppose you should put yourself into communion with some unregenerate and careless friend, and should be instrumental of leading him to Christ, and he, in turn, should be honored of God in originating and sustaining some great revival of religion, which should be the signal of a jubilee in Heaven as well as on earth—in either of these cases you will have accomplished a measure of good, and will have entitled yourself through grace to an amount of blessing, which exceeds the boldest powers of human comprehension. Again, we say, let every minister, let every Christian, not excepting even the obscurest and the weakest, come up fully, cheerfully, dependently, to this Heaven-appointed work. And let him, who has no heart to respond to this claim,—no matter how high a place in the Church he may occupy,—scrutinize afresh his own title to Heaven, lest what he thought was the signature of God's Spirit should prove to be the work of his own dreamy and deceiving imagination.

But we hear some one ask—What? Seek to develop the Church's resources at such a day as this, when every available energy that we can command is required to be put in exercise to save our bleeding country? We answer, Yes; for the force of the command of Zion's King does not depend upon circumstances; and no darkness can be so deep as to constitute the semblance of a ground for evading its obligation. Besides, are you quite sure that, in responding promptly, liberally, to the country's claims, you are not actually uncovering foundations of richest blessing to the Church; that

you are not doing that which it is absolutely necessary should be done before the American Church shall properly appreciate the varied sources of her power? But then comes another voice speaking in a tone of yet deeper discouragement, as if the terrible scenes of the hour were enough to weaken our confidence in respect to the future, so far at least as to throw into the distance events which we had hoped soon to realize. But what mean ye, O ye of little faith, by thus refusing to recognize God's hand in the stormy night as well as in the calm, bright day? At least be contented to hold your peace, while you are thus undergoing the baptism in the cloud; for the spirit which you evince is contagious, and wherever it exists, it is an element alike of weakness and of bitterness. Rise up, and gird yourselves with strength, all ye who profess to be the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. The darkness, in which you walk now, conceals from you the movings of the almighty and all-gracious arm; but they are not the less real, and by and by they will be made manifest. And then you will bow before the throne with admiring gratitude, in view of those very events, which now task your bleeding hearts to the utmost for the exercise of submission.

ARTICLE II.

M. FLACIUS ILLYRICUS AND HIS TIMES.

By CHARLES F. SCHAEFFER, D. D., Gettysburg, Pa.

THE justice which history renders to eminent benefactors of mankind is sometimes tardy. When their lofty principles of honor and religion come in collision with the petty interests and selfish feelings of their contemporaries, the latter are prompted to employ in the struggle which succeeds, the weapons of falsehood and defamation. The noble aims of the former and their large views are, besides, often unintelligible to ordinary men of their age; these are, accordingly, even when uninfluenced by hostile motives, easily persuaded by designing or envious spirits to believe that there is evil in the purposes and acts of a man of towering intellectual

power, and to withhold their confidence; even when he is controlled by the purest and most sublime religious principles he cannot always escape reproach and misrepresentation. Succeeding writers who are either incapable of appreciating his character, or whose partisan feelings lead them in an opposite direction, are tempted to suppress all mention of his merits and to describe his human failings in the language of exaggeration. Any imprudence of which he may have been guilty, even when the motive was honorable, is contorted without equity or reason into a crime. Thus he appears to later ages in the shadow of a cloud, and truth and justice are repeatedly violated by those who unconsciously repeat the unfair statements of their predecessors. It is fortunate for such an individual when the essential facts of his history are discovered in long-lost documents which allow him to speak in his own defence, and when they are communicated to a generation which can survey him with calmness and impartiality.

The remarkable man who forms the subject of this article was a chosen instrument of the Lord in preserving the purity of the faith of the Lutheran Church at a most critical period; the latest generations will have reason to bless God for the great and abiding work which Flacius was called to perform. But he encountered in his day all the malice of popery; he was opposed by time-serving Protestants, and, to the anguish of his soul, he was rebuked for an error in one of his doctrinal statements with inexorable rigor by his stern Lutheran brethren, whom grace had enabled to renounce "father, mother, wife, children, brethren, sisters, yea, and their own life also" (Luke 14: 26), rather than prove unfaithful to Christ and his truth. Hence Flacius was condemned at different periods and for different reasons by writers of the most opposite sentiments. Church-historians of a later day have repeated many of these strictures; Planck of Göttingen, whose one-sided historical work* was at one time deemed to be impartial and sound, was too much influenced by Rationalistic tendencies to understand a character like that of Flacius. His perversions, were, therefore, long regarded as fair statements of facts or specimens of successful logical reasoning. It was the excellent Twisten of Berlin who in more recent times first exposed the falsity of the current statements respecting this much

*Geschichte d. Entstehung—d. prot. Lehrbegriffs, &c. 6 vols.

injured man, and paid a fitting tribute to his extraordinary merits.* At last a biographer was found in W. Preger, a professor in the royal Gymnasium of Munich, who with unwearied zeal searched various libraries in Germany, examined vast numbers of manuscripts, and then presented the results of his labors in a complete biographical account of Flacius.† To this work, as well as to Ranke‡ we are principally indebted for the following facts, some of which, relating to the personal history of Flacius, have probably not yet been placed before an English reader.

The Adriatic Sea is penetrated on the North by the Istrian Peninsula; on the Eastern coast of the latter a small city existed in the fifteenth century, and still remains, named Albona, 42 miles S. E. of Triest. Here Flacius was born, March 3, 1520. The whole region, after the separation of the Roman state into an Eastern and a Western Empire, belonged to the latter, and constituted an integral portion of the ancient *Illyricum Occidentale*, which is to be carefully distinguished from the *præfecture* called *Illyria Orientalis*, belonging to the Eastern Empire.§ While the republic of Venice was at the height of its power, it exercised sovereign authority over this region, and during its sway Flacius was born. His father's name was Vlacich, to which, according to the custom of the times he gave a Latinized form; he also adopted, in conformity to another usage, a geographical appellation, styling himself *Illyricus*. His baptismal certificate states that his mother belonged to a family of rank. The early death of his father did not prevent the boy from receiving a good education. After a due course of preparatory studies, he was sent to Venice for the purpose of completing his education. He was fortunately placed under the care of very able and distinguished teachers through whose judicious and faithful efforts his intellectual strength was rapidly developed and his mind furnished with rich stores of learning.

Flacius, as a youth, was studious and grave; he devoutly received the doctrines of the Romish Church as a Divine revelation, and the elements of truth which they contained

*In a lecture delivered in 1844, and afterwards printed with the title: *Matth. Flacius Illyricus*.

†The title is: *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit*, von Wilh. Preger, &c., 2 vols.

‡*Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter der Ref.* von L. Ranke, 5 vols.

§Koeppen: *The world in the Middle Ages*.

deeply affected his soul. He determined, like Luther, to enter a monastery in order that he might devote more time to the study of theology and become qualified to serve Christ in his Church. He accordingly sought one of his relatives named Baldus Lupetinus, a learned and devout man, who held the office of Provincial or director of several affiliated monasteries, and asked to be received as a lay-brother in a monastery of Venice, with the intention of subsequently attaching himself to the Minorites (Franciscans) in Padua or Bologna; as a compensation he offered to bestow at once the half of his paternal inheritance on the order. Lupetinus was a secret adherent of Luther; the penalty which he afterwards suffered, when detected, was an imprisonment of twenty years in a Venetian dungeon, at the close of which period he was drowned in the Adriatic. After having thoroughly examined his young kinsman he informed the latter that the true doctrine of the Gospel had been brought to light in Germany by Luther, furnished him with several of the books of the Reformer, and advised him not to enter a monastery but to seek out Luther.

Flacius, then in his nineteenth year, but eager to know divine truth, gratefully accepted this counsel and crossed the Alps, in opposition to the entreaties of his relatives, to whom he, too, like the disciple (Matt. 8: 21, 22), was commanded to relinquish the task of "burying their dead." When he reached Augsburg he was sent by an adherent of Zwingli to Basel. Here he was kindly received by the eminent Simon Grynæus, and diligently pursued his studies. But his intercourse with Oswald Myconius (not Frederic Myconius or Mecum, Luther's friend), with the volatile Carlstadt and others, painfully affected him. He was isolated; his peace of mind was disturbed; his prayers seemed to lose their power. Deep agony of soul succeeded; the wrath of God terrified him, and he felt as if God had forsaken him. He could no longer remain in Basel, and left it after a residence of one year. In his discouragement of spirit he feared to approach the presence of Luther and Melancthon, and proceeded to Tübingen, where a countryman, an Illyrian named Garbitius, a professor of the Greek language in the re-organized University, gave him a temporary home. Here he both studied and replenished his exhausted funds by delivering lectures to the students; his personal character also secured for him the confidence and friendship of many eminent men. But the distress of his soul was not healed—he

could not find peace in God, and, at length, decided to proceed at once to Wittenberg, then the focus of light, the abode of Luther and Melanchthon. His excellent testimonials immediately opened an avenue to Melanchthon's confidence, under whose superintendence he resumed his studies and also gave instructions to various students in Greek and Hebrew. He temporarily experienced relief when he heard the words of truth from the lips of Luther and Melanchthon. But his agony of soul soon returned and attracted the attention of a considerate friend who led him to Bugenhagen. This eminent man spoke words of consolation and offered prayer for him, but Flacius still desponded and could not hope for divine mercy. Then Bugenhagen conducted him to Luther, through whom God was pleased to convey light, peace and strength to a spirit that had long been exercised and prepared for deadly struggles in later years. Luther had experienced similar trials and temptations; he opened God's word to the fainting youth before him, revealed to him the grace of Christ, and unfolded the doctrine of Justification by faith. Both of these remarkable men were conducted by the same doctrine, after long and painful spiritual conflicts, to peace in God through Christ. A new light dawned on the troubled soul of Flacius; the crucified Redeemer appeared in a new and brighter form to him; the last mists of error were dispersed, and the doctrine of justification, as set forth by Luther, he now recognized as the pearl which he had so long and so ardently sought. He felt as if he had previously been cast down to hell—this precious doctrine raised him to near communion with God; he was endowed with new life and power, his soul was fully emancipated from popish bondage, the Spirit of God infused through the means of grace a living, mighty faith into his soul, and he consecrated himself, his life, his all, anew to God. After that eventful period of his life, he, too, like Luther, "stood fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made him free."

When he had attained his twenty-fourth year he received the appointment of professor of Hebrew; he was adequately supported, enjoyed the society of the Wittenberg Reformers, was married with Luther's approbation to a daughter of Michael Faustus, an aged and faithful pastor in Dabrun, began to furnish the learned world with valuable literary productions, and now passed the happiest period of his life. Such calm repose, undisturbed relations with all around him

and public and private enjoyments soon came to an end, and never returned. A contest—the *Interimistic* or *Adiaphoristic* Controversy—was at hand which agitated the Church during many years (commencing in 1548), and in which Flacius proved himself to be “a good soldier of Jesus Christ;” it appears as if God had specially raised him up at a period when Luther was to be removed, in order to be an instrument in securing the pure faith from destruction. Certainly, as far as the facts are presented on the page of history, we must judge that the Lutheran Church, after a brilliant rise and glorious but brief existence, would have been completely extinguished or re-absorbed by Popery, if Luther’s mantle had not fallen on Flacius. The hand of Divine Providence is here plainly seen. In order to present a clear, historic view of the subject, we must refer to an earlier period.

Maurice (Moritz), Duke of Saxony,* although a Lutheran, had, from political and selfish considerations, united his forces with the Emperor, Charles V.; the latter gained a decisive victory at Mühlberg, April 24, 1547, over the Elector of Saxony, John Frederic, the faithful friend of Luther and Protestantism, and then paid Maurice the stipulated “thirty pieces of silver” by investing him with the electoral dignity of his cousin and with nearly all the territories of the Ernestine branch of the Saxon princely house. Luther was already dead (died Feb. 18, 1546). Wittenberg, the cradle of the Lutheran faith, now belonged to the recreant Protestant Maurice. Melancthon retained his professorship under the new regime, and soon became a devoted adherent of his new master. He had not passed through those internal conflicts which Luther and Flacius had experienced, and, while he received the true faith with entire sincerity, his soul was never so powerfully roused as the souls of these two men, whose religious experience differed so widely from his own. Hence he could be deliberate when their hearts were swelling, and was in a higher

*Duke George, Luther’s old enemy, who died in 1539, was succeeded by his brother Henry; the latter, a Protestant in sentiment, at once allowed the work of the Reformation under Luther to proceed in his dominions. After his death in 1541, Maurice, his son, to whom only a moiety of ducal Saxony (belonging to the Albertine line) had been assigned, inherited the whole territory through the active and disinterested aid of his first cousin, John Frederic, the sovereign of electoral Saxony, and head of the senior or Ernestine line. Ranke IV. 114, 214.

degree disposed to survey divergent doctrines with indulgence. Some of the views of the Reformed presented attractive features to him; the showy and impressive forms of the popish worship possessed a certain charm in his eyes, as he himself remarks in the letter to which we shall presently advert; and, while he faithfully adhered to the doctrine of justification by faith, he could tolerate opinions which were really incompatible with it; for the sake of peace he could endure usages which his judgment condemned. In 1537 he was willing, for the sake of peace, to recognize the Pope as the Bishop of Christendom. In the same year he advised Schenk the court-preacher in Freiburg to sacrifice his convictions to the force of circumstances, and to administer the Lord's Supper only in one kind, that is, to withhold the cup. Such compliant tendencies on his part clouded the mind of Luther when he was near his grave; he fixed his hopes on Flacius in whom he discerned more of the robustness which the stormy age demanded, and was heard to say that *he* was the man on whom, after his own death, hope, when it began to decline, would lean for support.*

It is unquestionably true that Melanchthon was severely reproached and condemned by many Protestants, during the later years of his life, for acts to which impartial history has given even a favorable interpretation. Still, our high appreciation of his distinguished merits ought not to invest his infirmities with an attractive character. After Luther's death, a certain feebleness of purpose was revealed in him, which had previously only been suspected. The ivy had reached a lofty position; but when the oak around which it twined, had fallen, it, too, descended to the ground. Historic truth records one act in the history of Melanchthon—the only really humiliating act of his life—which, while it cannot extinguish a single ray of the glory in which he stands before us, nevertheless, so deeply wounded large numbers of Protestants, that even at this late day, we cannot wonder when we find them employing the language of stern rebuke. It was somewhat more than a year after Luther's death, that the battle of Mühlberg occurred. John Frederic, the Magnanimous, the nephew of Frederic, the Wise,

*Preger (I. 35) quotes from *Ulenberger vit. Flacii*, p. 376: "A fide dignis familiaribus Lutheri audire memini, tanquam genii sui hominem, illum (Flacium) summo loco habuisse, hunc fore ominatus, in quem se vita functo spes inclinata recumberet."

and son of John the Constant, was a prisoner of the emperor. Maurice took possession of the lands of his benefactor. A Protestant by name, Maurice was, in a far more emphatic sense, an ambitious, scheming politician; he had retained among his counsellors, when he inherited the duchy, a courtier named Christopher Carlowitz, an obsequious instrument of the emperor and the Catholic party, an old opponent of Luther,* and a relentless enemy of John Frederic and the Augsburg Confession.† It was already a painful experience to the Lutherans that Melanchthon, whom the sons of the captive elector desired to retain in their service, preferred to remain in Wittenberg as a subject of Maurice who had seized the patrimony of his benefactor's children. But nothing equalled the indignation which a subsequent act aroused, to which we have already referred. He wrote a letter to Carlowitz, dated April 28, 1548, of which the impartial Ranke says: "I could wish that he had never written it." (V. 60). The substance is furnished by Ranke, and by Salig (p. 615), but the original is more fully given by Preger (I. 40-42). Melanchthon, while writing to Luther's enemy, speaks of Luther, who is now in his grave, with harshness, and compares his own pacific character with the domineering spirit of which he accuses his deceased friend; while addressing a persecutor of John Frederic, who had been so indulgent, generous and faithful to Melanchthon, the latter allows himself to introduce unkind inuendoes respecting his fallen protector. So far, the language of Melanchthon, which, as Ranke says, was employed in "an unguarded moment," may be endured, if we exercise forbearance and view it as referring to private and personal matters. But the unfortunate letter, while it refused any change of doctrine and declined to admit the invocation of the saints, contained one passage, involving vital principles, which the ardent friends of truth could not easily forgive. It is the following: "I am also quite willing to adopt the ceremonies which the Augsburg Interim prescribes. * * * As a boy I already observed all the practices of the Church with special delight, and I am by my very nature an enemy of all that clownishness which cannot endure order in [ecclesiastical] acts, and which hates the common customs [of the Church] as it hates the dungeon." He then suggests to

*Ranke. IV. 314.

†Salig. Hist. der Augs. Conf. p. 566.

Carlowitz the policy of securing for the Interim the friendship of influential pastors, whose concurrence would promote its adoption by the Protestants of other German States. Even Carlowitz was amazed on reading the letter; the concessions which the writer made, were invaluable. He triumphantly exhibited it to all who desired to see it, and furnished numerous copies. The letter was of high political as well as doctrinal importance; copies were sent home by the ambassadors of other States, and when the emperor read it, he said: "Now you have Melancthon; see to it that you hold him fast." (Ranke V. 61.)

Before we state the facts which gave such significance to this letter, we may remark that it cannot for one moment be supposed that Melancthon was at this or any other time really guilty of a "leaning to popery." We may here apply the same principles of solution which the eminent Church-historian Lindner introduces in a somewhat parallel case. He assigns several weighty reasons in support of his opinion that Melancthon never actually changed his original Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper (including the *oralis manducatio*), and explains the homage which he was in his later years accused of offering to Calvin's theory, not as an actual departure from his earlier doctrine in any essential point, but simply as a suppression of his personal opinions for the sake of forming a closer union with the Reformed, "Er war Unionsmann," says Lindner.*

*Kirchengesch. III. B. 64. This view disposes at once of the absurd fiction of Heppe of Marburg respecting the "Melancthonian Church." The truth appears to be that Ebrard and his feeble party have no more right to claim Melancthon as their own than the Catholics would possess if they should prefer the same claim, founded on his course in the affair of the Leipzig Interim. His doctrinal convictions were not essentially altered, but he sighed for peace and union. His mistake was that which many other good men have since made, in overlooking the fact that no "union" can have value or permanence which is simply external and mechanical. When the "Evangelical Alliance," first started into life, its tremendous powers of deglutition would have led to the absorption even of the Universalists, if the Americans who assisted at the parturition had not interposed. A healthy process of concoction could not be expected from the heterogeneous materials of the repast. Thus, the last number of the "Amer. Ptesbyt. and Theol. Review" (April, 1863) presents an article with the ominous title: "*Freedom betrayed by the Evangelical Alliance of England.*" The "moral monstrosities" of its periodical: *The Evangelical Christendom*, and the speeches of its once lauded President, Sir Culling Eardley, show that its politics have prevailed over its religion, and the apprehension is entertained that it is fast becoming a thing to

At this period the great public work for which Providence had trained Flacius commenced; his relations with Melancthon and the importance of the letter to Carlowitz cannot be correctly understood unless the great events which at the time agitated the Church and the State, and which were connected with the famous Augsburg Interim are carefully considered. In the year 1547 death had relieved Charles V. of two powerful rivals, Henry VIII. of England, and Francis I. of France, whose threatening attitude had previously allowed him no repose; he now resumed his favorite plan of restoring the imperial throne of Germany to the proud position which it occupied in the days of Charlemagne. The sessions of the Council of Trent, which had commenced in 1545, had not yielded the fruits which the emperor had expected—the virtual acknowledgment that he held the right of a suzerain of the pope. His fears respecting a Turkish invasion were now lulled, and the military resources of the Protestants were no longer deemed essential to the stability of his throne. He had gained the battle of Mühlberg, seized the person of John Frederic, the leading Lutheran prince, and, soon afterwards, secured by a treacherous act, the person of Philip of Hesse; the Protestant or Smalcaldic Alliance was totally destroyed. Maurice and Joachim II. of Brandenburg, the two remaining leaders of the Protestants, were both influenced by personal and political considerations which made them pliable instruments of the emperor, and the latter now took a decisive step. If his project of rising to the summit of political and ecclesiastical power was to succeed, it was indispensable that no schism should remain in his German dominions. He accordingly determined, by persuasion or by force, to re-unite the Protestants and the Papists, by extorting the necessary concessions from each party. His own sagacity had long since convinced him that unless Popery reformed some of its worst vices, no union could be permanent; he still hoped that the acquiescence of the two discordant parties would be secured in so far, at least, as to enable him to accomplish his ulterior designs. King Ferdinand, his brother, receives in history the credit of having suggested that, as, on the one hand, the Protestants could not be extirpated, and, on the other, the Council of Trent was not regulated honestly and

be disowned and scorned.—There *can* be no “union” among men until they have first become “one in Christ.” Any other religious union is as unsubstantial as a phantom that flees from the light of day.

uprightly by the Pope, it would be wise to adopt a temporary system of rules for the guidance of all parties, until unanimity could be officially obtained. The emperor adopted the suggestion, and such a document was prepared determining points respecting doctrines and Church usages on which Catholics and Protestants differed in sentiment; it was sanctioned by the emperor, and promulgated, May 15, 1548, with all the authority of a law of the empire. As the provisions of this instrument (the *Formula ad interim*) were officially declared to be in force only during the *interim* or intermediate time between its publication and a final decision by the Council of Trent, it was called from the city in which it was proclaimed: *The Augsburg Interim*. The authors were three in number; two Catholic bishops, Pflug, who represented the Erasmian Romanists, and Helding who acted for the more rigid Romanists; the third, representing the Protestants, was Agricola, a weak, vain man, the court-preacher of Joachim II. This prince was a Lutheran by profession, but his vain love of pomp and display had induced him to tolerate the showy forms of the Romish mode of worship. Luther had conferred many favors on Agricola (Islebius), but afterwards disowned him when he introduced his Antinomian heresy; the vast influence of Luther suppressed this dangerous error, and Agricola recanted outwardly; but his subsequent conduct showed that he remained unsound in the faith to his end. In the preparation of the Interim, he was scarcely consulted, as Ranke thinks, and his name, as that of a Protestant, was all that he furnished. His whole conduct is consistent with the anecdote of the handsome bribes by which Charles and Ferdinand secured his compliance.

The Augsburg Interim professedly conceded to the Protestants the temporary use of the cup in the Lord's Supper, as well as the marriage of priests, and, apparently, did not reject the cardinal doctrine of justification, but the terms in which the latter was expressed, involved popish or Pelagian views. The chief errors of popery were retained:—the Mass, viewed as a *sacrifice*; the pope, as the head of the Church; *seven* sacraments; the invocation of the virgin Mary and the saints; the pomp of processions, and all the parade of public worship. The Catholics claimed that the Interim did not affect them, and was intended only for the Protestants. At this point of time the purity of the faith was exposed to imminent hazard; if that Formula should be

sanctioned and prevail among Protestants, then Luther would have lived in vain, the light of Gospel truth would have been completely extinguished, and Popery would ultimately have been re-established with augmented and, indeed, invincible power. Joachim was favorably disposed and consented to conform to the Interim in his dominions; the Palatinate, although in the Protestant interest, also offered no opposition. Maurice was embarrassed, as he had previously given solemn pledges to his people of his determination to protect the Protestant Church; he declined to adopt the Interim at once, but assured the emperor that he would employ all his influence to secure its recognition by his Lutheran subjects.

The Interim was received by all faithful men with one loud cry of horror and execration. Southern Germany, which was overrun with Spanish imperial troops, was forced to adopt it, and 400 Lutheran pastors, including John Brenz, were driven into exile for non-conformity; the popish Mass was celebrated again in the churches, and the restored authority of the pope officially announced. The subordinate Lutheran princes were intimidated and prepared to yield; every opponent of the Interim who could be seized, was cruelly punished, and Satan's triumph seemed to be complete. *Two men*, the imprisoned John Frederic, who repelled the Interim with scorn, to the grief of Charles (who well knew the effect of his example), and *Flacius*, were chosen by the Lord as the instruments by which Satan's device should ultimately meet with a shameful defeat.

When Melanchthon first read the Interim he was shocked, and even the remonstrances of his friend Carlowitz could not overcome the horror with which he surveyed the proposition that was placed before him, of apostatizing from the truth. At length the entreaties and wily expostulations of Maurice so far prevailed that an intermediate course was chosen. Melanchthon, who loved peace and looked with terror on the persecutions which non-conforming Lutherans in other German territories were suffering, was persuaded to regard various popish usages and ceremonies as merely *Adiaphora*, that is, *things indifferent*, not involving matters of principle. He and his Wittenberg colleagues (Paul Eber, George Major &c.) first oppose, then re-examine, then alter, then recognize the Interim in its modified form.

After numerous consultations they meet in Leipzig and adopt certain articles which constitute the *Leipzig Interim*. That *all* the abuses of popery should be restored, even Maurice could not expect. But he urged that if these abuses could be partly rejected, partly receive a milder interpretation, then, possibly, an arrangement might be effected. Here the *adiaphoristic* principle assumed importance. Melanchthon was placed in a cruel position. He was a sincere Protestant, but, alarmed as he was by the persecutions in Southern Germany, he was ready to adopt any appropriate means which would shield Saxony from similar afflictions. Might not these popish ceremonies, such as Extreme Unction, Confirmation by the bishop exclusively, with the chrism or holy oil, the ceremonies of the Romish Mass, the wearing of an alba or the change of sacerdotal vestments at the communion, be regarded as simply *adiaphora* to which no moral character for good or evil belonged? Might not the ringing of the little bell, Latin hymns and other forms connected with the Mass, be resumed as harmless changes? And was not Extreme Unction only a thing indifferent? What was the celebration of the festival of *Corpus Christi*,* unless a mere form, an *adiaphoron*? And if the term "alone" (*sola*) in Luther's favorite formula: "Justification by faith *alone*" should be dropped, did such omission positively declare that the Catholic doctrine of justification by human works was scriptural?

Such considerations, enforced by the stress of the times, and by a morbid desire for union, influenced the Wittenberg theologians when they adopted at Leipzig a modification of the 26 articles of the Augsburg Interim; this modified form received its name from the city in which the last meeting was held. Melanchthon, who was aware (Preger I. 50) that political intrigue, regardless of the truth of God, only desired the weight of his name, was little satisfied with his own

**Festum Corporis Christi, Frohnleichnamfest*, established in honor of the popish doctrine of Transubstantiation, and assigned to the Thursday succeeding Trinity Sunday. The Council of Trent adopted the following: "The holy Council declares that the custom of annually celebrating this pre-eminent and *adorable* sacrament with *peculiar veneration* and solemnity on an appointed festal day, carrying it reverently and honorably in *procession through the streets and public places* was piously and religiously introduced into the Church of God." Cramp: *Text Book of Popery*, p. 176. "It was celebrated as the triumphal festival of the Catholic faith." Alt: *Cultus* II. 58.

course, and, as usual, regretted his concessions when the results appeared. These concessions were such as the following: The doctrine of justification by faith created more difficulty than any other, as, on the one hand, Melanchthon was not prepared to abandon its essential features, and, on the other, Maurice could hope for no gracious audience with the emperor on presenting his modification of the original instrument, unless he could demonstrate that Catholic theologians had given it their approbation. He actually induced two bishops, Pflug and Maltiz, to give their sanction to the new articles, after they had inserted certain expressions which aided a Catholic interpretation of the whole. The word *sola* in the usual Lutheran phrase *fide sola* (i. e. Justification *by faith alone*, to the exclusion of human works and merit) was *expressively* omitted; it was admitted that the Christian virtues of the believer, including his faith and good works, might be termed his righteousness,* and that such virtues were *necessary* to salvation. The exceptions and explanations of Melanchthon, although intended to maintain the spirit of the Gospel doctrine, still permitted the implication that man was not justified *solely* by the merits of Christ. The Catholics, who confounded justification and sanctification secured this gross error also by the insertion of their technical term: *justitia infusa*. The doctrine of faith was again abandoned in the statement respecting Penitence and the Sacraments generally, with regard to which the Interim consented to suppress all mention of the necessity of faith. For the sake of facilitating a future re-union with the Catholic Church, Melanchthon now practically availed himself of his theory that it was proper, provided sound doctrine was not affected, to regard all ceremonies, the ecclesiastical organization, &c., as *adiaphora*; Zwingli's radicalism, which proceeded to the other extreme, he termed "Swiss barbarism" (Lindner. III. B. 48). It was accordingly decided that the Lutheran reformation of the *doctrine* should not be abandoned, but that the Lutheran reformation of popish *usages* should be partially retracted. The Leipzig Interim, therefore, admitted the popish ordination of priests by bishops as alone in order, acknowledged Extreme Unction, Confirmation, &c., with the attendant ceremonies, restored the changes of vestments usual at the Mass, approved of solitary

*The original has it: *Virtutes etiam et bona opera* in talibus reconciliatis *justitia* (righteousness) appellantur, &c.—But St. Paul says: "If by grace, then it is no more of *works*, &c." Rom. 11. 6.

masses which the Lutherans had been rightly taught to regard as a profanation, consented that the Mass should be received as a eucharistic sacrifice, and restored the primacy of the pope, the jurisdiction of the bishops and the right of the Church to dictate the correct interpretation of Scripture. After these enormous concessions were made, which in truth abandoned nearly all the vital principles of Lutheranism, the theologians imply that such admissions may indeed be dangerous, but that it would be better to endure a minor evil than expose the Church to persecution and ruin, soothingly adding that "it would be well, for the sake of peace, to submit to a certain form of bondage, when only things indifferent are concerned" (*servituten aliquam in adiaphoris esse tolerandam*). Still, "when the theologians looked at their work," says Ranke (V. 65), "they were themselves confounded, and complained that, while they had allowed themselves to be led to such extremes, they had been overwhelmed by the opinions of the rulers."*

The controversy that followed has received the names both of *Interimistic* and *Adiaphoristic* from the terms mentioned above. As no Lutheran military power now existed which could effectually sustain the Lutheran Reformation when a wide avenue for the return of Popery in its worst spirit had been opened, the cause of truth seemed to be hopelessly prostrated. Then God taught men that the Gospel can be sustained by *His* unaided power and needed neither prince nor theologian of great power and fame in restoring it to its supremacy. The silent influence of the captive John Frederic powerfully sustained the drooping hopes of many believers. But Flacius, the Illyrian, a stranger in Germany, without money or political influence, was chosen as the chief instrument of God in effecting his holy purposes. In this struggle, in which the pope, the emperor and leading Protestant princes and theologians seemed to forget their many diverging private interests in order to form one united, colossal power, God again "chose the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty."

*The tidings which Calvin received of these proceedings induced him to address Melancthon in the following terms: Plures tu unus paululum cedendo querimonias et gemitus excitasti, quam centum mediocres aperta defectione. (Ranke. V. 68). But it is said that Calvin afterwards remarked that exaggerated statements had produced a wrong impression on his mind at the time when he wrote.

Flacius at the present period occupied a subordinate position as a teacher in Wittenberg, but his whole soul was moved by these proceedings. He had loved and revered Melanchthon, but divine truth, to which he owed all his peace and his hopes, was unspeakably precious to him. Besides, his oath of office, taken when he commenced his duties in Wittenberg, bound him to defend God's truth; the work which Luther had, with God's blessing commenced, could not be abandoned, and Antichrist be permitted to resume his sway. After fruitless endeavors to withdraw Melanchthon from the snares in which he had become involved, he promptly sacrificed all for Christ and withdrew voluntarily from Wittenberg, before the popish forms were re-introduced, leaving his family behind. He found congenial spirits in Magdeburg, (where Luther's old friend Amsdorf occupied a high position), as well as in Lunenburg, Hamburg and elsewhere, and was cheered by the discovery that the Lord's "seven thousand in Israel" (1 Kings 19: 18) still lived. He finally chose Magdeburg as his residence where the imperial censorship of the press could not prevail, and he earned his bread by rendering temporary services in a printing office. As large numbers of faithful but helpless Lutherans urged him to espouse the cause of truth personally, he continued the publication of numerous writings which his prolific pen had already produced in Wittenberg. He exposed the threatening dangers of the Interim with uncommon acumen and unsparing rigor. It taught men—he alleged—to rely on their works for salvation, thus robbing Christ of all glory; it did not require faith in the communicant; it implied the rightful character of popish "Indulgences;" it converted Confirmation, a rite of human origin, into a means of grace, and it subjected all Lutheran pastors to the authority of the Bishops, to the complete overthrow of the whole Lutheran Reformation.

Flacius admitted unequivocally that *adiaphora* existed, and furnishes in one of his works* a lucid exhibition of their nature. He shows from 1 Cor. ch. 7; ch. 8; ch. 9; ch. 10; ch. 14, that Paul regarded the act of marrying, the use of certain articles of food, the observance of certain days, the acceptance by a teacher of a compensation, and the alternation of teaching and singing at public worship, as all being *adiaphora* ("non essentials"), or things in which the

**De veris et falsis adiaphoris.* Magdeb. 1549; in the next year a German translation appeared.

decision of the individual is not sinful, provided that unchaste, superstitious or other unholy motives do not control the decision. Ecclesiastical adiaphora, in particular, are all the circumstances attending the public worship and the administration of the Sacraments, with regard to which the divine and holy Head of the Church has given no specific directions, save that all should be done decently and in order. Hence, the particular garments of the officiating minister, the place, the time, the choice of the hymns and tunes, &c., are adiaphora. Hence, too, it was unwise and sinful when controversies arose on points of such unimportance, as, whether leavened or unleavened bread should be used in the Lord's Supper. But when—continues Flacius—such adiaphora are specially chosen or sanctioned by the Church and tend to edification, no other than very grave reasons would justify the individual in departing from such Church order. It is of no consequence whether we observe the Christian festival of Easter precisely on the day when the Jews observe the Passover [probably an allusion to the decision in A. D. 325 of the Quartodecimanian controversy], but when the Church has once designated the time, no individual ought to introduce disturbances by insisting unnecessarily on a change. The whole extended discussion of Flacius is admirable in spirit and in execution; he grants the largest possible liberty to the private individual in things indifferent, but by numerous arguments and illustrations shows from a combination of several texts that *three* principles are here to be inviolably observed: first, that Christian “order” be not disturbed; secondly, that Christian “decency” be inflexibly maintained; and, thirdly, that Christian “edification” be ever regarded as an ultimate object in choosing among things indifferent. We regret that our space will not admit of liberal extracts.

In another work* Flacius defends the thesis: *That, in the present times, no change at all in religion* (usages or ceremonies, as well as doctrines) *ought to be made for the purpose of gratifying evil men.* Here he shows that the Papists would regard every concession as the payment of a portion of the heavy debt which the Lutherans, as the other party assumed, owed them for having once revolted, while feeble Christians would be grieved and offended. “And to please whom,” he indignantly asks, “is this course taken,

*The title is: Quod hoc tempore nulla penitus mutatio in religione in gratiam impiorum sit facienda.

which wounds the consciences of devout men? Solely to please Antichrist, whom all men ought to shun." The fundamental principle which he now adopts is: *Nothing may be regarded as an adiaphoron, which concerns our confession of faith, and occasions scandals in the Church.**** Accordingly, the adiaphora of the Leipzig Interim are "ungodly adiaphora," in view both of the circumstances under which they are defined, and also of the motives which lead to their establishment. For they are really imposed by those against whom the Holy Spirit has warned all Christians, namely, by Antichrist, or the Babylonian harlot and the beast that carrieth her (Rev. 17: 1-7; 19: 2). Do not all these concessions proceed from a servile desire to gratify the princes? Are the latter not governed, in their turn, by a selfish desire to gratify the emperor and the pope? But are these two men controlled by a pure desire to obey Christ and honor the Gospel? The Church may, indeed, suffer persecution and bondage, and bleed at every pore. But is she ever permitted to renounce the liberty with which her Founder endowed her? Shall we make concessions to the enemy for the sake of peace, and thus take our case into our own hands? Has the heavenly protector of the Church lost his power, so that she is abandoned to her own resources? If other territories are now invaded by Papists, do we hope to protect Saxony by servility and cowardice? Are these the weapons that will hinder the Romans—the Papists—from coming and taking away both our place and nation (John 11: 48)? Satan and his handmaid, the world,—Flacius proceeds—are not satisfied with trifles; the Adia-phorists will soon be compelled to make a second series of concessions, and another, until the last seed of Gospel truth is annihilated. The profound and sagacious mind of Flacius then unveils the unwise policy of Maurice and Melancthon. Even if a living faith in God's truth and power did not encourage them, Flacius thinks that their own personal knowledge of the unscrupulous character of the emperor and of the bigotry of the Catholics should have taught them that any moderate concessions were worse than futile; the thirsty beast is eager for a second, and a third taste of human blood. Let those broad lines of demarcation which Luther established, once be effaced, and popish artifices will soon reconquer the whole territory that truth had won. Let it not be said

*Nihil est ἀδιάφορον in casu confessionis et scandalii.

that these are adiaphora in the sight of God ; even if some of them were originally harmless, they have since become vicious aids to idolatry ; hence they should be as inflexibly repelled as the devout Hezekiah brake the brazen serpent in pieces, which had once been raised on high by divine command, but had now become an object of idolatrous worship (2 Kings 18 : 4). On this account Flacius regarded the use of the white surplice (Chorhemd), the resumption of which the Interim conceded, although harmless in itself, as involving, under the circumstances, the sacrifice of a Protestant principle.

Flacius refers, in other writings, to the disastrous effects of auricular confession, to the fatal errors of the Catholics in regarding the external attendance on the Mass as all-sufficient, to the unprofitable character of the popish worship, which was still conducted in a language, (the Latin), which the people no longer understood, and to the abomination of regarding the mass as a sacrifice. All these pernicious practices now threaten to overwhelm Lutheranism as with a flood. He introduces the following illustration:—If any one assails me and says : “You have stolen from me one hundred pieces of gold ; return them at once, or I will employ compulsion,”—and, if I now pay him at one time ten, at another, twenty pieces, do I not practically confess the crime, no matter what other reasons for my conduct I may allege ? When we, in an analogous manner, make concessions to the Papists in the adiaphora, do we not confess thereby that our whole Lutheran Reformation was a crime ? The circumstances may be so unfavorable that an adiaphoron ceases to be an adiaphoron. It was certainly a thing indifferent whether Daniel prayed to God daily with the windows of his chamber open or closed ; but when the ungodly decree of Darius prohibited that act, any deviation from his practice of praying with *open* windows would have discouraged the faithful, and have been a tacit approbation of idolatry, if not a denial of the true God ; hence the practice, under the circumstances, ceased to be an adiaphoron. (Dan. 6 : 10). It was, according to St. Paul (1 Cor. ch. 8), an adiaphoron when an intelligent Christian partook of meat that had previously been offered to an idol, but the act ceased to be an adiaphoron when it caused a weak brother to perish. “All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient.” (1 Cor. 10 : 53). It was an adiaphoron to eat bread with washed or unwashed hands ; the Saviour,

however, purposely adopted the latter course in order not to connive at the sinful tenets of the Pharisees by apparently sanctioning them in his own practice (Matt. 15: 20; Mark 7: 2-13).

Flacius next establishes the principle: *That among the adiaphora which are now proposed to us, there are many which by their very nature are acts of impiety.** He re-examines the whole subject from this point of view. Our theologians—he says—first dropped the word *sola*; then they consented that believers became righteous *chiefly* through Christ; then they received the tenet that *our other virtues* are necessary as coefficients of our salvation. All their explanations and saving clauses are inoperative when they once abandon the word *sola*, that is, justified by Christ *alone*. They subject our Lutheran pastors to the Catholic bishops, but loudly protest that the latter must fulfil the duties of their office according to God's command. Why—he asks—who ever heard that any popish bishop, even when he committed the most infamous acts, claimed that he acted *in opposition to* God's will? Of course, all their tyranny, when we once submit to it, will be called by them *conformity* to the Divine will. Does the Interim concede that popish bishops alone shall ordain our pastors? A little child can see that, in this case, faithful men will be set aside, and our congregations be supplied only with Adiaphorists, Interimists and Papists. The Interim receives the popish doctrine respecting penitence, confession and absolution; it desires that the people should be exhorted to pray, fast and give alms, but nothing is said of the importance and value of *faith* which the Lutheran system regards as indispensable. Accordingly, our people will now be directed by the priest to repeat the Lord's Prayer with the lips and the Ave Maria* with the assistance of the rosary or beads, to fast twice a week, to pay for a Mass or two, and then to believe that all sin is pardoned and every religious duty fulfilled. What becomes of the religion of the heart or of faith? What becomes of Christ?

*Quod in præsentibus adiaphoris multa sint sua natura impia.

†This prayer adds to the words of the two salutations in Luke 1: 28, 42. the following: "Holy Mary, mother of God! Pray for us sinners now, and in the hour of our death. Amen." The Wittenberg theologians did not even remotely sanction such Mariolatry, but Flacius apprehends that it would soon glide into the Church under the cover of apparently harmless adiaphora.

We have not room to refer to all the dangers to which the warning voice of Flacius directs attention. The restoration of the old forms of the Mass would exclude the German hymns and substitute Latin words ; the Confiteor (confession) would necessarily re-introduce the invocation of the saints ; the canonical hours, which were also to be restored, could not fail to revive in the bosom of the Lutheran Church a host of exploded errors and superstitions, as well as sanction anew the doctrine of Purgatory, the gold mine of the priests. Among the abolished festivals which were to be restored, Flacius regarded with special horror that of Corpus Christi mentioned above, while he also discarded the additional Mary-days which only tended to foster a spirit of superstition and idolatry.

Flacius also refers to the different spirit which breathed in Luther. The latter thus wrote to Melanchthon in the critical year 1530 : "You entertain serious fears in reference to our cause, but my mind is quite easy on the subject, as I know that it is the cause of Christ and God. I feel like a mere spectator and am not alarmed by these ferocious and threatening Papists. * * Be it so that our cause must fail. I would rather fall with Christ than stand with the emperor." (The whole letter from which Flacius quotes and the others which he published, may be found in de Wette's collection : Luther's Briefe ; for the one just mentioned, see Vol. IV. 62) "I am altogether dissatisfied with these transactions concerning an agreement in doctrine, which is clearly impossible unless the pope consents to abolish his papacy" (ib. p. 147). "I hear that you intend to make various concessions for the sake of peace. Now, if you concede the private Mass, that is enough—you then deny our faith and acknowledge their own. I am almost bursting with indignation. Cease to treat with them, *and come home !*" (Luther to Justus Jonas, Sept. 20, 1530. ibid. p. 159).

The immediate effects of these several publications of Flacius were decisive. He and his indefatigable associates in Magdeburg roused the Protestant feelings of believers so thoroughly in Maurice's dominions, that the latter, who was influenced chiefly by political motives, was successfully arrested in his unprincipled career. His sagacity taught him that if he persisted in his efforts to introduce the Interim in any form which would satisfy the emperor, his subjects, driven to desperation, would forcibly resist. Ma-

jor, in a letter to Duke Albert of Prussia, written in 1550, admits that the Magdeburg writers have robbed him of all hope of seeing the Interim established, and the Wittenberg theologians in the Vindication of their conduct published in 1559* concede that Flacius had been the great obstacle encountered by Maurice in executing his plan of *yielding to the Emperor in all things*, as far as piety and a good conscience would allow (*illud Principis Mauricii consilium impediit, quo decreverat, ut in omnibus, in quibus pie et cum bona conscientia posset, Cæsari obsequeretur*).

General history has recorded the leading fact that after Maurice had long seemed to be a faithful vassal of Charles V., and had, in his zeal for the latter even taken up arms against his Lutheran brethren, he suddenly assumed the attitude of a public enemy of the emperor. He issued a proclamation in which he harshly inveighed against his imperial master and declared that he would no longer permit "the priests (*Pfaffen*, for which, as a contemptuous term, we have no English equivalent) and the Spaniards to trample on him." On the 4th of April, 1552, he entered the imperial city of Augsburg with a large army, hastened to Innsbruck where the unsuspecting emperor lodged at the time without any considerable military force, and, if his own progress had not been temporarily checked by a mutiny among his troops who demanded their pay, he would have captured the emperor. The latter hurriedly fled late at night with a few attendants, overwhelmed with grief and mortification. The "fathers" who attended the Council of Trent, dispersed in dismay. The emperor, completely entangled in the toils of Maurice, was compelled to accede to the terms of the Convention of Passau (Aug. 2, 1552), which secured the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg from further molestation. This treaty was followed by the celebrated Peace of Augsburg concluded at the diet which was opened Feb. 5, 1555. The articles which, after various reciprocal concessions, were here adopted by the contending parties and publicly proclaimed September 25, were intended to secure for all future times the religious rights and liberties of the Lutheran Church in the empire.*

**Expositio eorum, quæ theol. Acad. Wittenberg, etc.* This statement, which furnishes nearly all the important documents referring to the controverted points, possesses great historical value, and is largely quoted by writers on the subject.

†Later events revealed many imperfections in the terms of the peace, which had a very unhappy influence, such as the exclusion of the

This extraordinary revolution in the conduct of Maurice is usually explained by historians on the general theory that he was at heart a Protestant, and that he was, besides, irritated by the emperor's obstinate refusal to liberate his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse. Later and more thorough investigations seem to unfold the policy of Maurice with more success. If he could have secured the tame submission of his Lutheran subjects and established the Leipzig Interim peaceably, the emperor and the Catholic party would, in view of the ultimate effects of that instrument and the expected decision of the Council of Trent, have been well contented. In that case it would have been folly to seek a collision with the mighty emperor. But the resistance of his subjects, which now assumed a very grave character, and for which, under God, later generations owe a vast debt of gratitude to Flacius, necessarily directed his scheming mind in another channel. That he could quietly retain the electorate, and, at the same time, live in the sun-shine of imperial favor, was now obviously impossible. On the other hand, the military power of the Protestants, if properly combined and subjected to one mind, could doubtless maintain itself permanently against that of the Papists, if the cause of the latter should at once receive a decisive blow. He seems to have at this juncture contrived the plan which he actually executed with inimitable skill; no lofty principle taught him to refrain from emulating the emperor in duplicity. His plan involved the capture of the latter, by which event he would be enabled to dictate his own terms; for, where a free choice remained to Maurice and equal temporal advantages could be secured, he preferred the religion which he and his subjects professed, to that of the emperor. He accordingly formed secret alliances with all the Protestant princes of the empire and with the king of France; England, Denmark and Poland, in which countries the ambition of the Spanish conqueror was feared and detested, readily gave their adherence. The result was the Convention of Passau mentioned above. This explanation is fully sustained by the character of Maurice who was a far-seeing and resolute man, and an unscrupulous politician, by the historic events which occurred in succession, and by the confessedly great

Reformed, and the "Ecclesiastical Reservation" (*reservatum ecclesiasticum*) which the Lutherans, although its dangerous character was not entirely hidden, were compelled by their want of superior military strength to yield to the bigotry and malice of the Papists.

influence which any leading religious principle such as that which Flacius represented, exercised in that age on the policy of rulers.

After the Convention of Passau which prohibited the introduction of any Interim such as those of Augsburg and Leipzig, the Interimistic and Adiaphoristic controversy was virtually at an end. Still, the ocean heaves convulsively long after the fury of the tempest has passed away; the principles involved in the controversy had not all been unanimously adjusted; personal feeling was not at once calmed. The controversialists, whom political influences no longer excited and pressing dangers of the Church did not alarm, discussed during several years the great topics which had led to such vast results in the external *status* of the Church.

The Wittenberg theologians gave their final statement in the *Expositio* of 1559 which we have already mentioned. They declare that the introduction of the adiaphora had originally proceeded from Maurice and not from them; that he had positively assured them that he would concede no essential principle to the emperor; that Saxony was threatened with war and devastation, by which the Church would have been seriously imperiled as it had been in Swabia; that they did not wish to appear as rebellious subjects of the empire; that in doctrines and in the sacraments, they had abandoned nothing that was essential; and that they had deemed it wise to concede certain adiaphora in order to preserve essentials. Their motives were honest, but the principles for which Flacius contended were those of a man of vast learning, profound wisdom and living faith, as well as of clear views derived from a philosophic study of history and of the danger of concessions in critical times. He lived in a period of transition when the Lutheran faith had, in its essential features, been already set forth in the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Two Catechisms, and the Smalcald Articles, but when certain points were still discussed in the Church, which these confessions had not prominently introduced. After the death of Flacius all these disturbing elements were controlled and finally determined by that noble confession, which is still the brightest jewel of all those which glitter on the brow of the Church—the *Formula of Concord*, adopted in 1580. The Adiaphora are considered in Article X. both of the Epitome and of the Full (Solida) Declaration. The Church there demonstrates the

scriptural character of the great principles for which Flacius contended with such fidelity and success (Henkel's Second Engl. ed. p. 581 sqq. 705 sqq.) Not a more glorious monument could have been erected to his memory than the incorporation in our creed of this article which so undisguisedly and faithfully espouses a fundamental principle of genuine Protestantism.*

We must somewhat more rapidly pass over the subsequent discussions in which Flacius was engaged. The *Osiandrian* controversy prevailed from 1549 to 1567. Andrew Osiander was an able and influential Reformer, and eloquent in the pulpit, but of a somewhat harsh and obstinate disposition. In his controversial writings he was excessively severe and even vulgar, when he described the persons of his opponents; the services which he really had rendered the Church, such as his agency in conducting Albert of Prussia to a knowledge of the truth, led him to adopt an arrogant style which disinterested persons regarded as intolerable. Hence his relations with his colleagues, when he received the appointment of professor of theology in Königsburg in 1549, became unfriendly and humiliating.

The erroneous doctrinal statements of Osiander included the following points: Luther had taught, in opposition to the popish doctrine, that our redemption comprehended a two-fold work of grace, namely, that our justification was an act of God performed for our benefit, and, that sanctification, as distinct from the former, was an act or influence of God by his Spirit *in man himself*. Osiander, somewhat after the manner of the Catholics, confounded these two divine operations; according to him, the forgiveness of our sins, or, our redemption, is, indeed, due to the Saviour's fulfilment of the law and to his sufferings and death; but he held, on the other hand, in opposition to Rom. ch. 4, that our justification

*We cannot too highly commend to the student of the history and the doctrines of this precious confession the following works: GÖSCHEL: *Die Concordien-Formel*; FRANK: *Die Theologie der Conc.* Of the latter, two volumes have already appeared. Happy would it have been for the Lutheran Church in this country if the principles which were finally recognized as scriptural, had been retained in their vitality and power. They were suppressed by that deplorable facility with which we have too often waved our "distinctive features" in doctrine and in usages, on the theory that these are "non-essentials." If a more virile spirit had prevailed, it would have secured for us the continuance of such unanimity and churchly feeling, that our religious, educational and social position at this time could be contemplated with feelings with which we have not yet been enabled to become familiar.

does not consist in the imputation to faith of Christ's merit, as distinct from our works, but in the fact that Christ with the righteousness of his *divine* nature which he possessed from all eternity, enters our hearts and thus *makes* us just or righteous. He denied Luther's doctrine that our justification proceeds from the imputation of the merits of Christ who as God-*Man* suffered and died in our place. He denied that Christ was our Saviour in his *human* nature also, and maintained that our righteousness was derived from that of the divine nature of Christ *exclusively*, thus virtually identifying the believer's justification with his sanctification, and undervaluing or depreciating the work of Christ on earth, which he finished on the cross. Albert, the friend and patron of Osiander, was distressed by the commotion which the latter raised in the Church, and applied to eminent theologians for counsel and aid, still being disposed to sustain Osiander. He accordingly offered to Flacius, whom the distress of the times had robbed of support and a home, a considerable sum of money and an honorable position in his territory, if he (Flacius) would espouse the cause of Osiander. He judged Flacius according to a common standard, and supposed that, as his relations with the Wittenberg theologians had been clouded by the previous controversy, he would now promptly defend Osiander whom Melancthon and his colleagues rightly denounced. But the lofty soul of Flacius existed only in God and his truth, and he replied: "I would rather contend *for* the truth in company with the Wittenberg professors who were my most determined opponents, than contend *against* the truth in company with my friend Osiander, even if the latter course were recommended by the prospect of an ample income." He now commenced the publication of various works on the subject, defends his philosophical positions by rich quotations from the classic writers, the Roman law, &c., and sustains his theological arguments by powerful appeals to the Scriptures and to the established facts of Christian experience. He defines the true nature or character of the righteousness of Christ with surprising acumen and depth, annihilates Osiander's fantastic theory respecting the "evangelical word" and the indwelling of divine righteousness in the believer (which the excellent Brenz confessed that he could not altogether comprehend), sets forth the errors of his exegesis, and triumphantly exposes the disingenuous mode in which Osiander had quoted passages from the writings of Augustine and

Luther. In vain did Osiander labor to point out distinctions between his own and the papistical doctrine—he still stood convicted of grievous departures from the doctrines of God's word. The mass of the subjects of Albert (who persisted in sustaining Osiander) espoused the views advocated by Flacius, Melanchthon and the most eminent theologians of the day. Again did the divine blessing attend the labors of Flacius; the Church recognized the purity of his anti-Osiandrian doctrines by adopting them in the Formula of Concord, Art. III. (Henkel's ed. p. 638–641.)

About the year 1538 the Protestant Church in Silesia, Wurtemberg and elsewhere, was much disturbed by the vagaries of Schwenkfeld. His family, which was very ancient, ranked with the class termed in England *the gentry*. After having acquired a good education, he led the life of a worldly-minded courtier for several years. At length the subject of religion began to interest him deeply. He visited Luther in 1525, and studied his writings with diligence. But he had also become acquainted with the doctrines and practices of the Picards,* that is, no doubt, the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren. He soon determined to become an independent reformer and propagate a system which none of his contemporaries had devised. He claimed that, by a special revelation from heaven, he had received the true doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Luther, he alleged, had *added to*, Zwingli, on the other hand, *taken from*, the

*This name, as a term of reproach was frequently applied by the Catholics to the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, Hussites, and Waldenses. The history of the Picard sect is very obscure; they were charged with the wildest fanaticism and licentiousness. After having been driven from Germany, they fled to Bohemia. The Moravian Brethren appear to be sustained by history in disowning the appellation as a calumny, since it belonged to a different and very corrupt sect. Probably the Beghards or Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit, mystics and fanatics of the foulest kind (both sexes associating in a nude state, whence called *Adamites*) attempted to identify themselves in Bohemia with non-Catholics whose morals were pure. The term *Picard*, according to Mosheim (Cent. XV. Part II. ch. V. §2) who is sustained by the most recent authorities (Herzog: Real-Ency. XI. Art. *Picarden*) is a Bohemian corruption of *Beghard*. It was applied by Catholics to all their opponents. That there is some confusion in the use of the name *Picard* seems to be demonstrated by the title of an Apology or Vindication presented by the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren to George, Margrave of Brandenburg, which is the following: *Apologia veræ doctrinæ eorum, qui vulgo appellantur Waldenses vel Picardi, Retinuerunt enim Jo. Hussitæ doctrinam cum Scripturis sanctis consentientem.* Third edition 1538.

sense of the words of the institution, which, according to his revelation, should mean: *My body is this*, namely, food, the bread of life. The meaning of this formula is not fully apparent until we recollect that Schwenkfeld, who now yielded entirely to the mystical, or rather, fanatical tendency which his later associations had developed, entertained also the following views: Justification is the incarnation of Christ in the believer; justifying faith, which is a communication from the divine nature or substance itself, "a spark of the burning fire which is God," is not wrought in us through the medium of the external written or preached word, but immediately, that is, without means, through the divine operation of the Spirit. Christ's human nature was begotten of the substance of God; his flesh, although he was Mary's son, was not that of a creature, but was equally as divine as the divine nature itself; Christ's human nature, amalgamated or made one with his divine nature, was literally *deified*. The word of God is Christ alone; that which is also called *the word*, namely, the revealed doctrine when written or preached, is not, strictly speaking, the word of God, but merely an external testimony; the writings of the prophets and apostles were simply an imperfect sketch of the eternal word, merely accidental and transient. He also disapproved of Infant Baptism, and appears to have anticipated the doctrine since known as "Christian Perfection," by holding that the regenerated Christian can yield a perfect and complete obedience, so that he really lives without sin.

At this late period we are apt to imagine that Schwenkfeld's errors were rather theoretic than practical, as no charges are brought against his moral character, and that, consequently, the controversy with him was of little significance. But it must be remembered that he was the representative of a *system* of errors which coincided with the fundamental principles of the dangerous Anabaptists and of other misguided men in Southern and Western Germany. This system threatened to overthrow the visible Church of Christ and to afford a religious sanction to the indulgence of the wildest passions of the soul. By essentially corrupting the doctrine of justification by faith, and by virtually setting at naught the written and preached word, it threatened to paralyze the whole work of the Reformation at a most critical period. Hence serious disturbances occurred; Melanchthon and the most eminent theologians published numerous writings, in which they specified and refuted the errors of Schwenkfeld,

chiefly those which involved his doctrine concerning the human nature of Christ. As, however, his pernicious errors respecting "the word of God" had not been directly examined and exposed, Flacius devoted himself to this important department of the controversy. His first work on the subject was published in 1553; the last, entitled: "Fifty gross errors, &c." appeared in 1559. He here exhibits the surprising stores of learning in philology, exegesis, philosophy and general theological science which he had amassed; his intellectual efforts are surpassed in power only by his devout sentiments, and we regret that we have no room to furnish the details. The labors of Flacius and the other defenders of the faith were signally blessed; the controversial skill of Schwenfeld and his adherents, although they retorted in numerous publications, availed nothing. The sect ever since had a sickly existence, and its entire extinction is not far distant. As its fundamental errors were in nearly every case already virtually rejected in the existing confessional writings of the Lutheran Church, the Formula of Concord (Art. XII. Henkel's ed. p. 731) summarily dismisses the "Erroneous Articles of the Schwenkfeldians" and ratifies anew the principles for which Melanchthon, Flacius and others had so faithfully contended.

George Major, originally one of the students of Luther and Melanchthon, and afterwards a colleague and devoted adherent of the latter, in Wittenberg, had been regarded with a certain degree of suspicion by the stricter Lutherans ever since the publication of the Leipzig Interim. The latter had apparently made a dangerous concession to Popery by admitting that "good works are necessary to salvation." Melanchthon had originally introduced this language in his *Loci Communes* of 1535, but understood it in an evangelical sense, namely, that our acceptance with God, when it really occurs, must be manifested by new obedience to God. But as the language was misinterpreted in a popish sense, and was hence pointedly condemned by Luther, he subsequently omitted the obnoxious terms. In consequence of various unfortunate circumstances which seriously affected Major's comfort and character, he was induced to repeat in one of his publications the offensive phrase which even Melanchthon disavowed in 1555. Amsdorf, Flacius and Gallus at once assailed the putatively popish character of this proposition, and thus the *Majoristic Controversy* commenced in 1551 and continued during nearly twelve years. Flacius would possi-

bly have been a more lenient judge of Major, but the tergiversation of the latter, who attempted to avoid the odium of the Leipzig Interim by asserting that he had not been present at its adoption in Leipzig, while it was proved that he had assisted in preparing it previously in Celle, was one of many causes which induced Flacius to combat his error. The great objection to Major's Protean proposition was derived from the fact that such language ("good works are necessary to salvation"), even if capable of receiving an evangelical interpretation, had a most disastrous influence on many minds. On the one hand, it favored the popish doctrine of the meritoriousness of works and seemed to imply that men earned salvation. On the other hand, it robbed the penitent sinner, who could produce no good works of his own, and who depended solely on the merits of Christ, of all hope and consolation. Thus the all-sufficiency of Christ's atoning work lost its glory, and immortal souls were placed in imminent peril. Major replied that he understood the formula in a strictly evangelical sense, and ascribed no merit to human works; he re-asserted his faith in the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and he really appears, after the writings of Flacius and others had led him to investigate the subject anew, and had enabled him to obtain clearer views, to have regarded good works not as meriting salvation, nor as the price which man pays for it, but as results which God imperatively demands, and as the *necessary fruits* of that living faith by which alone we are justified. The religious experience of Flacius, who felt himself to be by nature a poor, helpless, lost sinner, and whose hopes of salvation were founded exclusively on the merits of Christ, induced him to combat every opinion which seemed in the smallest degree to impair the glory of Christ's redeeming work.

As the contending parties did not essentially differ in fundamental points, the controversy would not have assumed its large proportions, if Major could have remained calm in spirit and language, and if some of his adherents could have observed the rules of Christian discretion. One of the latter especially, Justus Menius, originally a monk, then an adherent of Melancthon, and by no means a decided opponent of the Leipzig Interim, avowed himself publicly as a friend both of Major's proposition and of the adiaphora. He combined with these views certain variations from the Protestant doctrine, which called forth a new publication from Flacius. But he had now acquired a safe position in Leipzig, and

assailed all his opponents with unsparing invectives. At this time the earnest and devout Amsdorf, the man of "the iron will," Luther's faithful personal friend, unhappily permitted Major and Menius to impel him to the other extreme, so that he advanced the proposition: "good works are not only not necessary to, but are also injurious to, salvation;" he published in 1559 a work intended especially to prove the truth and Christian character of the proposition. He undoubtedly intended only to express emphatically the sentiment, not that external good works are *per se* injurious, but that *reliance on them*, to the exclusion of Christ's merits, was evil, alluding to the Pharisees and Catholics who trusted that they would be saved by their works, to the dishonor of the grace of God. Here Flacius, whose whole life seems to have been one of martyrdom, and who was willing to die, but not to be separated from Christ, was compelled to combat his friend's doctrine, or rather, to expose the unscriptural character and folly of his extravagant assertion. He distinctly avowed that "good works are necessary" not indeed as earning salvation—for "faith is necessary to salvation"—but as the conditions without which faith and the spirit of prayer cannot abide in the soul. Subsequently Major retracted his suspicious expression so far as to admit unequivocally that man is justified by faith alone. The whole subject, after such a full discussion (only clouded at times by personalities and invective) conducted to the admirable statement of the Gospel doctrine, in strict accordance with the earlier confessions, which the Church gave in the Formula of Concord, Art. IV. (Henkel's ed. p. 641–649). Again were the positions taken by Flacius distinctly and fully sustained, and their scriptural character demonstrated.

It is obvious that so many controversies in the bosom of the Lutheran Church must have had a two-fold effect: on the one hand, they ultimately conducted men to clearer views of divine truth, and, in the kind Providence of God, surrounded our faith with impregnable bulwarks; on the other hand, they disturbed the peace of the Church, and seemed to arrest the progress of the Reformation; while the papist rejoiced, the true believer wept. "Rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith." (Tit. 1: 13). This apostolic precept could be applied by its inspired author with due moderation in his personal resistance to Peter's act of apparently yielding the principle respecting the terms on

which Gentiles were to be admitted into the Church (Gal. 2 : 11). That point had created serious difficulties, too, until it was decided at the first Council or Synod ever held in the Church (Acts. ch. 15). In the present case, Flacius and others who were deeply distressed by the commotions which prevailed in the Church, labored and prayed earnestly for a peace that promised to be permanent by being established, not on evasions, reticences, and dangerous concessions, but on Bible principles. During five years, from 1556 to 1561, the Lutheran theologians and princes held conventions, proposed articles of agreement, debated, labored and prayed; but the personal animosities which had been engendered, could not be at once allayed. Flacius had too deeply wounded the *amour-propre* of his adversaries to find them prompt in meeting conciliatory movements. But he retained the entire confidence of many influential theologians and princes; among the latter was, till a later period, John Frederic II.,* the chief founder of the University of Jena, which was opened in the spring of 1548. The princes were so eager to adopt articles of agreement that they were at first even willing to accede to the imperative demand of Frederic III., the elector Palatine, whose co-operation in the work of pacification could be purchased only by their adoption of Melancthon's *altered* text of the Augsburg Confession of 1540 in preference to the original text of 1530. The same disinterested fidelity which in Luther so powerfully influenced the three Saxon electors, (Frederic, John and John Frederic) in their adherence to truth and principle, was now revealed in Flacius, whose influence over their immediate successor was in this crisis equally happy. The result was that the elector Augustus (the brother and successor of Maurice, who died in 1553 from the effects of a wound), Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, Christopher of Wurtemberg, Philip of Hesse, Charles of Baden, Ulrich of Mecklenburg, the palsgrave George, and numerous margraves, dukes and cities, the ecclesiastical authorities of their respective territories as represented by chosen theologians, and indeed the mass of those who professed to hold the Lutheran faith, with the exception of Frederic III. (who united with the Reformed in 1560 and subsequently caused the Heidelberg Catechism to be prepared), united heartily in the adoption of measures of

*He is called in German "the Intermediate" (der Mittlere), probably in order to distinguish him from his father John Frederic I. the Magnanimous (whose electorate was assigned to Maurice) and from his son John Frederic III. who died in 1565 without issue.

peace. They re-affirmed their adherence to the *unaltered* Augsburg Confession of 1530, as interpreted in the sense which the recent controversies had proved to be the genuine Lutheran sense. The decision of the convention in Naumburg, 1561, which had produced great dissatisfaction by its recognition of the text of 1540 was effectually revoked, and harmony at length secured.

The last controversy in which Flacius was involved, was most unfortunate. As the influence which he subsequently exercised on the Church and the expression of her doctrine, was not decisive, we may rapidly pass over the events. After having declined the offer of a professorship in Heidelberg, he accepted, in 1557, a very important position in Jena, where, in addition to his exegetical lectures in the University, he and Erhard Schnepf were entrusted with the general supervision of the ecclesiastical affairs of the country. During the next year, Pfeffinger, professor in Leipzig, a former Interimist, published a work in which views respecting Free Will were expressed that aroused the indignation of many eminent men. Flacius could not withhold his own testimony, when truth and error engaged in a conflict, but was assailed in turn by Strigel, one of his own colleagues. Thus the *Synergistic Controversy** commenced, and raged till the year 1567; it referred originally to the points: a) *Whether*, b) *How*, c) *To what degree* the free will of man co-operated (whence the name, *συνεργία*) in the work of his conversion, &c. Vast numbers of publications were issued, many public discussions were held, innumerable sermons were preached and printed, political power was invoked and exercised, party spirit was remorseless, and the result was the deposition of Flacius from his office in December, 1561. Wigand, Musæus, Judex and many faithful men shared in the sentence of banishment. We cannot here attempt to furnish any details of this controversy, which alone would furnish materials for an extended article. He first went to Bifleben, then to Fulda, and ultimately, in 1562, to Ratisbon. The merits of the question are fully discussed by Preger and by F. H. R. Frank (Vol. I. *passim*), to whom we refer for the details. The writer of the article in Herzog's

**Synergism* is thus defined in Herzog's Real-Encyk. XV. 326, a work which, as a whole, no reader will accuse of very strong Lutheran tendencies: "It is a sublimated Semipelagianism, in the form in which it was held in the age of the Reformation by its representatives Erasmus, and in particular by Melancthon and his school."

Real-Encyk. (G. Frank, quoted above, in a note), declines to enter into a dogmatic examination of the difficult subject and merely furnishes the historical facts. He adds: "The Formula of Concord ultimately decided the contested points, and, indeed, in essentials, in accordance with the views of Flacius."

In his great distress Flacius found a temporary asylum in Ratisbon for his wife and seven children, but no means of support were at hand; he had never been a pastor and could not have accepted such an office, as he did not speak German fluently, however skilfully he expressed himself with his pen in that language.* The magistrates of the city would not allow him to perform any act except to instruct a few private scholars in his own lodging. He sold his patrimony, however, in 1563, when he re-visited Venice, and his immediate wants were now supplied; wealthy individuals were also liberal to him, so that he was even enabled to invest 2100 dollars in city funds, for the benefit of his large family. The bond, which is still extant, dated "Eve of St. Thomas, 1563," secures to him the interest, amounting to 105 dollars per. annum; German dollars or *Thaler* are to be here understood. The unfounded charge of taking usury, which his opponents produced, was probably derived from this transaction; the facts which he stated in a vindication of his conduct were never disproved.

At this period (1564), when he was without a permanent home or employment, his faithful wife, the mother of twelve children, was taken from him by death. Her zeal and ability had relieved him from many domestic duties which now sorely oppressed him. At a later period, when the care of three promising daughters, who needed the attention of a mother, weighed on his mind, he listened to the advice of his friends, and married the daughter of a deceased clergyman named Ilbeck. Domestic trials connected with the sickness of some of his children, and the death of others, bowed the strong man to the ground; still, his literary labors, his controversial writing, his defence of Protestantism against popery, and his general advocacy of the Lutheran or Gospel doctrine, were maintained with unimpaired vigor. On one

*It is simply the blunder of a compiler when we read in Appleton's New American Cyclop. VII. *Art.* FLACIUS: "He retired to Ratisbon, and afterwards preached in several German cities."—He himself remarks in a letter to Gallus: "Si ob testes imperitos erit germanice loquendum, tu scis me id præstare non posse."

occasion, in 1566, when certain Jesuits attempted to seize his person, he narrowly escaped by providential aid. He travelled incessantly in the service of the Church, made a personal appeal to the emperor in Augsburg (April 14, 1566), and was again providentially delivered from popish snares, but still suffered annoyance from the fears and timid counsels of the Ratisbon magistracy. At length the imperial influence which was excessively hostile to such a fearless defender of the faith, compelled the magistrates to request Flacius to seek a home in another city. He retired to Antwerp in 1566, where he rendered important services to the Lutheran Church, sojourned in Frankfort, and ultimately retired to Strasburg, where he arrived Nov. 14, 1568. He had, previously to the last date, paid a visit to Stutgard, where his admirable spirit, devout sentiments and vast learning afforded for several days much enjoyment to the excellent brethren in the faith who labored in that city.

These frequent migrations were in a great measure occasioned by the relentless persecutions of his enemies, Protestants as well as Catholics, who could not subdue his inflexible spirit, and who dreaded his intellectual power and tenacity of purpose in exposing every departure from God's word. They purposed to expel him from Germany as the most formidable opponent whom they could encounter. The magistracy of Strasburg, yielding, however, to the intercession of various noblemen and eminent theologians, granted him permission to reside temporarily with his family in their city. Here he and Jacob Andreæ, whose heart and soul were devoted to the work of a stable pacification of the Church (in which he eventually succeeded by divine aid, when the Formula of Concord was finally adjusted), made various unsuccessful efforts to construct a series of doctrinal articles which all the parties that still differed in views could conscientiously adopt. At this period, when John William succeeded his brother John Frederic II. as Duke of Thuringia, the rigid Lutheran professors who had been expelled from Jena were re-called, with the exception of Flacius; the new duke did not venture to reinstate him, in consequence of the opposition to that step on the part of his powerful neighbor, the elector of Saxony. However much we admire the character of Augustus, and however gratefully we acknowledge his services in promoting the composition and adoption of the Formula of Concord, we cannot overlook the circumstances that in this instance—his treatment of Flacius—he

was eminently unjust, even in view of the only apparent aberration in doctrine of which Flacius was ever guilty, and which will be presently noticed. Blind and corrupt Jews, who would not understand the causes for which the blessed Saviour "came not to send peace, but a sword" (Matt. 10: 34) might, from their point of view accuse Paul and his associates of being the authors of the confusion which often arose when they entered a city, and might charge them with "turning the world upside down" (Acts 17: 6). But Augustus, with clearer views of divine truth and purer principles, allowed his judgment to be clouded by the insinuations of artful enemies of Flacius: he accused him of being "a foreign vagrant, who had, during twenty years, produced all the unchristian and vexatious contentions which had occurred among the adherents of the Augsburg Confession." At a later period of his life, when he detected the arts of evil counsellors whom he had trusted, he unequivocally and now consistently sustained the strictly orthodox Lutherans.—The authorities of the free city of Strasburg, submitted to electoral influences, and directed Flacius to withdraw. Even the emperor assailed the friendless man and denounced all who would afford him aid.

The most prolific source of these troubles was a single expression which Flacius employed; while he conscientiously and resolutely defended it, he manifested a spirit of obstinacy and harshness in dealing with his opponents which is an indelible blemish on the portrait of this great and good man. At the memorable "disputation" or debate between Flacius and Strigel, Aug. 2–8, 1560, on Original Sin, Free Will, &c., which was conducted exclusively in the Latin language, Strigel had asserted that Original Sin was an "accidens," a philosophical term to which medieval theology had given a definition which allied it to false views of the papists respecting the original righteousness of man before the fall.* The

*Melanchthon had thus defined the word in his *Erotemata Dialectices* (of the third edition of which in 1547 three thousand copies were sold in three weeks—an interesting fact for authors and publishers): *Accidens est, quod non per se subsistit, nec est pars substantiæ, sed in alio est mutabiliter*. Some *accidentia*, he adds, are *separabilia*, as the warmth of water, others *inseparabilia*, as the heat of fire. Again: *Accidens est quod adest et abest præter* (without, in either case conditioning) *subjecti corruptionem*. *Substantia*, on the other hand, *est Ens, quod revera proprium esse habet, nec est in alio, ut habens esse a subjecto*. This definition applies also to God; the following is then given for created objects, only: *Substantia est Ens, quod habet proprium esse et sustinet accidentia*. Strigel availed himself of this last defini-

term alarmed Flacius ; it seemed to deny the grave character of man's depravity, to diminish the glory of the atoning work of Christ, and to countenance the fundamental error of Pelagianism. As the familiar antithetic term was *substantia*, he adopted, as the expression of his view, the proposition: *Original Sin is the SUBSTANCE of man.*" Almost every later historian has permitted himself to assume that Flacius understood his proposition in a sense which it may undoubtedly receive, and for which no terms of obloquy would be too severe. But Preger, who has thoroughly studied the publications issued at the time, throws new light on the subject. Flacius, who was well acquainted with the works of Aristotle,* took the word *accidens* in the sense of the Aristotelian *συμβεβηκός* (*accidental, non-essential*), and could not conscientiously apply so lenient a term to Original Sin. The point belonged to metaphysics rather than to Dogmatic Theology ; neither the Latin, nor the German of that age, furnished terms that adequately and unequivocally expressed all the abstractions involved in the dispute, and this circumstance was one of the misfortunes of Flacius. He never meant that "Original Sin" and "the substance of man" were identical, nor that the subject and predicate were convertible terms. He only desired to teach that Original Sin is not a trivial circumstance, a mere appendage, or an addition which might act as a clog, without vitiating the substance or nature of man, but that, on the contrary, man is "totally corrupt" (precisely the *corruptio totius naturæ* of the Form. Conc. R. 640, 11, and the quotation: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt menschlich Natur und Wesen*, ib. 643, 23). His language, misunderstood or misinterpreted, and which, unfortunately, he would not recall, as he deemed his explanations to be sufficient, produced a great sensation, which was intensified when he published his principle work on Original Sin in 1567. His enemies naturally availed themselves of the circumstance to heap odium on him ; but even Lutherans like J. Andreæ, M. Chemnitz and Heshusius assailed him

tion, in order to prove the non-substantiality of Original Sin. Flacius responded that such language would cause Original Sin to fade into a mere shadow. His opponents combined their efforts against Flacius, but their views diverged widely when they defined an *accidens*.

*An edition of all the works of Aristotle was published in Basel in 1550 ; the editors remark that Flacius had furnished them with very valuable annotations on various works of the Stagirite, and describe him as a man "in literis Græcis, presertim in Aristotele, acri judicio præditus."

with inexorable rigor, and urged him to retract the offensive and absurd formula. Public discussions were held, vast numbers of publications appeared, the plan of discarding forever both terms, *substance* and *accident*, was considered, but peace could not be secured.—The whole controversy was ultimately settled like others, in the fear of God, in strict conformity to the truth, and with no admixture of error, in the Formula of Concord, Art. I. and II, (Henkel's ed. pp. 597–629). Every Manichean and Pelagian interpretation is jealously excluded, the erroneous interpretation of the Flacian formula is disowned unequivocally and in detail, as well as the antithetic errors; the vexatious terms *substantia* and *accidens* are excluded from public religious instructions, but the latter is recognized in a very guarded manner as a correct term in theological discussions of the subject. The whole of the two articles is so admirably framed that a careful examination of the doctrines of Flacius leads us to the conclusion, that, if he had lived, he would, with a good conscience have added his own signature, and blessed God for having restored a peace to the Church which could be permanent, because it was established on clearly recognized and well-defined truths of God's word.

The friends of Flacius were not as powerful as his enemies, and he was compelled in the spring of 1573 to leave his wife and several sick children behind, and seek an asylum elsewhere. He found it in the neighborhood of Fulda, in the castle of Ridesel, hereditary marshal of Hessa. The latter appears to have secured for him a place of refuge in the convent of the White Nuns in Frankfort on the Maine,* where he placed his family in June of the same year. He then visited his faithful friend Count Vollrath of Mansfield, and had a very satisfactory interview in Berlin with John George, elector of Brandenburg. Musculus, the General Superintendent of the Church, testified that he was perfectly satisfied with the views of Flacius respecting Original Sin, although he could not approve of his phraseology. Other eminent theologians acquitted him fully of the charge of Manicheism which was connected with the dispute, and sanctioned his doctrine after he had expressed a willingness to abandon his phraseology, provided that Original Sin should not be considered as a mere "accident."

*It had ceased to be a monastic institution, and its income was controlled by a Protestant lady at this time, Catharine von Meerfeld, who, with the aid of certain trustees, applied the funds to the support of the families of deceased meritorious citizens.

But Augustus so intimidated the magistracy of Frankfort, that on Dec. 21, 1573 they passed a resolution that Flacius should remove from the city with his family in twenty-four hours ; his absence at the time secured his family from the execution of the decree. Catharine, who superintended the institution in which they lodged, regarded the conduct of the authorities as an outrage offered to humanity and religion, and the remonstrances of various men of rank who were friends of Flacius, prevailed. In the month of August of the next year Flacius returned to his family after a prolonged absence in Silesia and elsewhere, and the magistrates tacitly permitted him to remain. But the eternal repose of the weary man was at hand. Violent pains attending an attack of dysentery, and other symptoms of a change assailed the sufferer in January, 1575 ; he could no longer pursue his literary labors which persecution and poverty had never succeeded in interrupting ; in March he was conscious that death was not far distant. Two of the pastors of the city, Beyer and Ritter, visited him repeatedly, afforded him the consolations of the Gospel, and, on the 10th of March administered to him the Lord's Supper for the last time. During the succeeding night the symptoms assumed a very aggravated character which could be only partially relieved by the opiates of his physician Lonicer. He awoke on Friday morning (March 11, 1575), and was perfectly conscious ; he at once folded his hands, twice repeated the words : *Jesu Christe, fili Dei, miserere mei!* (Jesus Christ, thou Son of God, have mercy on me !), and then peacefully fell asleep in the Lord. His age was 55 years and 8 days. His remains were honorably and numerously attended to the grave in the church-yard of St. Peter's.

His portrait, taken at a late period of his life exhibits strongly-marked features, a Roman nose and firmly compressed lips ; his face is wasted by care and sorrow, but its lines reveal the presence in the living man of an unconquered spirit ; the brow, surmounted by the customary cap, is arched, and his beard extends from the upper lip far below the neck. He combined with the inextinguishable ardor of the Italian the noblest features of the German character ; his fidelity and truth were extraordinary ; to his amazing industry, his vast and profound learning, and his genius, even bitter foes paid the tribute of their admiration ; his private character, although often assailed by his contempor-

aries, remained unsullied to the end; and that he was a sincere Christian, an humble, spiritually-minded and holy man, his whole history demonstrates. We may add that neither Preger nor any historian whom we have consulted, presents any facts which would indicate that Flacius possessed the suavity, the delicacy of sentiment, or the beautiful domestic traits which graced the character of Luther. He was more like the severe John, the preacher of the wilderness than like John, the beloved disciple—he rose above men more like the rugged Mount Sinai that burned with fire, than like the green, sunny mount on which the Saviour delivered the divine Sermon. Possibly his spirit was rather that of the prophet who called down fire from heaven than of Stephen who prayed for his murderers. But God's ways are always wise; he selects and endows his servants with precisely those gifts which they need in extending his kingdom on earth. If Flacius, like king David, conducted the wars of the Lord (1 Chron. 22: 6–10), the Solomons who succeed and build the house of the Lord in more peaceful times may gratefully remember that their work is materially facilitated by the treasures which the toil and sufferings of Flacius had accumulated.

It is difficult for us at this distant age to do entire justice to the leading men of the times of Flacius. Many of their contentions seem to have a trivial origin, and their language often appears to betray very bitter feelings. It was unquestionably a rude age, and the manners were not refined, but the men were honest. We may discern impetuosity, scorn, even obstinacy and animosity in Flacius, in his friends and in his opponents, but not hypocrisy, not servility, not smooth speeches and smiles which veil the gall that overflows in the heart. These men were Christian heroes and martyrs; they had but recently been emancipated from the toils and pestilential atmosphere of popery, and had learned to breathe with delight the pure, vital air of true religion. They had not been conducted, as we have been, from childhood to maturity, in the peaceful enjoyment of civil and religious rights; the powerful enemy of the truth, not yet crushed, might still wrest the half-won victory from their grasp, and they were, accordingly, far more sensitive and jealous than we usually suppose that we have reason to be. They could not tolerate doctrinal error — it seemed to them like a renunciation of God; it was a suicidal act in their eyes to deviate one step from Christ and his word. Hence even when Flacius and

his opponents were most bitter and reproachful in language, each honestly believed that he was only defending God's own truth.

But our exhibition of the *times* of Flacius has prevented us from doing justice to his *gigantic* literary labors; the term is strictly true; they were confessedly *colossal* in their proportions. Many of his works were printed; some are still in manuscript in the libraries of Copenhagen, Wittenberg, Augsburg, Erlangen, Leipzig, Munich, Schweinfurt, Zurich and elsewhere. Preger mentions in detail the extraordinary number of about 275 writings, pamphlets and books, many of which were printed, and nearly all of which Preger was enabled to examine personally. Several of these still possess the highest value. His studies in Church History he had always continued with zeal, and in 1553 commenced his preparations for that comprehensive work which constitutes an enduring monument of this great man—we refer to the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, a Church History embodying all the information on the subject which was accessible. Ranke's high praise of the work (V. 384) receives a cordial response from every writer who can appreciate genius, industry and the love of truth. The conception of the work, which constituted an era, originated in the fertile mind of Flacius; the execution was the joint work of himself, Wagner, Wigand, Judex, Faber and many subordinate laborers; the city of Magdeburg constituted the head-quarters of the collaborators, and had the honor of associating its name with this distinguished work. Eleven folio volumes, embracing the history of the first thirteen centuries of the Christian Church were published between the years 1559 and 1574. The labor of directing his associates was immense; the responsibility and the expense often threatened to crush Flacius; but by God's help he persevered in the work till he died.

Another great work of Flacius—*Clavis Scripturæ*—in two folio volumes, was originally printed in 1567 in Basel; the first volume is a dictionary explanatory of scriptural words translated into Latin; the second refers to the principles of Scripture interpretation. The noble work is not merely that of a pioneer; its publication at a time when Popery had corrupted all the sources of knowledge, constituted, like the former, an era in theological science, and its intrinsic value no later publication

can entirely annul.* His exegetical publications also materially subserved the cause of divine truth, and, like all his writings, were distinguished by variety of learning, depth of thought and the devout spirit which they breathed.

We cherish the memory of Flacius with heart-felt thankfulness to God who employed him as a faithful witness of the truth at a period when the Church was sorely tried by external and internal convulsions. His great services, in the blessings of which we now share, by no means lose their own lustre, even if in one important case his frailty as an "earthen vessel" cast a shade on his name. Moses, "who was faithful in all his house" (Heb. 3: 4) on one sad occasion "spake unadvisedly with his lips" (Ps. 106: 33; Numb. ch. 20; Deut. 32: 48-22), and therefore died without being permitted to see his people established in the promised land. Flacius erred in his adoption of a doctrinal formula, which, however scriptural his own interpretation might be, was an offence to the Church; he was not permitted to live until he could share in the blessings which the Church reaped when, five years after he was called away, it adopted with unanimity and success the Formula of Concord. Of the necessity and value of this magnificent Confession of faith, which the orthodox Lutheran Church still devoutly receives, the foregoing historical facts furnish the demonstration.—God needs the services of no special servant; he employs the one in a great work, but can readily raise up another and endow him with all the needful qualifications. To Flacius he assigned an honorable task, and then called him to his rest. May later historians show more impartial justice to him than many who have already described him! While they own that he was a mere creature of the dust, may they also gratefully praise God for having raised up such a faithful witness of the truth, and for having so abundantly blessed his great work, that as long as the Church stands, she will be largely indebted for the purity of her faith to the disinterested and devout labors of MATTHIAS FLACIUS ILLYRICUS.

*We append an *American* testimony to the value of the *Clavis*. The following as the name of a former owner of a copy, in excellent preservation, presented to the library of Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, and as his personal tribute to Flacius, may be seen on the fly-leaf: "Henr. Muhlenberg, Jun. 1776." Below the name are the words: "Liber utilissimo consilio scriptus, optimisque observationibus repletus. Utere eo et experieris." The title page indicates a later edition: "Basileæ. 1609."

ARTICLE III.

THE MYSTERIOUS UNION OF THE DIVINE AND HUMAN NATURES IN THE SON OF GOD.

By G. A. LINTNER, D. D., Schoharie, N. Y.

The holy evangelist John begins his Gospel, by asserting the great doctrine of the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ. He tells us, that He was from the beginning with God, that He was God, and that by Him all things were created. He speaks of Him as the Sovereign Creator of the Universe, co-eternal and co-existent with the Father, possessing all the power and glory, He had with Him from the beginning, before the world was created.

Having exhibited the doctrine of Christ's divinity in its fullest and clearest light, he proceeds to speak of His humanity. "The word was made flesh, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth," John 1: 14. He speaks of Christ's humanity in close connection with His divinity, and says, that the eternal word, which was in the beginning with God the Father, co-equal with Him, took upon himself our nature, and became a man.

In this assumption of humanity, the Son of God did not divest himself of His divinity. When He became a man, He did not cease to be God. He was as truly God after he was born of the Virgin Mary, and laid in the manger at Bethlehem, as he was, when with God the Father before the foundation of the world; with the divine nature, and all its essential attributes and glory, he was also as truly man, as any of our race that have lived and suffered, and died, since we were first created; sin only excepted. Two natures are united in one person. This great fundamental doctrine of the Gospel, the evangelist teaches. He teaches the mysterious union of the divine and human natures in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ. And this doctrine revealed in Scripture, which we deem essential to true Christianity, we propose to exhibit and illustrate with some practical remarks in this communication.

When the Son of God came into the flesh, he assumed *our* nature. And this assumption was complete in all its parts. It was an assumption of all our faculties, feelings, affections, sympathies and infirmities, with this single exception, that it was free from sin. It was an extraordinary and miraculous assumption by the power of the Highest, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, causing it to be perfectly pure and holy. The body which Christ assumed when he became man, was conceived in a supernatural manner by the Holy Ghost, and consequently wholly exempt from the hereditary corruption of our nature. Though it was a body like ours, subject to like feelings, affections, and infirmities, it was perfectly pure and holy like God. It was a body fully adapted to a union with the divine nature. If the body of Christ had not been a holy body, perfectly free from sin, it could not have been united to the divine nature; for God is of purer eyes than to behold evil. He cannot even look on sin, much less be united to, and have communion with it.

It behooved Christ when he assumed our nature, in all things to be made "like unto His brethren;" so that he could be touched with the feelings of our infirmities, and take our place, bear our iniquities, and render a satisfaction for our sins. This was necessary that He might make an atonement for us—but it was also necessary that He should sanctify us, and set us a holy example. "Such an High Priest, therefore, became us, as is holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners." Heb. 7 : 26.

This union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ is not such a union as confounds the two together, so that they cannot be distinguished from each other. This is an error into which some have fallen; and it is an error, which has given rise to many strange notions, and involved this subject in many imaginary difficulties. *Nestorius*, Bishop of Constantinople, who was the founder of a sect in the 5th Century, and has many followers in Western Asia even to this day, supposed that in Christ, there were not only *two natures*, but also *two persons* (hypostases) of which one was divine, and the other human; that these two persons appeared to be united in what he termed only one *aspect*; that the union which was formed in the incarnation of the Son of God, was not a union of nature, and of person, but of will and affection, and that consequently *Mary* the mother of Christ who gave birth only to the Son of God in the flesh, could not be called the mother of God. He taught that

Christ in his human nature was a being altogether separate from the divine nature, and that when he suffered and died on the cross, he suffered and died as man and not as God. This was the doctrine of *Nestorius* which was condemned by the Council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, the third general Council of the Church. *Eutyches* a distinguished teacher also of the 5th century who was strenuously opposed to the doctrine of *Nestorius* held that there was but *one nature* in Christ, the divine, which he had with God the Father from all eternity. He denied the *humanity* of Christ, and was condemned and excommunicated for this heresy in the Council, assembled at Constantinople, about the middle of the 5th century.

The divine and human natures are so connected in the person of Christ, as to form an inseparable union in one undivided person. To establish this point, we have the direct testimony of the Scriptures. "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Col. 2: 9. Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the *form of a servant*, and was made in the *likeness of men*. And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is *above every name*. That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is *the Lord*, to the glory of God the Father." Phil. 2: 6—11. But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth *his Son* made of a *woman*. Gal. 4: 4. The *word* was made *flesh*,* and

* "Καὶ ὁ λόγος σαρξ ἐγένετο:" John 1: 14. The Socinians lay great stress on the signification which they attach to the Greek word ἐγένετο. They say the word here used is not to be construed, according to our common English version, *was made*, but that it simply signifies *was*; so that according to their construction the word *was flesh*, instead of *was made flesh*. Without referring to numerous other versions of the Sacred Scriptures, to show that the sense which our English translation gave to this word is correct; we would merely observe, that if the construction, which the Socinians have endeavored to force upon the passage, were admitted, it would not prove their doctrine. For if the word was with God in the beginning, and was God before anything was created, there must have been a time, when it could not have been in the flesh; when therefore at any time it became flesh, or was flesh, it must have been *made* so; and the λόγος, that is the word, must be God incarnate.

dwelt among us. John 1 : 14. Ye men of Israel, hear these words ; Jesus of Nazareth, *a man*, approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know. Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God made that same Jesus, whom *ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ*. Acts 2 : 22-36.

This doctrine is distinctly set forth in our Confession. "We also teach, that God the Son became man, was born of the Virgin Mary, and that the two natures, divine and human, inseparably united together in one person, are one Christ, who is true God and man, who was truly born, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried ; that he was a sacrifice not only for original sin, but also for all other sins, and reconciled the wrath of God ; also that the same Christ descended into hell, truly arose from the dead on the third day, that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God—that he eternally rules over, and governs all his creatures—that he sanctifies, strengthens, and comforts through his Holy Spirit all who believe in him, and gives unto them life, and various gifts and blessings—and that he defends and protects them against the devil, and against sin—also, that the same Lord Christ will publicly come, and judge the living and the dead." *Augsburg Confession. Art. III.*

When the Lord Jesus Christ took upon himself our nature, he humbled himself. He was made poor. He could say, "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have their nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief. But in this state of humiliation and suffering, he was still "God manifest in the flesh." He did not divest himself of any of the essential attributes and properties of his divine nature. He retained all the power and glory which he had with the Father from the beginning. In the incarnation of the Son of God there is a personal union, or rather a common participation, a mutual communication of the two natures, human and divine, and yet each retaining its peculiar and characteristic properties, which in a theological phrase is termed *communicatio idiomatum*. This is the doctrine of the Lutheran Church. As Lutherans, we differ from both the Nestorian and Eutychian views. We do not believe that there is either *one nature* or *any* such thing as *two persons* in Christ, appearing under one

aspect, but hold that the *two natures*, divine and human, are inseparably united in *one person* who is true God and man.

Luther speaking of the error of Nestorius on this subject, uses the following language, "We must attribute the *Idiomata*, that is, the properties of both natures, human and divine, to the same person Christ, both God and man; so that what is said of him, as *God*, may also be said of him as *man*. For instance, when we say Christ died, it may with propriety be said, God died; for Christ is God, not in an abstract separate sense, but God united to man. In an absolute, separate sense, it could not be true that Christ died as God, but as God-man he truly died. And when Nestorius represented the idea of God dying on the cross, as something unreasonable, he should have remembered, that it was no more unreasonable, than that the Son of God was born of the Virgin Mary, in consequence of which, God, who is immortal, became subject to mortal pains and sufferings. The man Christ could not have been a true man, without such properties as are peculiar to man. He must have been what the *Manicheans* made him, an imaginary being. So also on the other hand the divine nature and properties were united to man in the person of Christ, so that it can be properly said, Christ created the world, and is almighty. For God and man in this case are one person—a *communicatio idiomatum* of two natures in the same person. Nestorius held that the Virgin Mary could not be called the mother of God,* because no human being could give birth to that

*It would seem that about the time of the Nestorian controversy the Virgin Mary had very generally acquired the title of *θεοτοκος*, the mother of God. From this term which was first used in the early Greek Churches, the Latins subsequently derived the title of *Deigenetrix*. This designation of the Virgin Mary occasioned much bitter and useless controversy in the churches. General Councils were called to settle the dispute; and it appears that at the Council of *Ephesus*, where *Nestorius* was condemned for denying that *Mary* was the "mother of God," the title which previously had been in general use, was confirmed. The respect and veneration with which the early Christians regarded the memory of the mother of Christ was soon carried to unreasonable excess. Churches and altars were erected, from which invocations and prayers were addressed to her as a Goddess who exercised supreme control over her divine Son, the Lord Jesus Christ. These extravagant devotions which are still rendered to her in many places, show how God may be dishonored by religious services which he never instituted and are expressly forbidden in his Word.

We venerate the name of the *Holy Virgin* for her sacred relation to

which is divine; or in other words, that Christ could not derive his divine nature from his incarnation. It does not necessarily follow from our doctrine that Christ derived his divine nature from the mother that gave him birth. We teach that he existed as God long before he was born in the flesh. Still when he became incarnate—when he was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin, he was God; and I can see no inconsistency in calling the mother of Christ, an incarnate God, the mother of God. Would there be any impropriety in saying that a woman giving birth to a child was the mother of an immortal being, having a soul, though she could not give birth to the soul, which comes from God. She gave birth to a being having a two-fold nature, body and soul, and consequently in one sense, she is the mother of both. So also *Mary*, the mother of Christ, who brought forth her first-born Son in a personal and inseparable union with the Son of God, who was God from all eternity, may be said to be the mother of God.” *Luther’s Works: Jena Edition*, 1766.

The doctrine of the inseparable union of the divine and human natures, and the mutual participation of their respective properties in the person of our blessed Redeemer, was a prominent feature in the Christology of the ancient Christian Church. It was recognized and confirmed in the Council of *Nice*, which condemned the Arian heresy,* and subsequently

the Son of God. *Elizabeth*, the mother of John the Baptist, was divinely inspired, when she called her “the mother of the Lord.” The term was not inappropriate, and as Luther said, we can see no impropriety in using it. While we deprecate the superstitious reverence and idolatrous worship, which the Virgin Mary receives in the Church of Rome, we deem her worthy of being honored as the most “blessed among women.”

*The Arians, whose origin can be traced back to a very early period of the Church, acknowledged the Lord Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, but denied his divinity. They considered him a sort of superangelic being, above all others, whom God had created; but inferior to the Father, and not entitled to the worship, which is due to God alone. While they were unwilling to ascribe to him any of the essential perfections of Deity, they held that he was endowed with certain extraordinary properties and qualities, enabling him to do many wonderful works which no other human being ever performed, or could perform. These powers and acts they attributed to a union of the word with the flesh, which they represented as something analagous to the union of body and soul in man. They strenuously opposed the doctrine of the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, and endeavored to prove by a variety of arguments, which they pretended to derive from reason and Scripture, that he was no more than a man, distinguished by extraordinary gifts and powers. This early heresy was condemned by the

more fully established in the Council of *Chalcedon* by the following clear and decided testimony. "We teach that Christ is one, the Son, the Lord, the Only Begotten, made known to be of two natures, unconfounded, immutable, indivisible, inseparable; the distinction of the two natures, however in no part being destroyed, on account of the oneness, but rather on the contrary, the peculiarity of each nature being preserved, and both concurring in the formation of one person, and one hypostasis." This testimony was also incorporated in the *Athanasian Creed*, which was adopted by the Church after the Apostolic Creed, as a symbol of Christian doctrine. In that Formula it is asserted, "That Christ is perfect God, and perfect man, that although he is God and man, he is yet not two, but one Christ. One, not in that the Deity is converted into human flesh, but in that the Deity has taken upon himself humanity, that he is indeed one, not by confounding together two natures, but in that he is one person; for like as a rational soul and body constitute one man, so God and man are one Christ." *Thomasius' Contrib. Christology of the Church*.

The Lutheran Church embodied in her Confession the essential import of the ancient Confessions of the Church, in regard to the doctrine under consideration. It was the design of Luther and the founders of our Church, to preserve, and transmit to posterity in a symbolic form, the pith and substance of the faith, which the early Christians professed on this topic. And as a Church we have adhered to this faith, while on the one hand, we have endeavored to keep pace with the advancement of theological science and the de-

Council of Nice in 325. The doctrine, however, continued to spread and was so successfully propagated that in ten years after their excommunication, *Arius* and his followers were restored to the communion and privileges of the Church. Towards the close of the sixth century, the sect became very much reduced, and almost extinct. It was revived in subsequent periods under favorable auspices, and at no time, since it began to prevail, was the Church entirely free from it. It is said, that the learned *Erasmus* favored it in the sixteenth century, about the time of the Reformation. After him *Servetus* openly avowed and advocated it in a treatise, which he published against the doctrine of the Trinity, at Geneva in 1531. In still later periods it was defended by the celebrated *Dr. Priestley*, and other distinguished writers, who published treatises on the subject. The Arians in this country are divided into various sects, and comprehend in their general system the Unitarians, Socinians, Christians, and all other denominations, who are opposed to the doctrine of the Trinity, and the hypostatic union of the Deity and humanity of Christ.

velopment of truth since the publication of the ancient symbols of our faith; we have, on the other, carefully guarded against error. In the great leading features of the evangelical system, which are essential to true Christianity, we have fallen upon no new theories, nor suffered ourselves to be misled by the spirit of reckless innovation, which has caused so much evil in modern times.* We have simply adhered to the testimony of the Word of God, and those early witnesses of the truth, who have contended earnestly for the faith which was once delivered to the saints. We feel grateful to them for the firmness and unwavering fidelity with which they defended and preserved the truth, amid all the heresies and persecutions to which they were exposed, and we deem it our sacred duty, and highest privilege to follow their example, in maintaining the Scriptural doctrine of the incarnation of the Son of God, the God-man, the only ground and hope of our Salvation.

The Deity and humanity of Christ are so combined in the unity of his person, as to form an inseparable connexion; and this connexion is so essential and necessary in the person of the Son of God, that he cannot be said to exercise any of the powers and attributes of the divine, without the presence and association of his human nature; neither can he act or suffer in his humanity, without the sympathy and participation of his divinity." For verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but took on him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore, in all things it behooved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, to make recon-

*It must be admitted, that there was a time, when the Lutheran Church in Europe, and in this country was in great danger of losing her original and distinctive character. Men professing a high regard for Luther, and the founders of our Church, were so far carried away by their rationalistic principles and tendencies, as to be ready to forsake the Scriptural, sound, time-honored doctrines of our Confession, to keep pace with the progress of theological science in this enlightened age. Such appeared to be the specious design. And to carry out this design, new theories were proposed, and new measures introduced, and we were threatened with the entire subversion of the whole system of evangelical truth, which we had always been taught to regard as essential to true Christianity. But we have reason to thank God, that this danger has, in a great measure, passed away. There has been a reaction of late years, which has brought back many, who were led astray, to the original doctrines and principles of our Church, and, however much those principles may have been misrepresented, and assailed, they are daily becoming more firmly established in the minds of true Lutherans who love their Church, and her noble testimony for the truth.

ciliation for the sins of the people. For in that he himself hath suffered, being tempted, he is able to succor them that are tempted." Heb. 2: 16-18. This Scriptural idea of the "Communicatio idiomatum" is fully expressed in our symbols, and lies at the foundation of the Christology of the Lutheran Church. We hold, that Christ is present with his people in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, not because he possesses in his humanity the divine attribute of Omnipresence, but because his humanity is so closely and inseparably connected with his Deity, that wherever he is divinely present, he must also be necessarily present in his humanity. As Mediator he is always present at the throne of God in both natures, making intercession for us. All evangelical Christians believe this on the ground, that the divine and human natures are inseparable in the person of our exalted Redeemer. Why not, for the same reason, admit our doctrine of the spiritual and bodily presence of Christ in the sacred mystery of the communion table, where he says to his people, "Take, eat, this is my body, given for you; Drink ye all of this cup, for this is my blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins." If we taught that Christ were present at the Eucharist at the same time, in all places, where the ordinance is celebrated, in his human nature, disconnected from his divine presence, we would be guilty of an absurdity; because no being, purely human, can be present in different localities at the same time. It is an impossibility. But we teach no such doctrine. We say, that Christ is present at the ordinance of the Lord's Supper in his human *through* the divine nature, and necessarily so, because both natures are so connected in his person, as to be *inseparable*. This is our doctrine, and this is no more unreasonable, than the presence of Christ in his two-fold nature, when the Sacrament of the Eucharist was first instituted. If Christ were only to manifest himself to his people in the holy communion by a spiritual presence as God, it might afford them much consolation and encouragement; but they could not feel the sympathy and joy of communion with "God manifest in the *flesh*;" and even with a brother, who can be touched with the feeling of their infirmities, who was tempted in all things like themselves, and who is able to succor them in all their weaknesses and temptations. They might receive some benefit from his person and sacrifice as a divine Saviour, but it would not be a participation in all his *fulness* as God-man. It would be a divided Christ, Christ over all, God

blessed for ever ; but not Emmanuel, God with us. We hold that the promise which the Saviour made to his disciples when he was about to ascend into heaven, "Lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world," is literally fulfilled by his presence at the communion table ; and that this is a necessary result of the inseparable connexion of the divine and human natures in the unity of his person.*

After all the attempts of theological writers in ancient and modern times to explain this hypostatic union of two natures in Christ, it must be confessed, that it is a mystery incomprehensible to human reason.† We receive the doc-

*The Lutheran Church has not adopted the Romish doctrine of *Transubstantiation* on the subject of the Lord's Supper. We do not believe that the elements of bread and wine are changed by the mere ceremonies of clerical consecration, into the body and blood of Christ ; neither do we hold to *Consubstantiation* in the sense that term is often applied to us. We say the bread and wine remain the same in substance after the consecration, that they were before ; that they are "external signs" of the body and blood of Christ, given to us to eat and drink, and that Christ is present in this ordinance communicating himself to his people, through the participation of his body and blood, in a mysterious and incomprehensible manner. The Lutheran view of the real presence of Christ at the Eucharist is clearly stated by *Sartorius*, one of our most eminent theological writers, in the following comprehensive and expressive words : "The Saviour could, indeed, have been always, and everywhere spiritually present with his disciples in his divine nature ; but this general universal, incomprehensible presence could not at all indemnify them for his peculiar, definitely circumscribed human presence. Moreover, it was not only as God he desired to be present with them, but he also desired constantly to communicate himself to them as the God-man, as Mediator, to give himself to them as their own, and to receive them in communion with himself. This could not be effected through divine omnipresence ; and, therefore, he appointed, or established in the Sacred Supper, a special divine-human presence of himself in his Church, when he says in the most explicit words, respecting the bread of the altar, 'This is my body ;' and respecting the wine, 'This is my blood.' Not as though a transmutation of the bread and wine into his body and blood took place, as the Romish Church teaches. By no means. As in the incarnation of the Son of God, human nature was not transmuted into Deity—no more, are bread and wine converted into the substance of Christ. But as there, so here, there is only an intimate union, which is, indeed, supersensuous, but yet real and substantial according to the promise of Christ."

†This is often urged as an objection to our doctrine. To show the fallacy of the objection, we quote a remark of *Dr. Dwight* from his Sermon on the Incarnation of Christ, "When the Arians will explain how their superangelic being became the infant, and ultimately the man Jesus Christ, and suffered, and died, and accomplished the things asserted of Christ ; when the Socinians will explain how he, who was created by the Holy Ghost, was born of *Joseph* and *Mary*, how organized matter thinks—how he who began to exist at his birth, existed ante-

trine, and believe it, simply upon the evidence of divine revelation. We know that the word was made flesh—that the Son of God assumed our nature in a supernatural and miraculous manner, and that in the nature he thus assumed, he was born, lived, suffered, and died. We know and believe this, because it is a revealed truth of God's word. But how he, who was in the form of God, and equal with God, was found in the fashion of a man; how these two natures, so vastly and essentially different, were united in the person of Emmanuel, we cannot comprehend. We do not even pretend to understand and explain this great truth, which infinitely surpasses our finite understanding. It is a mystery that angels desire to look into. And when men attempt to fathom the mystery, and take it upon themselves to reject, because they cannot understand it, they evince their folly and wickedness. Let those who lay profane hands upon this mystery—who treat it with contempt, and even turn it into ridicule, beware, lest God do unto them as he did to the men of Bethshemesh, whom he smote for looking into the Ark. The incarnation of the Son of God is, indeed, a mystery; but it is just such a mystery as God in his infinite wisdom saw was necessary for the accomplishment of his gracious and glorious purposes in the restoration of our fallen race.

This mysterious union of the divine and human natures in the person of our adorable Saviour had for its object great ends, which could not have been accomplished without it. One of its designs was to satisfy the demands of divine Justice, and make an atonement for the sins of the world. This was a great work—a work which could only be performed by the Son of God in the character of a Mediator between God and man, possessing both natures. It was necessary that the satisfaction for sin should be rendered in the same nature in which the offense was committed. The righteousness of God required this. Man had sinned, consequently, man must suffer punishment—man must die. Therefore Christ assumed the nature of man. In that nature he suffered the penalty of sin, satisfied the demands of

cedently in the *form of God*; *emptied himself*, and *was then born in the likeness of men*, and when both, or either of them will explain how the things said in the Scriptures concerning Christ are true, and at the same time consistent with their respective schemes; or how God could say them if they were not true, I think, I may venture upon an attempt to explain the mystery of the Incarnation." *Dwight's Theology*, New York Edition, Vol. 2, p. 53.

the law by his obedience, and gave himself as a sacrifice on the cross. But this was not all that was required to render the sacrifice available. It was necessary that the sacrifice for sin should be infinitely meritorious, or God could not accept it. Such an offering man could not render. Christ, therefore, must also possess a divine nature, so that by his obedience and sufferings in our stead, he might render a sacrifice of infinite value; a sacrifice that God could accept for the satisfaction of his law, and the salvation of sinners. Such a sacrifice Christ did render in his two-fold nature as God-man. As man, he obeyed the law, and suffered its penalty. As God he could not suffer. He suffered in his human nature, but still in connexion with his divine nature. And this mysterious union of the human with the divine nature in the person of the suffering Son of God, rendered the sacrifice so inconceivably meritorious, that it was sufficient to purchase the salvation of the whole world. "For such a person," says Archbishop Usher, "to have suffered but *one hour*, was more than if all other persons had suffered *ten thousand millions of years*." Luther in his Confession respecting the Lord's Supper says, "If I believe that the human nature only has suffered for me, then is Christ for me an insufficient Saviour; nay, he even needs a Saviour for himself." In the Formula of Concord, one of our symbols, our Church declares, "We believe that not a mere man only suffered for us, but a man, whose human nature has with the Son of God so intimate and inexpressible a union and communion, that it has become one person with him."

Another important result flowing from the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ is his *intercession* for his people at the throne of his Father in heaven. If there were no medium of access for believers to the throne of God, they must for ever be excluded from it; for they are sinners, and as such could not stand in the presence of God. They could not be admitted in their own name for they have nothing to recommend them to the favor of their righteous Judge. But in Christ, they have an intercessor, a High Priest, who has assumed their nature, so that he can sympathize with them, and effectually plead for them. He is their brother, in close and intimate communion with them, having an unchangeable priesthood." Wherefore he is able to save them to the uttermost, that come unto God by him." Through his blood he has opened a way of admittance into the presence of God and he now invites them

to come through this way, that he may help in every time of need. This is one of the benefits resulting to believers from the mediatorial character and office of Christ as God and man. All his acts as Mediator have been and are still performed in this character. As God, he knew the divine will and purposes from all eternity. As man, he revealed them in time, as his Father taught him. He shed his blood in his human nature, but in both his divine and human natures, he rendered an infinitely meritorious and all-sufficient sacrifice. He rules over his Church with the delegated power of a man, contending against his enemies and even suffering them for a while to prevail against him, but with the mighty power of God he will finally subdue all these enemies, and bring them to submission. These are the ends and purposes of the incarnation and Mediatorship of Christ, and all these ends and purposes are promoted, and will be finally accomplished through the union and co-operation of two natures, human and divine, in one person.*

The incarnation of the eternal Word is a mystery, in which God has given us a greater display of his love and wisdom, than in all his other works. There are other mysteries connected with his Providence and works, which excite our admiration and astonishment. But here is the great mystery which excels all others in its magnitude and impor-

*The delegated power and authority of Christ's Mediatorship which were given to him for the subjugation and final overthrow of his enemies, will cease, when all opposition to his government shall have been overcome. After the day of Judgment, God the Son will deliver up his mediatorial kingdom to God the Father, from whom he received it. "Then shall the Son also be subject unto him," God the Father; but even then, after the termination of his mediatorial kingdom, Christ will continue to reign as the King of glory, by virtue of the power and majesty which were inherent in him from the beginning, as Creator and Governor of all things. When the kingdoms of this world shall have become the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ, when all the purposes of Christ's incarnation and Mediatorship shall have been accomplished he shall reign as King of saints for ever.

Marcellus, a false teacher, about the time when the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds were published, denied the eternity of Christ's kingdom. He taught that after the final Judgment, Christ, the Word and his kingdom would revert to God the Father, and entirely cease. To guard against this heresy, the Greek Fathers inserted in their Creeds the words of the Angel who announced the birth of Christ to the Virgin Mary "Ὁν τῆς Βασιλείας οὐκ ἐστὶ τέλος" "Of his kingdom there shall be no end," Luke 1: 33. These words were spoken from heaven and placed on the record of divine inspiration, a perpetual memento of the eternity of Christ's kingdom and reign.

tance. Here is a way devised by infinite wisdom for the salvation of a lost world—a method of deliverance for a fallen and ruined race that calls forth the admiration of angels and fills all heaven with astonishment and rapture. When there was no eye to pity and no arm to save—when there was no created being in the whole universe that could redeem lost man from the condemnation, and ruin, in which sin had involved him, the Son of God offered himself, and said, “Lo, I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me, I delight to do thy will, O my God.” He gave himself as a sacrifice; and in this mysterious sacrifice of the Lord of glory, who was crucified for the salvation of sinners, we see the love and wisdom of God most wonderfully displayed. We see here a display of divine wisdom, which rises far above the highest and noblest intellect, that ever existed, or shall exist in the mind of a created being. We see Jesus Christ, the eternal Word, by whom the worlds were made, born of a woman, laid in a manger, hanging on the cross, bleeding, suffering and dying for rebellious, guilty, perishing worms. His name is called Wonderful. And is it not wonderful that God should provide for us a Saviour in the flesh, so nearly allied to us, so humble, compassionate and meek, that he was willing to take upon himself our burden, and bear our sins; and yet so mighty in his divine power, that he is “able to save to the uttermost all that come to God by him?”

God was manifest in the flesh to take away sin, to redeem and purify unto himself a peculiar people, a body of believers from all nations who will serve, praise and glorify him for ever. For this purpose he humbled himself; and for this end, he has also been exalted. He has been raised from the dead and ascended the throne of his mediatorial kingdom, for the accomplishment of all the purposes of his manifestation in the flesh. Having been made an offering for sin he shall see his seed. He shall see the travail of his soul and be satisfied. The great mass of mankind, for whom Christ died, are living in the world, as if no Saviour had been provided for them. The multitude are in the broad way to destruction. They tread under foot the Son of God, and do despite unto the Spirit of his grace. It is, indeed, lamentable that among those whom Christ came to save, there are so many, who are seemingly left to perish. Still Christ will have his seed. God will give him the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession.

Though not one of those, who now reject his offer of mercy, should ever be saved, Christ shall see the travail of his soul. He shall reap the fruits of his humiliation and sufferings. The Saviour will be honored. He will be glorified and exalted by the achievements of his grace and the trophies of his love in heaven, when they who have refused to submit to the terms of his salvation shall be cast down to hell to suffer his eternal wrath and indignation.

Christ is entitled to the veneration, worship, gratitude and love of his people, whom he has redeemed by his blood. Christians should never forget their obligations to honor him for his excellent character, his glorious perfections, his Almighty power, his infinite wisdom, and unbounded love. They should honor him for his eternal power and Godhead, his mysterious incarnation, his humiliation, sufferings, and death, his glorious resurrection, and ascension into heaven. Let all who profess to believe in him, and to have found an interest in his blood, honor him by faithfully serving him, walking in the way of his commandments, keeping his covenant, building up his kingdom in their own hearts, and the hearts of others around them. Thus shall they be prepared to join that holy throng of worshippers in the upper Sanctuary, who praise and magnify his name for ever, saying, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing."

ARTICLE IV.

LUTHER'S BATTLE-SONG OF THE REFORMATION.

By W. M. REYNOLDS, D. D., Chicago, Illinois.

Of all the weapons wielded by Luther in the great warfare of the Reformation none were more effective than his hymns. By these, at least, was realized what the illustrious Sidney has said of songs in general, "*Let me make a nation's songs, and I care not who makes its laws.*" Charles V., though the mightiest monarch of his age, could make no

laws that exercised such an influence over the souls of those whom he called his subjects, as the "*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*," of Paul Speratus, Schneesing's "*Allein zu dir Herr Jusus Christ*," or Luther's "*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*." To Luther's hymns especially we may apply what a recent writer has said of the German hymns of this period generally: "The intricate intertwinings of rhyme and the lingering cadences of the later mediæval hymns vanish, and the inspiring decision of martial music rings through them once more. They are songs to march to, reviving the fainting strength after many an hour of weary journeying; blasts of the priests' trumpets, before which many a stronghold has fallen; chants of trust and of triumph, which must often have reverberated from the very gates of heaven, as they accompanied the departing spirit thither, and mingled with the new song of the great multitude inside."*

But of all his hymns his "*Ein' feste Burg*" undoubtedly breathes most of the spirit, and displays most of the power of Luther. It is a true picture of his simple faith in Christ, and of his immovable trust in God, his forgetfulness of self, and entire consecration of his life and all that he held dear to that Saviour who, he doubted not, would speedily, gloriously, and forever triumph over Satan and all his hosts, by that word which he was the honored instrument once more to proclaim to the world.

Thomas Carlyle has, indeed, said, "With words Luther had not learned to make pure music; it was by deeds of love, or heroic valor, that he spake freely; in tones, only through his flute, amid tears, could the sigh of that strong soul find utterance." But the judgment of three centuries, which have continued to ponder Luther's writings and to sing enraptured upon the undying reverberation of his accents, may be regarded as a sufficient answer to this dictum of the eccentric philosopher. There is, however, much truth, as well as beauty, in what he immediately adds: "Nevertheless, though in imperfect articulation, the same voice, if we will listen well, is to be heard also in his writings, in his poems. The following [*"Ein' feste Burg,"*] for example, jars upon our ears; yet is there something in it like the sound of Alpine avalanches, or the first murmur of earthquakes; in the very vastness of which dissonance a higher unison is revealed to us. Luther wrote this song in a time of blackest threatenings, which, however, could in no

*"The Voice of Christian Life in Song," p. 221.

wise become a time of despair. In these tones, rugged, broken as they are, we do but recognize the accents of that summoned man (summoned, not by Charles V. but by God Almighty also), who answered his friend's warning not to enter Worms, in this wise: "*Were there as many devils in Worms as there are roof-tiles, I would on;*"—of him who, alone in that assemblage, before all emperors, and principalities, and powers, spoke forth those final and forever memorable words: "*It is neither safe nor prudent, to do aught against conscience. Here stand I, I cannot otherwise, God assist me, Amen!*"

Carlyle seems here to take it for granted, as so many others have done, that this celebrated hymn was written just before the diet of Worms in 1521. Peter Busch first distinctly maintained this view in a special work entitled "*Historie und Erklärung des Helden-Liedes Lutheri* (History and Exposition of Luther's Heroic Song), published in 1731, where he also asserts that it was composed by Luther at Oppenheim, whilst on his way to Worms. His principal evidence for this is, that the beginning of the third stanza agrees so nearly with the words which he wrote from that place to Spalatin: "I will go to Worms, if there are as many devils there as there are tiles upon the houses." But, as is well observed by Wackernagel ("*Martin Luther's Geistliche Lieder*," p. 157), Luther's letter to Spalatin is not from Oppenheim, but from Frankfort, and the passage in question reads thus: "But Christ lives, and we will enter Worms though all the gates of hell and powers of the air should oppose us."* An examination of the first editions of Luther's hymn books also reveals the fact that none of these, down to the year 1528, contains this hymn. This fact being established, the position was thenceforward taken by most writers upon the subject, that this hymn was composed by Luther during his sojourn in the castle of Coburg, amid the exciting scenes of the diet of Augsburg in 1530. This view was confirmed by the high authorities of Sleidan, Weller, Coelestin and Chytraeus. Sleidan's statement is very positive, and stands at the close of the 16th book of his Commentaries in these words: "After the Emperor's inauguration by Pope Clement, whilst he was holding a diet at Augsburg, a horrible tempest seemed to impend; but Luther continued both in private and public to console his friends,

*"*Verum Christus vivit, et intrabimus WORMATIAM, invitis omnibus portis inferni, et potentatibus aeris.*"

employing for this purpose the forty-ninth Psalm." Whereupon he proceeds to give a very fine prose version (Latin) of Luther's hymn, after which he also says, "Adapting, as I have said, this Psalm to that time so full of sorrow and anxiety, having translated it into the language of the people, and giving a suitable turn to the ideas, he also versified and set it to music, very appropriate to the subject and suited to the awakening of courage. Hence the Psalm has continued to be frequently sung from that day even to the present."

This was written in 1550, only four years after Luther's death, by one who was personally acquainted with Luther's associates, and likely to be well informed upon the subject. Yet there is no doubt that Sleidan was mistaken as to the time and occasion of the writing of this hymn. We are assured upon unquestionable authority, that this hymn was contained in an edition of Luther's hymns published at Wittenberg by Joseph Klug in 1529. It is true, no copy of this book is now known to exist, but a very particular account of it is given in the fifth volume of the "*Journal von und für Deutschland*," of the year 1788, p. 328 of Part Second, where we are informed that the book bears the date of its publication (1529) both on its title page and on its last page. All this is very minutely explained by Wackernagel in his beautiful edition of Luther's hymns (Stuttgart 1848), where he also concludes his acknowledgment of the mistake that he had formerly made, in the following terms: "It is, indeed, hard for us to relinquish the idea that this hymn was composed at Coburg during the sitting of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. * * But we must make up our minds to this, and must hereafter think of the Diet of Spire in connection with this hymn." p. 93.

Authors so intelligent and so careful having fallen into such a mistake, it is the less surprising that the genial and lively, but not very careful or profound, *D'Aubigné, should have followed them without hesitation. But he goes still further, and details all the circumstances under which the hymn and its tune were first composed and sung. "John," he says,* "began his journey on the 3d of April, with one hundred and sixty horsemen, clad in rich scarlet cloaks, embroidered with gold. Every man was aware of the dangers which threatened the Elector, and hence many of his escort marched with down-cast eyes and sinking hearts. But Lu-

*History of the Great Reformation, &c., Vol. IV. p. 139. New York: Robert Carter—1846.

ther, full of faith, revived the courage of his friends, by composing, and singing with his fine voice that beautiful hymn, since become so famous: *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*—"Our God is a strong tower."* Never did soul that knew its own weakness, but which, looking to God, despises every fear, find such noble accents.

"With our own strength we naught can do,
Destruction yawns on every side:
He fights for us, our champion true,
Elect of God to be our guide.
What is his name? Th' Anointed One,
The God of Armies he;
Of earth and heav'n the Lord alone—
With him, on field of battle won,
Abideth Victory."

This hymn was sung during the Diet not only at Augsburg, but in all the churches of Saxony, and its energetic strains were often seen to revive and inspirit the most dejected minds."

Making every allowance for the vividness of his imagination, it is still difficult to understand how D'Aubigné could fail to see the inconsistencies of this statement. To say nothing of the improbability of Luther not only composing a hymn and tune, but also teaching them to his companions amid the bustle and excitement of such a journey, how can we conceive that copies of both should be so widely diffused as to admit of their being sung at once in "Augsburg, and in all the churches of Saxony!" The statement that they were so sung is, no doubt, correct, but from this it follows almost inevitably, that both the hymn and its tune had been composed long before, as in this way alone can we account for their wide diffusion and common use among all the adherents to the Reformation. Their publication in 1829 removes all these difficulties.

But not only the date of publication, but likewise the words of the hymn and, of course, the notes of the tune have been variously given. In the latter case, however, the discrepancies are not very serious. Some of the variations in the text are merely the difference between the older and more modern forms of German words, as "*stan*," for "*stahn*," or "*stehen*," and the like. More important is the addition of a sixth syllable to the fifth line of every stanza by changing in the first "*der alt' böse Feind*," into "*der alte böse Feind*;"

*We have attempted a very feeble translation of the second stanza.

in the second, "*Fragst du, wer der ist,*" into "*Fragest du, wer der ist ;*" in the third, "*der Fürst dieser Welt,*" into "*der Fürste dieser Welt,*" and in the fourth, "*nehmen sie den Leib,*" into "*nehmen sie uns den Leib.*" Of course, an additional note had to be inserted in the music to correspond to such a text. It is very difficult to account for this variation which is found as far back as 1540, in the Magdeburg Hymn Book, in Kugelman's "*Tenor Concentus Novi, Augsburg, 1540,*" George Rhaw's "*Bicinia, Wittenberg, 1545,*" and several others of the same early period. Had this change been extended to the following lines, viz: the sixth and seventh of each stanza, it would have been consistent, and the improvement manifest, as the irregular and rough lines of five syllables might thus have been converted into iambs of six syllables, and thus made to agree with the eighth line as the laws of rhythm manifestly require that they should do. It was, probably, an intuitive sense of this that started either Luther, or some one else possessed of a musical ear, in the right direction, but either haste, or the force of authority, prevented its being carried out consistently. The text as written by Luther, put into modern German orthography, is, therefore, no doubt, given correctly by Wilhelm Schirks ("*Dr. Martin Luther's geistliche Lieder. Nach den Originaltexten etc. Halle, Verlag von Julius Fricke. 1854,*" as follows :

1. Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,
 ein gute Wehr und Waffen.
 Er hilft uns frei aus aller Noth,
 die uns jetzt hat betroffen.
 Der alt böse Feind
 mit Ernst ers jetzt meint,
 gross Macht und viel List
 sein grausam Rüstung ist,
 auf Erd ist nicht seins Gleichen.
2. Mit unsrer Mact ist nichts gethan,
 wir sind gar bald verloren !
 Es streit't für uns der rechte Mann,
 den Gott hat selbst erkoren.
 Fragst du, wer der ist ?
 er heisst Jesus Christ,
 der Herr Zebaoth,
 und ist kein andrer Gott,
 das Feld muss er behalten.
3. Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär,
 und wollt uns gar verschlingen,
 so fürchten wir uns nicht so sehr,
 es soll uns doch gelingen.

- Der Fürst dieser Welt,
wie saur er sich stellt,
thut er uns doch nichts,
das macht, er ist gericht't,
Ein Wörtlein kann ihn fällen.
4. Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn,
und kein Dank dazu haben.
Er ist bei uns wohl auf dem Plan
mit seinem Geist und Gaben.
Nehmen sie den Leib,
Gut, Ehr, Kind, und Weib,
lass fahren dahin,
sie habens kein Gewinn,
Das Reich muss uns doch bleiben.

The Strasburg Hymn Book of 1545 appends the following doxology, which, however, has no claim to be considered as Luther's composition :

Ehr sei dem Vater und dem Sohn,
und auch dem Heil'gen Geiste,
als es im Anfang war und nun,
der uns sein Gnade leiste,
Dass wir überal
hier im Jammerthal
von Sünden abstohn
und seinen Willen thun :
wer das begehrt, sprech, Amen.

There is no difference of opinion as to the authorship of the tune, Luther being universally admitted to be its composer, although some envious Romanist has claimed both this and the words as the work of an orthodox Catholic. It is true, however, that the hymn was for a long time sung by devout Romanists as well as by the most ardent Protestants. It was also a favorite devotional piece with Luther, who is reported to have sung it daily in the castle of Coburg whilst he was anxiously awaiting the action of the Augsburg Diet of 1530. But this, as we have already shown, by no means implies that the hymn was written at Coburg.

Like all the early Lutheran hymns, this was speedily translated into the languages of most of the countries into which Protestantism penetrated during the sixteenth century. Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Bohemia, Hungary, and wherever else Lutheran ideas became dominant, received it as a part of their confession of faith, along with the Augustana and the Short Catechism. That it did not make its appearance in England is no more difficult to explain than the absence of anything like an original, national psalmody from

the first four centuries of English literature. Even now, three hundred years after the English race has become essentially Protestant, and second to no other in the depth and fervor of its religious character, with which also its literature is thoroughly imbued—still we have no great body of sacred songs which is claimed as their common treasure by those who speak the language not merely upon the little island where it has originated, but as mighty nations in America, Australia, Africa and India. The genial author of "*The Voice of Christian Life in Song*," has undertaken to explain this singular phenomenon in our national and religious life, so far as the first two centuries after the Reformation are concerned, but he entirely overlooks the main fact of the almost entire absence, even to the present day, of a truly national English psalmody, to which we have just referred. He ascribes it to the Calvinistic ideal of external church-forms, that is to say, that there was to be nothing in the service of the Church which was not distinctly set forth in the New Testament; or, as he states the case more fully:

"When we remember that the same absence of an evangelical hymn literature, springing up spontaneously as a natural growth of the Reformation, which characterizes the Reformed churches of France and French Switzerland, exists also in the sister Church of Scotland, it is impossible not to connect this fact with the similar form which the Reformation took in all these lands. None of the strictly Calvinistic communities have a Hymn Book dating back to the Reformation. It cannot surely be their doctrine which caused this; many of the best known and most deeply treasured of the more modern hymns of Germany and England have been written by those who receive the doctrines known as Calvinistic. Nor can it proceed from any peculiarity of race, or deficiency in popular love of music and song. French and Scotch national character are too dissimilar to explain the resemblance; whilst France has many national melodies and songs, and Scotland is peculiarly rich in both. Is not the cause then simply the common ideal of external ecclesiastical forms which pervaded all the Churches reformed on the Genevan type? The intervening chapters of Church history were, as it were, folded up, as too blotted and marred for the truth to be read to profit in them; and, next to the first chapter in the Acts of the Apostles, was to stand, as the second chapter, the history of the Reformed Churches." pp. 253, 254.

But how inapplicable this is to the Episcopal Church of England, the author from whom we have just quoted, is evidently conscious, for he immediately proceeds to explain a similar state of things there, where, "between Anglicanism and Puritanism it happened that, until the last century, we can not be said to have had any national, that is, any people's hymn book at all." p. 255. Here, we think, he stumbles upon the real cause of the phenomenon, we mean the want of common ideas and feelings, habits and modes of action, that is to say, of national unity in the English race. The various races, of which it is composed, have not yet perfectly coalesced and been fully blended into one, as is sufficiently manifest in its spoken as well as in its written language, in its social, political and religious institutions. The Celt, the Roman, the Saxon, the Dane, the Norman, with various other still later accretions, continue to assert an independent existence in English national life, instead of combining, as they will, doubtless, ultimately do, into one indivisible and perfect organism. Hence we have in government the Monarchist and the Republican, the Aristocrat and Socialist, the Regicides, and those who canonise Charles I. as a martyr; and in religion, the Episcopalian, the Independent, the Presbyterian and the Methodist, the Quaker and the Baptist, to say nothing of the Romanist and the Unitarian. How could all these discordant, not to say antagonistic, ideas, in the midst of their fierce contests and earthquake-like heavings unite in one song of heavenly harmony? Doubtless they will at length unite, even as the earthly elements have done, after the long and terrible convulsions of nature, depositing and upheaving strata upon strata, and changing the places of seas and continents. But it is long after the flash of the lightning and the shock of the earthquake, by which these changes were brought about, that their place as notes in the grand harmony of the music of the spheres becomes manifest to the mind of man. So, in these intellectual and moral movements of our race, time is required to harmonize them, and enable all who are at once actors and spectators in this grand drama to raise the same song of praise to the Great Father and common Redeemer of all.

It is remarkable, however, that as soon as any thing like a hymn literature makes its appearance in the English language, it at once allies itself to German psalmody, and gives translation after translation of Luther's celebrated hymn, from which we have made this digression. Thus John Wesley, whose

influence has been so powerful in giving to England "a People's Hymn Book," not only acknowledges his indebtedness to Luther and the Moravians for many of the elements of his new life, but actually translates most of his hymns from the German; models, too, they are of translation, and wanting only one element, that of their rich and varied rhythm and metre, to transfer to our tongue and give citizenship to the hymns of Germany in England. So also Montgomery, one of the sweetest and most correct of English hymn-writers, was educated among the Moravians, and undoubtedly formed his taste and style to a very great extent by the German melodies, which he heard among them, though in a very imperfect articulation in English.

But cotemporaneously with the Wesleys, and whilst they were preparing their hymn books, Jacobi, Haberkorn, and other authors of "*Psalmodia Germanica*"* were (1760-1765) translating a large body of standard German hymns "*together with their proper tunes and Thorough Bass*," that is to say, in the exact metres of their originals. Among these, of course, is a version of Luther's immortal psalm. But, strange to say, this is one of the few instances in which the original metre is tampered with. Not only is the false form of placing six syllables instead of five in the fifth line, adopted, but this is extended to the sixth and seventh lines also. We give an exact reprint of this as it stands in the edition of the "*Psalmodia Germanica*," printed by Haberkorn in London in 1765, with which is also identical the 96th hymn of Dr. Kunze's "*Hymn and Prayer Book, New York 1795*," but which was probably taken from the edition which Dr. Kunze (in his Preface p. 5) tells us was "reprinted at New York by H. Paine, 1765."

God is our refuge in distress,
Our strong defence and armour,
He's present when we're comfortless,
In storms he is our harbour,
Th' infernal enemy,
Look! how enrag'd is he!
He now exerts his force
To stop the Gospel course:
Who can withstand this Tyrant?

All human power is but dust;
Our strength an idle story;

*For a brief account of this work see Article on "English Hymnology," in the *Evangelical Review*, Vol. VII. pp. 445-446.

The *Valiant Man*, in whom we trust,
 Is Christ, the Lord of Glory.
 He is the Conqueror,
 Vested with sovereign pow'r.
 The Lord both great and good,
 The only living God
 Gains us the field of battle.

If all the devils should wage the war,
 In order to destroy us,
 They should not once put us in fear;
 The victory would be joyous.
 We dare the prince of hell;
 With fury let him swell;
 He cannot hurt one hair;
 We shall escape his snare;
 CHRIST's single word can rout him.

His word puts all our foes to flight;
 With shame they are confounded;
 For CHRIST instructs our hands to fight;
 His Spirit is unbounded;
 Tho' we should lose our lives,
 Fame, children, goods and wives,
 Destroy hell what it can
 'Twill find but little gain,
 God's kingdom is our portion.

Except in the defective metre already mentioned, this is a fair specimen of the translations of the *Psalmody Germanica*, which, of course, fell far short of the popular demand for language, when Milton, Addison, Pope and Johnson had so highly polished, invigorated and harmonized the once rude English, and Sternhold and Hopkins were displaced by Watts, and the Wesleys, Toplady, Newton and Cowper were preparing to utter more musical strains than had hitherto been heard in English hymns. So far as we are aware, however, this is the first attempt at rendering "*Ein' feste Burg*" into English, unless F. Okeley, who translated Count Zinzendorff's "*Twenty-one Discourses or Dissertations upon the Augsburg Confession*," printed in London in 1753, may have translated the whole psalm along with the second stanza, which he gives as in a note on page 134, as follows:

"By our own strength there's nothing done,
 We soon are lost and marred;
 But there fights for us the right man,
 Whom God himself prepared:
 Askest thou for his name?
 'Tis Jesus Christ; the same
 Who's Lord of Hosts indeed,
 And there's no God beside;
 He sure must win the battle."

Judging by the style of versification we should place this in a period considerably anterior to the version in the *Psalmodia Ger.* But this is not a perfectly reliable criterion, as we find similar harsh constructions and doggerel rhymes in a translation of this hymn, published as late as 1853 in London. It stands on pages 181 and 182 of that otherwise beautiful reproduction in English of Gustav König's "*Life of Martin Luther, the German Reformer, in Fifty Pictures, &c., London: Nathaniel Cooke, Milford House, Strand, 1853.*" (Republished in this country by Lindsay & Blakiston, Phil., with an Introduction by T. Stork, D. D.)

Very different is the version of this Psalm given by Thomas Carlyle in his "*Heroes and Hero Worship*," published about the year 1838. This translation has fewer of the blemishes of Carlyle's peculiar style, and more of his genuine Anglo Saxon vigor than his prose writings generally exhibit. We have already given the remarks, by which he introduces it, and now append the version itself:

A safe stronghold our God is still,
A trusty shield and weapon:
He'll help us clear from all the ill
That hath us now o'ertaken.
The ancient prince of hell,
Hath risen with purpose fell;
Strong mail of craft and power
He weareth in this hour,
On earth is not his fellow.

With force of arms we nothing can,
Full soon were we downriden;
But for us fights the proper man,
Whom God himself hath bidden.
Ask ye, Who is this same?
Christ Jesus is his name,
The Lord Zebaoth's Son,
He and no other one
Shall conquer in the battle.

And were this world all devils o'er
And watching to devour us,
We lay it not to heart so sore,
Not they can overpower us.
And let the prince of ill
Look grim as ere he will,
He harms us not a whit.
For why? His doom is writ
A word shall quickly slay him.

God's Word for all their craft and force,
One moment will not linger,

But spite of hell shall have its course,
'Tis written by his finger.
And tho' they take our life,
Goods, honor, children, wife,
Yet is their profit small;
These things shall vanish all,
The City of God remaineth.

It was on this version of Carlyle that the hymn (No. 966 in the Lutheran collection of the General Synod, since 1850) was based, only such changes being made (in the fifth, sixth and seventh lines especially) as were necessary to adapt it to the old melody, as well as to remove some expressions not regarded as suited to public worship. But this "patching of the old garment with a new piece," has not made a very smooth or homogeneous version, although it approached nearer to the original form than any translation then known. About the same time, however, Dr. Henry Mills (now Professor Emeritus in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Auburn, N. Y.,) published (1844) the following excellent version of this hymn, which was undoubtedly the first English translation that successfully and faithfully reproduced the exact metrical form of the original:

1. A tow'r of safety is our God,
His sword and shield defend us;
His mercy too relieves the load
Of evils that attend us.
But the ancient foe
Strives to work our woe;
Fearful power and art
In him their force exert,—
On earth he has no rival.
2. By strength of ours naught could be done,—
The strife full soon were ended;
But fights for us the righteous One
By God himself commended.
Needs his name be told?
Jesus—from of old
Lord of Sabaoth,—
Our God and Saviour both,—
He shall our souls deliver.
3. Though devils all the earth should fill,
Each gaping to devour us,
The Saviour would our terrors quell,
And vict'ry guide before us.
Prince of this vain world,
Be thy fury hurl'd

On our heads!—'twere vain!
 He will thy rage restrain,
 His smallest word subdue thee.

4. His truth our foes shall help to show,—
 For this no thanks they merit;—
 Believing him we onward go,
 He cheers us by his Spirit;
 Should they, in the strife,
 Quench our joys and life;—
 When their work is done,
 For us the vict'ry's won—
 He'll crown us then with glory!

Like most of Dr. Mills' translations, this is very faithful to the spirit of the original, but departs very far from its letter; the verification, too, is generally correct, and, in this case, not inferior to the original which is, undoubtedly, one of the roughest, that Luther has produced.

The next version of this hymn that has come to our notice is that of Miss Catharine Winkworth in her well known "*Lyra Germanica*," which was first published in 1855. This work has undoubtedly given a new impulse and direction to the study and use of German hymns among the various branches of the English race. The two volumes of this kind which Miss Winkworth has published are, certainly, to be ranked among the most delightful devotional works of a lyrical character in the English language. Had Miss Winkworth taken more pains to reproduce the metres of the original, her translations might have marked a new epoch in English hymnology and church music, and could scarcely have failed to take their place as standard works in this department of literature. We can by no means agree with her in the reasons which she assigns (in the Preface to the first volume of her "*Lyra Germanica*" p. 17, for this departure from the originals: "In translating these hymns," she says, "the original form has been retained with the exception, that single rhymes are almost invariably substituted for the double rhymes which the structure of the language renders so common in German poetry, but which become cloying to an English ear when often repeated; and that English double common or short metre is used instead of what may be called the German common metre, the same that we call Gay's stanza, which is scarcely solemn enough for sacred purposes." This last is certainly a singular objection to German metres—that they are "not solemn enough for sacred purposes!"—the general objection to German tunes

being that they are too short and not lively enough. Neither can we admit it as a fact that "double rhymes become cloying to the English ear," as long as "*From Greenland's icy mountains*" remains one of our most popular hymns. Her translation of "*Ein' feste Burg*" is not the best specimen of her skill, and its departures from the original metre are not recommended by superior smoothness. It stands, on p. 173 of Stanford's New York edition of the first series of the *Lyra Germanica*, as follows:

God is our stronghold firm and sure,
 Our trusty shield and weapon,
 He shall deliver us, whate'er
 Of ill to us may happen.
 Our ancient enemy
 In earnest now is he,
 Much craft and great might,
 Arm him for the fight,
 On earth is not his fellow.

Our might is naught but weakness, soon
 Should we the battle lose,
 But for us fights the rightful man
 Whom God himself doth choose.
 Askest thou his name?
 'Tis Jesus Christ, the same
 Whom Lord of hosts we call,
 God only over all;
 None from the field can drive him.

What though the world were full of fiends,
 That would us sheer devour!
 We know we yet shall win the day,
 We fear not all their power,
 The prince of this world still
 May struggle as he will,
 He nothing can prevail
 A word shall make him quail,
 For he is judged of heaven.

The word of God they shall not touch,
 Yet have no thanks therefor,
 God by his Spirit and his gifts,
 Is with us in the war.
 Then let them take our life,
 Goods, honor, children, wife,
 Though naught of these we save
 Small profit shall they have,
 The kingdom our abideth.

About the same time as Miss Winkworth, R. Massie, Esq., published his translation of this along with the other hymns of

Luther, which we are sorry not to have seen. Judging from Miss Winkworth's favorable notice (in the Preface to the second series of her *Lyra Germanica*, p. X.), as well as from his translations of Spitta's hymns, we presume that they must have considerable merit.

We are also in ignorance of the date of the following translation of our hymn by Dr. W. L. Alexander. We find it in the "*Lyra Christiana*," a beautiful little volume, published in "Edinburg by John Maclaren," without either data or the name of its editor. His slight departure from the original metre in the fifth line is less remarkable than his careful adherence to it elsewhere. The translation as a whole is possessed of more than ordinary merit :

A fortress firm is God our Lord,
 A sure defence and weapon ;
 Prompt help in need he doth afford
 Let happen what may happen :
 Our ancient wicked foe
 Full of wrath doth go,
 With much craft and might
 In horrid armour dight ;
 On earth is not his fellow.

Of our own might we nothing can ;
 We lie forlorn, dejected ;
 There fights for us the rightful Man—
 By God himself elected—
 Dost thou inquire his name ?
 Jesus Christ ? The same !
 Lord of hosts is He,
 Besides him none can be :
 'Tis he the field that keepeth.

And were this world of devils full,
 For our destruction eager,
 That should not our firm faith annul ;
 We would abide their leaguer—
 The prince of this lost world,
 From his empire hurl'd,
 Though with rage he roar,
 Is judged and can no more ;
 A word shall overthrow him.

Hold fast that word which must remain,
 Let no dark doubt invade us ;
 He will be with us on the plain,
 With gifts and grace to aid us.
 Let life and honor fall,
 Let them take our all,
 Still our course we'll keep,
 No prize from us they'll reap ;
 For us the kingdom waiteth.

The translation in Dulcken's "*Book of German Songs*," (London 1856) is, like most things in that showy book, very carelessly and superficially executed. It has, however, the correct metre, but indulges in archaisms and is otherwise very rough. But it is interesting to find this and other standard German hymns in such a collection as Dulcken's, and his reasons for it are full of hope for the future religious life of Germany. He says (p. 259), "Although, strictly speaking, songs of this class would scarcely be expected to form a portion of a work like the present one, yet it is impossible to give a complete sketch of German Song Literature while this important branch is unrepresented. The finest productions of the sixteenth century are in the department of religious song. Luther and his followers, Paul Fleming and a number of writers of the sixteenth century, inculcated religious truths by means of hymns, which to the present day have never ceased to be popular." Of this particular hymn and of Luther's hymns in general, he says: "Under the title of 'Luther's Hymn' this sacred song is already well known among us; and deservedly so, for it is redolent throughout of the burning zeal and undaunted intrepidity of the great Reformer. * * * The hymns of Luther formed a noble model for German religious song. They have deservedly kept their place to the present day in the hearts of the people, and are to be found, in forms more or less modified, in every Protestant collection of German hymns."

Our God, a tower of strength is He,
A good defence and weapon;
From every care he helps us free,
That unto us doth happen,
The old evil foe
With rage now doth glow;
Much cunning and great power.
His fearful armour are—
On earth there is none like him.

With our own might is nothing done,—
We soon are lost and fallen;
There fights for us the righteous Man,
Whom God himself hath callen.
Dost ask who He is?
Christ Jesus, I wis;
The Lord Sabaoth,—
There is no other God,—
And he must be triumphant.

Though the world full of devils were,
 All ready to devour us,
 Still have we not such grievous fear,—
 The victory is for us.

The prince of this earth
 May scowl in his wrath;
 But powerless must be,
 For judged is he;—
 A word can overcome him.

His written Word shall they let stand,
 And little thanks inherit;
 He fighteth for us in the land
 With his good gifts and spirit.
 And take they the life,
 Goods, fame, child and wife,
 Let all pass away,—
 Small profit have they,—
 The kingdom yet awaits us.

That very interesting and highly creditable volume published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication (Philadelphia 1859) and entitled "*Sacred Lyrics from the German*," contains a version of this hymn by the Rev. R. P. Dunn. The lyrical spirit of this is generally sprightly, but it departs too far as well from the ideas as from the metre of the original to be regarded as a successful translation. It is found on pages 127–129 of the work just named:

A stronghold firm, a trusty shield,
 When raging foes appal us,
 Our God defence and help doth yield,
 When heavy ills befall.
 With ancient bitter hate,
 Such might and cunning great,
 As guides no earthly arm,
 Plotting us deadly harm,
 Our foe attempts to enthrall us.

Our human strength avails us naught,
 Our struggles soon were ended,
 And we in hellish snares were caught
 Unless by God befriended.
 Know ye our champion's name?
 All heaven tells his fame,
 "Jesus, the Lord of hosts,"
 His might our weakness boasts;
 By him are we defended.

What though in every path of life,
 A host of fiends, endeavor
 To wound us in the deadly strife?
 Their arts shall triumph never.

The author of all ill
May threaten as he will;
His throne and empire proud,
But for a time allowed,
A word shall end forever.

God's testimony standeth sure,
Whatever man betideth,
He makes the weakest saint endure,
Who in his grace confideth.
Though the best gifts of life,
Our foes seize in the strife,
We cheerful let them go;
No profit have they so,
For heaven ours abideth.

In the "*Hymns for Church and Home*," which, as we are told upon the title page, was "compiled by members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as a contribution to any addition that may be made to the hymns now attached to the prayer book" (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1860) No. 248, is a translation of our hymn by Bishop Whittingham of the diocese of Maryland. The excellent taste of this collection generally in addition to the well known ability of Bishop Whittingham as a writer, is a sufficient guaranty of the poetical and devotional qualities of this contribution to the hymns of the English language. It very faithfully reproduces the metre of the original and can thus be sung to its proper tune. It is, however, very far from a literal translation, as any one familiar with the original will at once perceive. The first stanza is, perhaps, the greatest departure from the original, and yet has no little of its spirit. But the fourth and fifth lines, introducing an entirely different idea, fall far below the vigor of Luther when he speaks of "the old enemy full of malice, in deadly earnest, with mighty power and deepest cunning as his terrific armor." The second stanza, one of the most difficult to reproduce in English, is much more successful, but we scarcely recognize "The right and true," as an equivalent for "*der rechte Mann*," (the proper Man!) of Luther. The sixth line of this stanza is also weakened by the introduction of the words "*we claim*," as a part of the answer to the question, "Dost ask for his name?" The third stanza is greatly weakened by the second and fourth lines, and the fifth, "*Their threats are no worth*" is scarcely admissible as an English construction.

But this translation of the characteristic hymn of the great leader of Protestantism in its most critical hour, by

one of the leading minds of the Episcopal Church in the new stadium upon which it is now entering in America, is certainly invested with a peculiar interest, and will be read with more than ordinary attention by the thoughtful reader. It is very appropriately placed under the heading of "FAITH," and stands first under that rubric. It is as follows :

A mountain fastness is our God,
On which our souls are planted :
And though the fierce foe rage abroad
Our hearts are nothing daunted.
What though he beset,
With weapon and net,
Arrayed in death-strife?
In God are help and life :
He is our sword and armour.

By our own might we naught can do ;
To trust it were sure losing ;
For us must fight the right and true,
The man of God's own choosing.
Dost ask for his name ?
Christ Jesus we claim ;
The Lord God of hosts ;
The only God ;—vain boasts
Of others fall before him.

What though the troops of Satan fill'd
The world with hostile forces ?
E'en then our fears should all be still'd :
In God are our resources.
The world and its king
No terrors can bring ;
Their threats are no worth ;
Their doom is now gone forth ;
A single word can quell them.

God's word through all shall have free sway,
And ask no man's permission ;
The spirit and his gifts convey
Strength to defy perdition.
The body to kill,
Wife, children, at will,
The wicked have power,
Yet lasts it but an hour !
The kingdom's ours forever !

In addition to this decade of translations of Luther's Battle Song, about as many more have fallen under our notice, which our space does not permit us to insert in this article, and any briefer presentation might do them injustice. Some of them are beneath criticism, whilst others are

possessed of very decided merit either as close translations or as spirited imitations. Many of them, like a large part of the Anglo-German literature of America, labor under the disadvantage of being the productions of men but imperfectly acquainted with the language, in which they write. The great difficulty, however, is, undoubtedly, inherent in the metre of the fifth, sixth and seventh lines of each stanza, which, by dropping a syllable, have changed from the iambic to trochaic measure, requiring also, in the seventh, a line of five syllables to rhyme with one of six in the eighth line. There can be no doubt that this is contrary to all the principles of harmonious versification whether in German or in English. We have already referred to the early attempts to correct this in the German words and tune. A comparison of the following versions will make our statement clear. The first, which we may call Iambo-trochaic, follows the received text, the second, in pure Iambics, is what we believe the metre of the text ought to have been, and in which alone a smooth English version is possible :

A LITERAL VERSION.

A safe stronghold our God is still,
A sure defense and weapon ;
He will deliver from all ill
That unto us can happen.
Our old bitter foe
Yearns to work us woe ;
Strong and cunning, he
Is arm'd full fearfully ;
On earth is not his equal.

By strength of ours we naught
can do,
The strife full soon were ended ;
But for us fights the champion true,
By God himself commended.
Dost thou ask his name ?
Christ Jesus ! The same
Lord of hosts we call,
God bless'd over all—
He'll hold the field triumphant.

Tho' Satan's hosts the earth should
fill,
All watching to devour us,
We tremble not, we fear no ill,
They cannot overpower us ;
This world's prince may still
Scowl fierce as he will,

A VARIATION.

A safe stronghold our God is still,
A sure defense and weapon ;
He will deliver from all ill
That unto us can happen.
Our old and bitter foe
Is fain to work us woe ;
In strength and cunning, he
Is arm'd full fearfully ;
On earth is not his equal.

By strength of ours we naught
can do,
The strife full soon were ended ;
But for us fights the champion true,
By God himself commended.
And dost thou ask his name ?
'Tis Jesus Christ ! The same
Whom Lord of hosts we call,
God bless'd over all—
He'll hold the field triumphant.

Tho' Satan's hosts the earth should
fill,
All watching to devour us,
We tremble not, we fear no ill,
They cannot overpower us.
This world's false prince may still
Scowl fiercely as he will,

His threats are but vain,
We shall unharm'd remain.
A word shall overthrow him.

God's word unshaken shall remain,
Whatever foes invade us,
Christ standeth on the battle plain,
With his own strength to aid us;
They may take our life,
Goods, fame, children, wife—
When their worst is done
They have but little won,
The kingdom ours abideth.

His threat'nings are but vain,
We shall unharm'd remain,
A word shall overthrow him.

God's word unshaken shall remain,
Whatever foes invade us.
Christ standeth on the battle plain,
With his own strength to aid us;
What tho' they take our life,
Our goods, fame, children, wife?
E'en when their worst is done
They have but little won,
The kingdom ours abideth.

Both these versions have the common fault of being stiff and harsh, which is almost inseparable from a translation that endeavors to follow the words of the original as closely as possible, in a metre so peculiar, abrupt and irregular. All that we claim for it is, that it is somewhat less rugged than other translations that reproduce the original metre, and seems to us to depart less from Luther's ideas than any translation, with which we are acquainted. Perhaps some one who has a higher poetical temperament than falls to our lot, and greater skill in versification than we can boast, may, ere long, surpass the imperfect mosaics which are here presented, as feeble imitations of Luther's rough but imperishable granite—but, until that is done, ours may stand as the best that we could do in so good a work. For a good work we cannot doubt that it would be, to kindle in the minds of English readers and of those who worship God in the latest modifications of German speech, which we call English, that lofty courage, unwavering faith, and heavenly devotion, which breathe forth in every line of this imperishable pæan of the Reformation.

ARTICLE V.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

By PROF. L. STERNBERG, A. M., Hartwick Seminary, N. Y.

The protracted and bitter controversy which arose among the Reformers of the sixteenth century in regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper has unhappily been revived

within the last few years in our American Lutheran Zion, nor can those, who stand on the defensive, as friends of the Church and of truth, retire from the conflict however reluctant they may be to mingle in the strife.

In this paper the writer proposes to enter upon a calm and dispassionate investigation of the subject, though he would not conceal from the reader the fact that he feels deeply interested in the issue of the controversy, as fraught with weal or woe to our beloved Church in her future development.

Our first inquiry will be, What do the Symbolical Books teach on this subject?

As "the Augsburg Confession is the only distinctive Symbol universally recognized in the Lutheran Church" we turn to its tenth article which reads as follows: "Concerning the Holy Supper of the Lord it is taught that the true body and blood of Christ are truly present, under the form of bread and wine, in the Lord's Supper, and are there administered and received. The opposite doctrine is therefore rejected. This is a literal translation of the German copy. The Latin copy reads as follows: *De Coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus in coena Domini, et improbant secus docentes.*

This article of our venerated Confession is variously interpreted. Some maintain that it teaches a spiritual presence of the body and blood of Christ in the consecrated elements and a spiritual eating of the same, while others claim that it teaches the true corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated elements and a literal eating of his body and drinking of his blood.

If the former interpretation is the true one, then, not only the rigid Symbolists in our own Church, but also the many able writers in other denominations, who with one voice declare that the Lutheran Church, in her acknowledged standards, teaches the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, must be regarded as slanderers of the mother Church of the Reformation, or as incapable of understanding her explicit and repeated declarations on this subject.

If the latter interpretation is the true one, then this doctrine must be subjected to the test of Scripture, and if, upon a careful exegesis of the texts bearing upon the point, it is

found to be sustained by God's word, then must it be received however confounding it may be to human reason.

Though no ecclesiastical authority can impose upon any one the duty of embracing an error, yet that error may be of so fundamental a character, it may so permeate the whole doctrinal system as to necessitate a withdrawal from the communion in which it is taught. This is happily not the case in the present instance. Should it appear that the Lutheran Church, in her doctrinal standard, has fallen into error on some minor points in respect to which Christians may agree to differ, yet, on the great fundamental doctrines of the Word of God, her testimony is confessedly so clear and decisive, that these defects are but as spots in the sun.

Furthermore, while in our American Lutheran Church the Augsburg Confession is our acknowledged creed, it is not received as to its every jot or tittle. The pledge recommended by the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States to be required of candidates for licensure and ordination is in these words, "Do you believe that the fundamental doctrines of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession?" In addition to this many of our District Synods have more specifically declared their position, especially in regard to the Sacraments. Thus the Hartwick Synod, in 1837, long before the present Symbolistic controversy arose in our Church, in a copy of the Augsburg Confession with notes, issued under its sanction, employed the following language in reference to the tenth article: "In relation to the subject of this Article, the committee would observe that the Evangelical Lutheran Church does not now materially differ from other Protestant denominations in this country. We believe that the Lord's Supper is a commemoration of the sufferings and death of Christ, and that in this sacred ordinance, every worthy communicant receives the body and blood of Christ under the emblems of bread and wine, that is, he is made a partaker of the benefits which Christ purchased for him, when he suffered and died on the cross." To the same purport was the action of the same Synod in 1856, when by an almost unanimous vote it rejected among other errors, imputed to our Church, the doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, nor has any member since called for the rescinding of that action on the ground that he believes in the doctrine of the

corporeal presence. Other District Synods have similarly defined their position.

In the investigation of the subject before us we are thus freed from any ecclesiastical trammels, which are so apt to warp the judgment, inasmuch as the recognized position of the General Synod, as well as of most of its constituent Synods, while strenuously maintaining the great doctrines of the evangelical system, has ever been adverse to that of a rigid symbolism.

When we attentively examine the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession it seems to admit of but one interpretation. It declares that the true body and blood of Christ are truly present, under the form of bread and wine, and are there administered and received. The reception here spoken of is evidently by the mouth. This appears more clearly in the Latin than in the German copy, *et distribuuntur vescentibus*, and are distributed to those eating.

As Melanchthon wrote and Luther approved of the Augsburg Confession we are bound to receive their explanation of their own language as recorded in the other Symbols, even if we do not accord to these any confessional authority.

In the Apology Melanchthon expresses himself as follows: "Our adversaries" (the Roman Catholics) "do not object to the tenth article, in which we confess that the body and blood of Christ our Lord, are truly present in the Holy Supper, and there administered and received with the visible elements, the bread and wine, as hitherto maintained in the Church, and as the Greek canon shows. And Cyril tells us, that Christ is corporeally administered and given to us in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; for he says: We do not deny that, by true faith and pure love, we are *spiritually* united with Christ. But that we should have no union at all with him according to the flesh, we certainly deny; besides it is also utterly repugnant to the scriptures. For who will doubt that Christ is even thus the vine, and we are the branches that receive nourishment and life from him? Hear Paul (1 Cor. 10: 16, 17,) For we being many are one bread. Think you that the power of the divine blessing in the eucharist is unknown to us? For where we receive it, the consequence is, that Christ even dwells in us *bodily*, through the participation of his flesh and body. Again, hence it is to be observed that Christ is in us, *not*

only by spiritual union through love, but also by natural communion. And we are speaking of the presence of a *living body*; for we know as Paul says, Rom. 6 : 9, that, Death hath no more dominion over him." Here Melancthon carefully distinguished between a spiritual and a bodily presence of Christ, and declares that in the eucharist there is the presence of a *living body*, and that the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession coincides in this respect with the doctrine of the Romish and Greek Churches.

In Luther's Smaller Catechism we find the following language: What is the Sacrament of the altar? Answer. It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, with bread and wine, (*sub pane et vino*) instituted by Christ himself for us Christians to eat and to drink (*ad manducandum et bibendum*, literally for chewing and drinking). That corporeal eating is here meant is evident from the question which follows: "How can bodily eating effect such things? It is therefore not spiritual eating which is referred to.

In the Larger Catechism Luther declares that the Sacrament of the Altar "is the true body and blood of our Lord, in and with bread and wine (*in et sub pane et vino*,) commanded through the words of Christ, for us Christians to eat and to drink."

In the Smalcald Articles the doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper is set forth in the following words: "Concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, we hold that the bread and wine in the eucharist are the true body and blood of Christ, which are administered and received not only by the pious, but also by impious Christians." This language clearly excludes the idea of the spiritual eating of Christ's body and blood. In this sense the impious, being destitute of faith, do not and cannot eat. The reception of the body and blood of Christ is oral. That this is the view which Luther and his coadjutors intended to inculcate is further manifest from his own language quoted in the Formula of Concord. These are his words: "I reckon all those in the same numbers, that is, as Sacramentarians and fanatics—for such they are—who will not believe that the bread of the Lord in the Supper is his *true natural body*, which the ungodly, or Judas, as well as St. Peter and all other saints, received *orally*; whoever, I say, will not believe this, should be let alone, and not expect to hold fellowship with me; and to this principle I must adhere." Here Luther most

emphatically declares that the natural body of Christ is received orally, that is, it is literally eaten with the mouth; that it was so received by Judas as well as by St. Peter, and that he regards all, as Sacramentarians and fanatics, who will not believe this. It is well known that the Sacramentarians held to a spiritual presence of Christ in the eucharist and to a spiritual eating of his flesh and blood, whose doctrine Luther here rejects with abhorrence. It can not therefore be that the Augsburg Confession was intended to teach this doctrine, or that this was the case with any of the Symbols that Luther wrote or sanctioned.

In the Formula of Concord, after a pointed condemnation of "the gross Sacramentarians" who believed that "nothing more than bread and wine are present, administered and received with the lips," and of the more pernicious ones who admitted a spiritual presence through faith, we find this language: "Now under these specious words they conceal the gross opinion of the former class, namely, that in the Lord's Supper, there is nothing present, and received with the lips besides bread and wine." The writers then go on formally to state the Lutheran doctrine as follows: We believe, teach and confess, that in the Lord's Supper, the body and blood of Christ are truly and essentially, or substantially, present, and with the bread and wine, are truly administered and received." Again we find the following language: "For they teach that, as in Christ, there are two unchanged natures united inseparably, so in the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the two substances, the natural bread, and the true natural body of Christ, are together present here on earth in the instituted administration of this Sacrament." This language is too clear and explicit to admit of our mistaking its import. Nor can we suppose that the first Symbol teaches a doctrine which the subsequent ones so pointedly condemned. They are but a fuller development of the first. If this be so then the Augsburg Confession teaches and was intended to teach the corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated elements, and the reception of his veritable body and blood by the mouth of the communicant.

If any are still disposed to maintain that the Augsburg Confession, whatever may be said in regard to the other Symbols, teaches a spiritual presence and a spiritual eating of Christ in the eucharist, with such we can have no controversy, for in regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper we

substantially agree, however we may differ in our interpretation of the tenth article of our Confession.

We proceed to submit the doctrines of the corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated elements to the test of Scripture. We ask the reader carefully to note the following passages, Matt. 26 : 26-29 ; Mark 14 : 22-23 ; Luke 22 : 19-20 ; 1 Cor. 10 : 16-17 and 11 : 23-29. If we attentively consider the language of the New Testament as recorded in the above citations we find that, instead of teaching the presence of Christ's body and blood in the consecrated bread and wine, they clearly exclude any such idea. "This is my body," is by no means equivalent to saying, "In this is my body." It does not and cannot mean the same thing, and yet these last words precisely express the doctrine of the symbolical books on this subject. "*In pane, sub pane, cum pane.*" If it had been the intention of Christ and his apostles to teach any such doctrine we should have found an *in*, *sub*, or *cum* in at least some of the passages cited above. Instead of this they all explicitly declared, not that the body of Christ is present in the bread, but that the bread itself is the body of Christ and that the wine is his blood. There is no union, sacramental or otherwise, of two distinct substances, natural bread and the true natural body of Christ. The bread itself is called the body of Christ. Its character has not been changed by addition, subtraction, or transmutation. It is simply bread, so called after consecration, broken from a common loaf, and devoted to a sacred use. "The bread which we break" &c. Both the Roman Catholic and the Symbolic Lutheran put a gloss upon the words of the institution. They thrust an idea into them which they do not express. The transubstantiationist understands them as if they read, This (which was bread) has become my body. The consubstantiationist understands them thus, In and with this (bread) is my body ; and though both make thus free with the plain words of Christ, they are quick to denounce those who differ from them as perverting the word of God. It is easy to see that, while there is no very essential difference between the two ideas above indicated, as the Reformers themselves maintained, the former does even less violence to the language of the institution than the latter.

Since, in every instance in which the words of the institution occur in the Sacred Scriptures the bread itself and not something in it or united with it is called the body of Christ.

and the wine itself is called his blood, the language is necessarily metaphorical, for nothing can actually be both what it is, and what it is not at the same time. Will any one maintain that the same substance can be at the same moment a piece of inanimate matter and a "living body?" We have authority in the very words of the institution for a metaphorical interpretation: "This cup is the New Testament in my blood." Here obviously are two figures of speech. The word cup stands for the wine in it; and the cup is said to be the New Testament. Is there no metaphor here? Will any stickler for a literal interpretation maintain that the chalice, or even what it contains, is literally the New Testament? As no one would presume to claim a "real presence" here, so we say that, in the same sense in which the cup is the New Testament, the wine is the blood and the bread is the body of Christ. Where the apostle Paul says, "For we being many are one bread, and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread," is not his language figurative? Are Christians by partaking of the Lord's Supper converted into one natural loaf and one natural body?

Again, in the verse preceding the one last quoted the apostle says, "The cup of blessing which we bless is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" This passage is especially relied on to prove the union in the eucharist of natural bread and wine with the natural body and blood of Christ. If it taught any such doctrine it should read, "The cup of blessing which we bless is it not *in communion with* the blood of Christ? The bread which we break is it not *in communion with* the body of Christ? Instead of this we are told that the cup itself is the communion of the blood of Christ, and that the bread itself is the communion of the body of Christ. While bread and wine may set forth a communion and may be partaken of in such a manner as to foster such fellowship, they cannot in themselves be a communion. The communion they set forth is that of the believer with the broken body and shed blood of Christ; his fellowship with his sufferings and death; his being crucified with him that he may also rise and be glorified with him. It is the fellowship for which the apostle Paul so earnestly strove "through the faith of Christ," that he might "know him and the power of his resurrection, and *the fellowship of his sufferings*, being made conformable unto his death." Phil. 5. 10.

But, if Christ be not corporeally present in the consecrated elements—if they are objectively only bread and wine, how can the unworthy communicant become guilty of the body and blood of the Lord? We first reply to this question by asking another. How does the unworthy communicant become guilty of the body and blood of the Lord on the supposition of the corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine? It will not be pretended that his sin is allied to that of cannibalism, for both worthy and unworthy communicants would, in that case, fall under the same condemnation. As our Saviour entered the temple though it had been made a den of thieves, casting out them that bought and sold, and overturning the tables of the money changers, it will not be pretended that the sin of eating unworthily consists in thrusting the body of Christ into a human body which is not a fit temple of the Holy Ghost. Eating unworthily consists, not in the fact, but in the manner of eating.

That is it, replies the advocate of the real presence, for does not Paul say in the context, "For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, *not discerning the Lord's body.*" Here we are informed wherein eating unworthily consists, viz: in *not "discerning the Lord's body."* Now, does "discerning the Lord's body" consist in not discerning his corporeal presence in the consecrated elements? But how is this to be distinguished? Surely not by the sense of sight, for it is administered under the form (*sub specie*) of bread and wine. Is it then by the sense of taste? No, replies the advocate of the "real presence," not by any of the bodily senses, but by faith. But that is certainly a novel way of discerning. We had always supposed that faith was "the evidence of things *not seen.*" Because I believe that a departed friend is in heaven, do I discern him there? Do I distinguish him among the throng of worshippers in the upper sanctuary? But supposing that a present material substance were discernible by faith, what kind of faith is meant? Is it faith in Christ? or is it faith in the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist? If it is faith in Christ, how does it come to pass that such a multitude of the most devoted followers of Christ, "of whom the world was not worthy," never discerned Christ's body and blood as present in and united with bread and wine, nay, rejected the doctrine with abhorrence, as a pernicious relic of popery? If discerning the Lord's

body consists in believing in his corporeal presence in the consecrated elements, then thousands of the most eminent and successful ministers of Christ such as a Doddridge and a Baxter, together with an innumerable multitude of humble, earnest disciples of the meek and lowly Saviour, have all their life long been eating and drinking damnation to themselves. Can any one persuade himself that to such the holy communion has never proved a blessing, ever a curse?

When we read the entire passage, 1 Cor. 11: 17-34, it becomes evident that the apostle aimed to reprobate in the strongest terms "feasting and faction" in connection with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Great irregularities had crept into the Corinthian Church. They came together for gluttony and drunkenness. "This," says the apostle, "is not to eat the Lord's Supper." It is wickedly to pervert its object, which is to bring us, through faith in the crucified Redeemer, into closer fellowship with his sufferings on the cross; with his broken body and shed blood. The Corinthians, not recognizing this sacred use of the elements and partaking of them for gluttony and drunkenness, thus ate and drank to their own condemnation. They "crucified the Son of God afresh and put him to an open shame," and thus, in effect, like the multitude who cried "Crucify him," became guilty of his blood.

If it be a correct principle of hermeneutics that Scripture should be interpreted by Scripture then we have abundant authority for interpreting the words of the institution as metaphorical. Christ is called a vine, a foundation, a cornerstone, &c. We have a remarkable instance of figurative language in regard to this very matter of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ in John 6: 53, 54. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day." Our Saviour himself declares that this is to be understood in a spiritual sense. In the Formula of Concord (Bk. of Con. p. 673) it is admitted that a spiritual eating and drinking are here spoken of.

Was the Lord's Supper, as first instituted and administered by Christ himself, a real communion? Or was it merely intended as a kind of previous rehearsal for the purpose of instructing the apostles as to the manner of its proper observance? If it was not a real communion then it will not

he claimed that the body and blood of Christ were in that instance actually present in the consecrated elements, and hence the words of the institution, as they fell from the lips of Christ himself, were employed in a figurative sense. If it was a real communion, differing from others only in this that it carried the mind forward to the cross, instead of carrying it back, then also the language of the institution must have been used figuratively, for his broken body and his shed blood could not have been present in the elements, since in that state neither of them was yet in existence. As Christ did not have two bodies, the one broken and the other unbroken, he could not be present in the midst of his disciples in an unbroken body while administering to them his broken body and his shed blood, united with bread and wine, to be eaten and drunk. Even if it could be shown that Christ's body, through the divine nature, with which it was united, was susceptible of a presence which does not belong to mere matter, this presence must, notwithstanding, have been that of the unbroken body with its unshed blood. When therefore our Saviour said to his disciples, "This is my blood of the New Testament, which is *shed* for many," he must have meant, This wine, which I have just poured out, sets forth the shedding of my blood; nor could his disciples, seeing him in their midst, not yet crucified, have understood his language otherwise than as figurative.

If it was impossible for the broken body and the shed blood of Christ to be present in the elements, before either the one was broken or the other was shed, so it is equally impossible for them to be present now that his body is no longer broken and the shedding of his blood has ceased. The Lord's Supper is a commemorative rite. It carries the mind back to the crucifixion of Christ. "Do this in remembrance of me." "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death until he come." It is not the glorified body of Christ that is set forth in the Lord's Supper, nor its blood, if a glorified body may be supposed to have blood. It is his natural body, while in the agonies of crucifixion, and his blood shed on Calvary. The broken body was healed again, retaining only the marks of its wounds. The blood shed did not return to the body but was poured out upon the ground like that of the bloody sacrifices under the Old Testament economy. Christ was offered once for all. "This do in remembrance of me," not of me, as I am now, not of me, as I shall be hereafter in my

glory, but of me on the cross, giving my life a ransom for all to be testified in due time.

That it is only in their then state that the body and blood of Christ are set forth in the Lord's Supper further appears from the separate administration of the bread and wine. If a "living body," instead of a dying one, or one just dead were set forth in the elements, the wine, absorbed by the bread, should have been administered in and with it. But they were dispensed apart, showing that they refer only to that brief period in the history of our Saviour, when his body and blood were in a state of separation. Christ hung on the cross only a few hours. In their then state his body and blood exist no longer and therefore cannot be present any where.

Besides the natural impossibility of the presence of Christ's broken body and shed blood in the eucharist, and the unscripturalness of the idea, it is philosophically absurd. We are aware that the advocates of this doctrine deny a gross, Capernaïtic eating, and a definite, circumscribed presence. If this disclaimer amounts to any thing it sets aside the doctrine of the "real presence" itself, for it implies that Christ's body has ceased to be a material body—that it has acquired the attributes of deity, and God cannot be eaten. They call the presence of Christ's body and blood in the consecrated elements a *sacramental presence*. This is indeed "darkening counsel by words without knowledge." Can any one inform us what is meant by a *sacramental presence*? The Scriptures authorize no such phraseology, which conveys no intelligible meaning, and which the advocates of the doctrine of the corporeal presence seem to have invented, that they might thus relieve themselves from the insuperable difficulties they encounter the moment they undertake to define their position in expressive and precise terms. To some minds indeed, predisposed to mysticism, the words "sacramental presence" may convey a world of meaning. We do not object to the coinage of new terms provided they are significant and appropriate, but we wish at least to know distinctly what is meant by them before, recognizing their right to a place in the formulæ of our faith.

But we are told that this is a great mystery, incomprehensible by our limited faculties. Be it so. We cannot comprehend the doctrine of the Trinity. We can, however, understand what that doctrine is. The word trinity is an intelligible term. Not so the phrase "sacramental presence."

It is employed to mean a presence in a definite, circumscribed place which is not local; the literal presence of flesh and blood, which is not literal flesh and blood. Whether language be intended to convey or conceal our thoughts, this does neither, for it expresses none except such as every man may choose to put upon it. We might as well speak of a London presence, unless, peradventure, we should mean simply a presence in London.

As we do not know the essential nature of a spirit whether finite or infinite we cannot comprehend in what manner it may be present in any place. Its relation to surrounding space is rather like that of a mathematical point than like that of a solid, for it does not itself occupy space. Though we may conceive of its presence as similar to that of matter, yet all that we really can say is that where it acts, there it is. Thus the body is the "local habitation" of the soul, yet who will tell us how it occupies this "earthly tabernacle," or at what particular point it dwells?

We may know as little, as to the essential nature of matter as of spirit; but this we do know that their phenomena are entirely unlike, and that it is one of the essential properties of matter to occupy a definite space. This being the case, how can there be the presence of a material substance which is not determinate?—a presence of the body of Christ in the bread which is not local (*localem inclusionem*,)—an eating, which is not gross? There does seem to be something exceedingly "gross" in the eating of a "living body," however refined and etherialized it may have become, for it still belongs to the world of matter, which it must do in order to be eaten at all, for we can neither eat nor drink a spirit. If "in the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the two substances, the natural bread, and the true, natural body of Christ, are together present here on earth in the instituted administration of this Sacrament," the eating of Christ's natural body is at least as gross, as the eating of the bread. Both are eaten with the mouth. Both are masticated and swallowed. The Formula Concordiæ after speaking of the spiritual eating declared, by our Saviour, to be necessary, John 6: 54, says, "The other mode of partaking of the body of Christ is *oral*, or *sacramental*, when in the Lord's Supper, the true essential body and blood of Christ are received and partaken of orally, by all who eat and drink of the consecrated bread and wine, in this holy Sacrament." To disclaim therefore a local presence of the body

of Christ in the consecrated elements, and a gross eating of the same is to give up the doctrine of the corporeal presence altogether and to assume the ground of the Sacramentarians, viz: that the presence and the eating of Christ's body and blood are both spiritual.

To this it is replied, that while this would be true in respect to a merely human body, it is not true in regard to the body of Christ in consequence of the union in him of the divine with the human nature in one person. But how can this alter the case, unless the human nature, in consequence of this union, has become divine, and the body has ceased to be a created, material substance? When the Symbolical Books tell us that "the true natural body of Christ", his "living body" is eaten with the bread by both worthy and unworthy communicants, they teach either a gross eating, or a spiritual eating. They reject the idea of a spiritual eating, they must therefore teach a gross eating, though disclaiming the imputation.

By no means replies the advocate of the doctrine of the corporeal presence. This doctrine is not liable to any such objection, because of the *idiomatic union* of the divine and human natures in Christ. As the Bible says nothing of a "*communicatio idiomatum*" we may be allowed to inquire into the grounds, on which it is predicated. Did, then, the second person in the adorable Trinity, in assuming our nature, either himself acquire human attributes, or impart divine attributes to the man Christ Jesus? As well might we say that the soul becomes material in consequence of its union with the body, or that the body becomes immaterial by its union with the soul. In a personal union the component parts retain all their essential attributes, nor is it possible that they should be transfused, especially in the person of Christ. To assert anything of the kind is to assert a contradiction. While the infinite may enter into union with the finite, it cannot itself become finite, nor can the finite become infinite. This omnipotence itself cannot effect, otherwise God could create another God who, as God, must be uncreated and eternal. Though the union between the divine and human natures in Christ is as real and intimate as between the soul and body in man, yet, just as what is predicable of man is not always predicable both of his soul and of his body, as when we say, man is mortal, or, man is immortal, so it is in regard to him who was "God, manifest in the flesh." When our Saviour is spoken of as "born of a wo-

man," as increasing "in wisdom and stature," as eating, sleeping, crucified, dead, and buried, he is presented under his human aspect. None of these things are predicable of the Deity that dwelt in him, however much the fact of such indwelling may enhance their significance and value. On the other hand when our Saviour is spoken of as healing the sick, raising the dead, forgiving sin, mediating between God and man, giving life to as many as he will, bursting the bands of death, equal with God, creating and upholding all things by the word of his power, he is presented under his divine aspect. Christ is even called a man (John 1: 30,) in reference to the period, previous to his incarnation. None of these things are predicable of his human nature, however necessary it may have been for the accomplishment of the great object of his mission, that he should take upon him "the seed of Abraham."

It is said that our Saviour "knew what was in man." These words assert his omniscience. Was his human nature omniscient? How then could he increase in wisdom? Furthermore, it is impossible for a created and finite mind to be capable of infinite knowledge, either in itself or through union with Deity. Did Christ's human body become omniscient as well as his human soul? This must have been the case on the supposition of the "*communicatio idiomatum*," at least if on this supposition the possibility of his corporeal presence in the eucharist is to be accounted for. God cannot, for one moment, be divested of a single attribute, for he would then cease to be God. Christ, though during the period of his humiliation he had veiled his glory, was then as really omnipotent and omnipresent as before his incarnation. Did both his human body and his human soul become omnipresent and omnipotent when he was "made in the likeness of sinful flesh?" In the miracle of healing wrought upon the nobleman's son, as recorded in John 4: 46-54, particular mention is made of the fact, that the sick youth was at Capernaum, while Christ was at Cana. He thus exerted his divine power, where his bodily presence was not.

Nor does it relieve the difficulty to say, that it is the glorified body of Christ, that has become ubiquitous, omnipresent. Glorified though it be, it still is created, material, limited and cannot be omnipresent. An omnipresent creature, an omnipresent material organism cannot exist. If the body of Christ were ubiquitous then we should eat it, not only in the Lord's Supper, but with our daily food; we should inhale it

with the air we breathe; we should quaff it with every refreshing draught, but it could only be received by fragments, and not as a whole.

To teach the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacramental bread and wine is to *deify Christ's body*. Is Christ's glorified body present, wherever the Lord's Supper may be celebrated, though it be in different and distant places and at the same instant? Yes. Is the whole of Christ's natural body present in each piece of the broken bread and administered to each communicant? Yes. Well then Christ's body is God, and the Christian eats his own God, when partaking of the Lord's Supper and that too a material God, as only material things can be eaten, for none but God can be in many and distant places, whole and undivided, at the same time. Furthermore, as the whole of Christ's body is in every piece of the bread, and as it is his "living body," it also contains his blood, and the cup is not necessary to be administered either to priest or laity to make a complete sacrament.

Again, is the blood of Christ united with all the consecrated wine? Yes. Does each communicant in tasting the wine drink all the blood? Yes. But how can one communicant drink all the blood, and yet leave it all for the next to drink. Because it is omnipresent and indivisible. Then it is God, for the existence of one divine attribute implies the existence of them all. The body of Christ being omnipresent must likewise be omniscient and omnipotent. A human body, a living organism, omniscient, omnipotent! If the body of Christ be indivisible and he that eats or drinks the least particle of it eats or drinks the whole, then not only is the blood in the bread, but the body is in the wine, and partaking of the wine alone would be a complete sacrament.

To this the advocate of the corporeal presence replies, that he does not claim that the glorified body of Christ is ubiquitous in its own nature, in which it occupies a limited, circumscribed space, but that it is so *through* the divine nature, with which it is united. But let the fact be established before we inquire into the manner, in which it is supposed to exist. The fact is an impossibility in the nature of things. There is no mode in which a thing can really be the opposite of what in its nature it is and must be. If the human in Christ had changed its nature, so as to acquire divine attributes in consequence of its union with the second person in the Trinity, then we should not "have such an High Priest

as became us, one that can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, having been tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin." If Christ's human nature was invested with the attributes of Deity by the incarnation, then there was no need of any incarnation at all. Either there was an assumption of the human nature into the divine nature, or the human nature remained human and limited.

Is the body of Christ *really* ubiquitous, or only *virtually* so, through its union with the divine nature? If a *real* ubiquity is asserted, then a real divine attribute is ascribed to Christ's body. If the ubiquity is only *virtual*, this destroys the doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist. Luther says, that the one body of Christ has three different ways of being present in a place, first, "the comprehensible or corporeal mode," second, "the incomprehensible, or spiritual mode," and third, "the divine and heavenly mode." We are not concerned with the mode in which Christ's body may be supposed to be ubiquitous, but with the fact which we entirely deny, as contrary both to Scripture and reason. Did not Christ tell his disciples, at the institution of the Last Supper, that he would not henceforth participate with them in its celebration until he should drink with them the new wine in his Father's kingdom? Did he not ascend to the right hand of God, there to remain as to his corporeal presence until his second coming? The Formula of Concord indeed tells us that the right hand of God, to which Christ ascended is everywhere. In refutation of this it is sufficient to quote Mark 16 : 19.

But we are told, that if there be a single point in the Universe where the divine nature in Christ is present, but his human nature is not, then there the two natures are not united. This objection is based on the idea that the presence of the Creator and of the creature are identical, that the incarnation of God involves the assumption of the human nature into the divine; otherwise the objection is of no force. Can Christ act only through the organs of his human body? When the Church addresses her worship to her ascended Lord, does she believe that he hears her prayers and praises through the bodily sense? When she leans upon the arm of her beloved does she lean upon an arm of flesh? Wherever Christ is and whatever he does he is and does, as God incarnate; but what is predicable of him as such is not predicable of each nature separately. Had the apostle Paul but understood this doctrine of the "*communicatio idiomata-*

etiam" it would at once have solved his grave doubt as to whether the *man* he knew who was caught up into Paradise was in the body or out of the body. He must have been in the body, because he was a man and not half a man, and because if his soul had been but for an instant, where his body was not, in so far there could have been no personal union between them. Were it even true, it would throw no light on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, in regard to which the glorified body of Christ has no significance, however much it may have in other respects.

We cannot regard the doctrine of the corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated elements, when intelligently embraced and carried out to its logical results, as a harmless vagary. It is well calculated to inspire a superstitious reverence for the elements and thus interfere with their legitimate use. In its essential features it does not differ from the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, as the Reformers themselves admitted, and its tendency is of a similar character. Though not perceived to be in conflict with the great doctrine of justification by faith by those who first originated it, yet it really is so, inasmuch as it teaches an objective efficacy in the consecrated elements to those who partake of them, instead of a subjective value in the proper observance of the Lord's Supper. Instead of being simply a means of grace it becomes a source of it, through the operation of that which is eaten and drunk.

The indwelling Christ, introduced through the mouth, is supposed to ensure the forgiveness of sins and to become the germ of the saint's resurrection body. Many pass lightly over the words of the institution, as though they read, "Do this, for the remission of sins." Even in the Formula Concordia this idea is already broached. "This cup is the New Testament in my blood, can have no other meaning than that which St. Matthew and St. Mark give; this (namely, this which you drink out of the cup orally,) is my blood of the New Testament, by which I establish, seal and confirm unto you children of men this my Testament, and new covenant, namely, the remission of sins." According to this language that which is drunk orally by the communicant *establishes, seals and confirms* to him the remission of his sins. Other passages of similar import might be quoted. It is easy to perceive that the natural tendency and practical effect of

such teaching must be similar to that of the Romish dogma of transubstantiation, of which perhaps few of our older pastors have failed to witness illustrations.

In the Lutheran system of theology, so clear, so pre-eminently biblical on the great fundamental doctrines of the word of God, the peculiar views in regard to the Sacraments constitute the one dark spot. We wonder not at finding a defect like this, which a later age has in a great part remedied. Our only wonder is that the Reformers were able, to so great an extent, to break away from the instructions of their childhood and the teachings of their riper years. These views, however, tinged as they are with the hierarchical element, or we should perhaps rather say with ecclesiasticism, are, in so far, in conflict with the system itself, which, in all its leading features, sends the sinner *directly* to Christ for salvation, and not to Christ *through the Church*.

The Church has indeed a most important office to perform. As a faithful foster-mother, she is to receive Christ's nurslings and train them up for heaven. But the ecclesiastical system, which naturally culminates in the hierarchy and finds its full development in the Romish Church, places the keys of the kingdom of heaven in the hands of the Church. You must be born again. Go to the Church, that you may be regenerated by baptism. You must receive the remission of your sins. Go to the Church, that you may have this remission established and sealed to you in the Lord's Supper.

We do not affirm that this is the instruction, actually given under this system, but that such is its tendency and practical result. In proof of this we need but refer to the fact that, except in the case of our American Lutheran ministers, by whom the doctrines of baptismal regeneration and of the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist have generally been discarded, our pastors are so frequently called on to administer the ordinances "in extremes." A delicate infant comes into the world but for a few moments to utter its feeble cry of distress and then to be borne by angel hands to a happier clime. The pastor is hastily roused from his midnight slumbers and summoned to baptize the little sufferer, ere the Saviour calls it to himself. Should he tarry, the father, or even the attending midwife, may perform the friendly office. The strong man is suddenly prostrated in the agonies of speedy dissolution. He may have lived in utter neglect of

his Christian duties since his first communion. But now the pangs of death are upon him, and the pastor is summoned to prepare him for his exit by administering to him the Lord's Supper. If only the sacred emblems pass his lips, while yet the breath of life is in his body, then it is thought all may be well. Is it said that these are abuses of the doctrine of the Sacraments, as taught in the Symbolical Books, which deny their efficacy "*ex opere operato*?" They are abuses, however, which grow out of the doctrine as its natural fruit; and they occur, alas, too often.

Though we regard the peculiar Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper, as unsustained by the Sacred Scriptures, yet it is based on a great and important truth, which it had been well had the Reformers been content to enunciate, unencumbered by the dogma of the real presence. The most rigid Symbolic Lutheran whose views are not too contracted to enable him to disregard the form, where he finds the substance, will experience no difficulty in fraternizing with one who agrees with him in the great truth underlying the peculiar, Lutheran view, though not its proper root; nor will he be disposed to deny his claim to the name of Luther, none the less honored, because not blindly followed.

What then is this essentially though not distinctively Lutheran view? It is that the Lord's Supper is emphatically Christ's ordinance as baptism is that of the Holy Spirit. When our Saviour was baptized, the Holy Ghost descended upon him in the form of a dove. This ordinance not only sets forth the work of the Spirit upon the hearts of men, but whatever spiritual blessings may attend its administration are wrought in the soul by the Holy Ghost. On the other hand the Lord's Supper sets forth the work of Christ, and whatever spiritual blessings may attend its observance, it is the peculiar office of Christ to impart. Where Christ ascended to heaven to occupy his mediatorial throne, the holy Comforter, proceeding from the Father and the Son, came to supply his place and carry forward his work. In the other ordinances of religion, he takes the things of Christ and shows them unto us. But in the Lord's Supper Christ himself, as at its first institution, presides at the feast. Here the reality of the atonement, the efficacy of the shedding of Christ's blood for the remission of sins, is assured to the believing soul. The universal consciousness of the Church, as expressed in her most favorite Sacramental hymns, recognizes in this ordinance, the special presence of Him who has

promised to be with his followers to the end of the world, when with penitent, believing hearts, they approach his table. While he there communes with them their hearts burn within them and they exclaim, "It is the Lord." There he shows the doubting disciple his hands and his feet, and bids him thrust his hand into his side. There, in tender and reassuring tones, he addresses the disconsolate one, who seeks her Lord and knows not where to find him.

We do not mean to assert that the Holy Spirit does not exert his sanctifying influence in the Lord's Supper through the great truth therein set forth, or that the second person in the adorable Trinity exercises his saving power only in this ordinance; but that here he is peculiarly present to apply "the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than the blood of Abel;" present, not in the consecrated elements, but with those who reverently and believingly partake of them; present, not as to his body and blood, his human nature, to be received by the mouth, but as to his divine nature to be received through faith into the heart to speak peace to the troubled conscience, to justify and save.

As on the cross the human nature of Christ suffered, while the divine nature united with it imparted expiatory efficacy to those sufferings; so, in conferring the benefits of Christ's passion, the divine nature, omnipresent, omnipotent, makes the application, while, in consequence of its union with the human nature, "we have such an high priest as became us, one who can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities," able to save, strong to deliver, and yet our elder brother and our sympathizing friend.



ARTICLE VI.

THE UNIVERSAL FATHERHOOD OF GOD AND THE UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD OF MAN, GOD'S ARGUMENT AGAINST OPPRESSION.

There is no one thing, perhaps, in which all religions so fully agree as in the doctrine, or the sentiment that God is emphatically the guardian and protector of the poor and

needy, the widow and fatherless, the stranger and the oppressed. This universal conviction can be regarded in no other rational light, than as an instinct or intuition, and so as the voice of God speaking in and through the soul of man. Hear it pleading as the voice of man, and warning as the voice of God, from the lips of the hero of *Odyssey* :

"Low at thy knee, thy succor we implore,
Respect us human, and relieve us poor.
At least some hospitable gift bestow ;
'Tis what the happy to the unhappy owe :
'Tis what the gods require ; those gods severe ;
The poor and stranger are their constant care,
To Jove their cause and their revenge belongs,
He wanders with them, and he feels their wrongs."*

The same sentiment is echoed and re-echoed from the dialogue and the chorus of the Greek tragedies, while the plot often illustrates the vengeance from heaven which is sure, sooner or later, to overtake the wretch who disregards the cry of the suppliant stranger and oppressed. Such is the dictate of conscience and common sense in the ancient heathen world.

And with this agrees the religious consciousness of Mohammedans. The Koran, as interpreted by their priests and judges, puts its ban upon slavery, wherever it is accepted as the law and the religion of the people, by making it impossible for a Mohammedan to be a slave. It is a standing law of all Mohammedan governments, that the slave, the moment he becomes a Mohammedan, thereby, *ipso facto*, becomes free.

The spirit of the religion of the Bible is still more emphatically and impartially opposed to slavery in all its forms, since it recognizes men of all religions and all nations as brethren, and commands us to do to all men all things whatsoever we would that they should do to us. The Scriptures of the Old Testament put the native Hebrew and the stranger within his gates on the same broad and high level, and are as remarkable for the humanity and charity which they require towards men, as they are for the piety which they inculcate towards God, commanding

*Od. IX, 265-71. Cf. the oft repeated words : πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν πάντες ξείνοί τε πτωχοί τε (Od. VI, 207 ; XIV, 57, &c.)

the Israelites to love the Lord their God with all their heart and their neighbors (including strangers, Lev. 19: 34) as themselves, and extending their especial protection over the blind and the lame, the poor and needy, the helpless and defenceless, just in proportion as they need protection. Over and over again the commandment and the penalty of disobedience sound out together from the law: "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in *any wise*, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry; and my anger shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword, and *your* wives shall be widows, and *your* children fatherless. Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates. At his day, thou shalt give him his hire: for he is poor and setteth his heart upon it; lest he cry against thee unto the Lord and it be sin unto thee." (Ex. 22: 21-24; Deut. 24: 14, 15.)

And the denunciation of God's judgments upon every form of oppression goes on down from Moses through all the prophets, beginning with Isaiah: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen to let the oppressed go free?" (58: 6), thundering still louder in Jeremiah: "Wo unto him * * that useth his neighbor's service without wages." (22: 13), and closing up the canon of the Old Testament with the distinct threat in Malachi, that the Messiah "shall come as a refiner and a purifier and a swift witness against * * those that oppress the hireling in his wages and turn aside the stranger from his right (3: 5). And the New Testament opens, as the Old closes, with the preaching (by John the Baptist) of repentance and reformation with especial reference to violence and unlawful exactions. And the meek and lowly Jesus, while he welcomes to his gracious healing and saving presence the sick and afflicted, the poor and needy, the weary and heavy-laden, and pronounces blessings on the poor in spirit, the meek, the mourners, those who hunger and thirst after righteousness and those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, denounces woes, if possible, more dreadful than any of the prophetic denunciations of the Old Testament, upon the Scribes and Pharisees. The extortioners and oppressors, who bound heavy burdens and laid them on men's shoulders, who devoured widows' houses and, though very religious, were yet full of robbery and extortion.

And the holy Apostles, like their divine Lord, have blessings and only blessings for every body else, but they heap curses on the head of the extortioner and the oppressor: "Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped, have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." (James 5: 4).

Thus the religion of nature and the religion of the Bible, the religion of the Old Testament and the New, of Jews and Greeks, of Pagans, of Mohammedans and of Christians, unite in the sternest denunciation of the oppressor, while they agree in placing the oppressed under the special guardianship and protection of the God of heaven.

While the God of nature and the God of the Bible thus warns and pleads with men for their oppressed and down-trodden brethren, the God of providence interposes in their behalf. So often has he appeared to sweep away from off the earth the kingdom or the empire that was full of robbery and oppression; so often has slavery, with its kindred sins of excess and uncleanness, been the ruin of nations, that God seems to have been repeating and re-repeating the lesson all down the ages of the world's history—the nation that will not obey me in this respect I will judge; the nation that will rob the hireling of his wages and oppress the stranger, I will destroy. Christian nations, especially, God seems, in our day, to be educating in the great Christian duties of charity and philanthropy, training them almost in spite of themselves to understand and practice those much misunderstood and perverted but still truly Christian ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity; bringing them gradually up to a recognition of the rights of the masses, the equality of citizens before the law, the ties of nationality, and the independence of nations of foreign intervention, and thus preparing the way for that consummation foretold in prophecy, and devoutly wished by philanthropic, pious hearts, when war and oppression both shall cease; when nation shall no longer rise up against nation, and every man shall see in every other man a brother.

The nation that will not learn this lesson, must make way for others that will. This is the touch-stone by which the nations of Christendom are now being tried. In the balance of this great and decisive question, our beloved country hangs suspended in this fearful crisis of our national history. It is a test by which a *republic*, a *Christian Republic*,

a *Christian Republic in this nineteenth century of the Christian era*, ought to be willing to be tried. And yet there is too much reason to fear, that, weighed in this balance, we shall be found wanting. Then with better reason, than the proud empire of Babylon, "the great republic" of the West will be given over to destruction. Then clearer and more logical than the hand-writing on the wall of the debauched and besotted king of Babylon will be the MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN of our doom. And the interpretation known and read of all men, will be: "God hath numbered thy kingdom and divided and destroyed it, because thou hast not glorified the God in whose hands thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways," by obedience to his law of fraternal love—because while you gloried in the forms Christianity, you denied the fundamental principles and essential spirit of both.

The principle which underlies this whole subject is so clearly and concisely enunciated in a passage in the Book of Malachi—thus standing as it were between the two Testaments as if expressly to sum up the Old and pre-shadow the New, that we shall adopt it as a kind of motto, and let it give shape to our discussion: "Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother by profaning the covenant of our fathers." (Mal. 2: 10).

The Universal Fatherhood of God and the Universal Brotherhood of Man—this is God's own argument against oppression, an argument founded in nature and reason, reaffirmed by revelation, and enforced upon us as upon the ancient Israel by the solemn covenant of our Fathers.

I. The Universal Fatherhood of God.

This is no mere poet's fancy or philosopher's dream. It is a plain and simple matter of fact. It is the great underlying fact of Christianity and of all true religion. It is the central fact also in nature and human history. God is the Father of all mankind, not by a mere figure of speech, but in the truest and highest sense of the word—in a truer and higher sense than human fathers and mothers are the parents of those, whom they call their children. God is the real father of all men, and human fatherhood is only an imperfect image and shadow of his, just as Christ is the only real, complete and perfect man and brother of the race, while our manhood and brotherhood is only a broken and shattered

image of his. The universal fatherhood of God is the keynote of the Lord's Prayer, of the Sermon on the Mount, if not a few other discourses and parables of our Lord, and we might say, of the whole Gospel. Men of all classes and conditions, races and nations, are taught to address him as "Our Father." Jew and Gentile alike are invited to cry unto him, "Abba, Father." Father, Father is the one word which opens the door to all the unsearchable riches of the Gospel of Christ.

Three elements enter into this idea of the universal fatherhood of God.

1. He is the Creator of all mankind. "Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us?" He created out of nothing the very substance, out of which we were originally formed. Then he fashioned our wonderfully made bodies, curiously working them out of the dust of the earth with infinitely greater skill and fondness for his work than the most gifted and loving sculptor ever wrought the marble into the form of heroes or gods. Then he breathed into our nostrils the breath of his own life, a portion of his own spirit, and made us not only living souls, but intelligent, thinking, feeling, willing spirits, like himself. The fact, that, with the exception of the first man, he created all men through the intervention of human parents, so far from being inconsistent with the idea of fatherhood, just goes to prove that those earthly parents are only the *instruments* and *occasions* of our existence, and so are parents only in a secondary and subordinate sense, while *he* is the primary and original author of our being, the intentional former of our bodies, the conscious father of our spirits and the all-comprehending, efficient cause of that mysterious union which subsists between them.

2. God created man in his own image, after his own likeness. As children partake of the nature of their parents, so mankind all partake of the rational and moral nature of their Father in heaven. He endowed man with reason, conscience, affections, and will, the same mental and moral faculties with himself, that, like himself, he might look out over the divine works and pronounce them all very good, and have dominion over the irrational creatures, and be his agent, interpreter and representative in this lower world; his reason, the image of the divine intelligence; his con-

science, the echo of the divine law and the vicegerent of the divine government; his heart, beating in unison with the divine benevolence; his will, the executive of the divine will; his very body erect with dignity and dominion, looking up to his throne and radiant with the light of his countenance and his immortality, the image of God's own eternity. In short, man was made to be in some sense the god of this lower world, the viceroy of the province, the son and heir of the eternal King. True, the distance is infinite between the Creator and the most exalted of his creatures. And we should never forget reverently to exalt him in our conceptions as infinitely above unfallen man in his natural attributes and infinitely unlike fallen man in his moral perfections. At the same time, Adam was "the Son of God;" and as even the new born infant resembles its parents, so the son of God bears some real resemblance to his heavenly Father; as "the cope of heaven is imaged in a dew-drop," so man reflects the image of his Maker. The difference is a difference in degree, not in kind. Man is like God in his rational and moral nature; he can *become* like him in moral character. He was made like him in both; and though sadly fallen by sin from this high original, yet, by the grace of God through his dear Son, we may recover his moral image, and rise to his likeness and blessedness not only, but to his presence and glory forever.

Both the fatherhood of God and his likeness to his human offspring are recognized as a doctrine even of natural religion in Paul's admirable discourse to the Athenians on Mars' Hill: "For in him, we live and move and have our being, as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are his offspring. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or stone graven by art and man's device."

3. As God is in the highest sense the father of mankind and may even be conceived of, as some of the early Greek poets represented him, as at once the father and the mother of the race, so he exercises the fulness of a father's and the tenderness of a mother's love for his offspring. Nature teaches this in the beauty, grandeur and richness of the world which he has filled up for their abode; never did human father build and furnish such a magnificent house for his favorite son and heir, as God has fitted up for all his children even here on earth, in the wise and benevolent care with which he has provided for their maintenance and edu-

education. Never did earthly parents make such ample and costly provision for the maintenance and education of their family, as God has made for all, even the most unfortunate of his earthly children.*

And revelation teaches us not only to call him Our Father, but to ask him for our daily bread, to trust him for food who has given us life, for raiment him who has given us the body, for sanctification and salvation him who has already given us the soul and his only begotten Son; to cast all our cares upon him, assured that he knoweth them all and careth for us; to come to him with all our wants, relying on this divine argument, that "if we, being evil, know how to give good things to our children, *much more*, MUCH MORE will our Father in heaven give good things to them that ask him."

We need not fear, that we shall exaggerate this doctrine of the fatherhood of God, our creation in his image and participation in his nature, or his more than parental love and tenderness towards us. It is not a figure of speech. It is not a fiction of the imagination. It is a reality, the great fundamental reality of our being, nature and relations to God. We may misunderstand it. We may draw false inferences from it. But we cannot exaggerate it. The only danger is, that we shall fail adequately to conceive of God's more than parental relation and affection towards us, and to meet it by a more than filial love and trust towards him in return.

There is another sense in which "we all have one father," not perhaps distinctly contemplated in our text, but scriptural and adding emphasis to our argument. The Scriptures have always been understood to teach, (and it is difficult to see how they can be fairly interpreted otherwise than as teaching), that mankind are all the offspring of one *earthly* father, being all descended from one human pair; that, in common with our first parents and in consequence of their first disobedience, we have all fallen from our original holiness and happiness into a state of sin and misery, involving not only temporal but spiritual and eternal death; and that in this sad dilemma, the Son of God, himself God, took upon him our nature, died for our sins, rose again for our justification, and with our nature united in one person to his divine nature, he ever lives and reigns for the benefit of all who

*Plutarch urges these arguments in proof of the immortality of the souls of men. De Sera Numinis Vindicta. Cap. XVII.

believe on him. We have not time to prove or illustrate these propositions; though physical and philosophical science lend no small confirmation to the unity of the race in origin as well as in species, and nature is not wanting in striking suggestions of the fact of human apostacy and the possibility, not to say probability, of a *remedial* system. But admitting the facts as revealed in the Scriptures, they not only lend a new meaning to the question and so new truth and force to the argument, "Have we not all one father," but they exhibit the fatherhood of God to us in a new and most interesting aspect. Apostate, fallen, ruined as we are by sin, God is not willing to give over our race. He still yearns with *more* than a father's love and compassion over his prodigal sons. He will still recover some of them, at least, and make them more than ever his grateful, dutiful, loving children. His own Son, only begotten, dearly beloved, the brightness of his glory, the perfect image of himself, will incarnate himself in human nature, and thus bind that fallen nature most intimately to his own sacred person, thus breathe into that dead nature something of his own divine life. And all the children of men who will believe on him, shall be regenerated, born again of the Spirit of God, and be made the sons of God in a new, peculiar, two-fold sense. United to him by faith they shall be made partakers again, and yet more fully, of the divine nature and with the very spirit of his beloved Son, shall cry unto him, Father, Father; and he in turn will exercise towards them, as one in Christ, something of the same love which he cherishes towards his well beloved Son.

II. The Universal Brotherhood of Man.

Three elements enter also into this idea, corresponding to the three which we have found in the universal fatherhood of God.

1. If we all have one father, even God, then we are all brethren. And if God is our father, not in a merely figurative or subordinate sense, but rather in the highest and most emphatic sense, as he is the original and efficient author of our being and pre-eminently the father of our spirits. Then we are all brethren, not by a mere figure of speech, not in any inferior relation, but our universal brotherhood is, in some aspects, even more sacred and binding, than the special relation which we usually call by that name. We feel bound by a tender tie to those who are sprung from the same earthly ancestry. Should that be esteemed a less

sacred bond which unites all who are the offspring of the same Father in heaven? It is often a touching and endearing thought, that we are, like Cowper, the children of "parents passed into the skies." Shall we not feel drawn towards the poorest and humblest of our race at all times, and especially every morning and evening, when we offer the Lord's prayer, by the consideration, that we and they are all the children of the same Father, and that no other than him whose dwelling has always been in the high and holy places?

2. If we all partake of the nature of our heavenly Father, we all partake of the same nature with one another. Wide as the line of demarcation is which seems to separate the civilized from the savage, the European from the African, it is a mere faint and fading line in comparison with the chasm which divides the lowest order of humanity from the highest class of the brutes. For the former is only a difference, of degree, while the latter is a difference in kind. Nay, the difference between man and his Maker is only a difference in degree, and therefore is not so radical a difference as that between man and the irrational creatures. Reason, conscience, speech and religion constitute an impassable boundary between the lowest man and the highest brute. Reason, conscience and immortality ally all men to their Creator and thus bind them all to each other, as brethren, by the indissoluble bonds of the same rational, moral and immortal nature.

3. As God loves all mankind with true fatherly affection, so we owe to every human being a real and sincere brotherly love. And as our heavenly Father feels a peculiar tenderness towards those of his children who most need his pity (even as the fond parent watches and prays and toils and weeps with peculiar tenderness over the erring and the suffering child), so our hearts should go out in tender compassion towards our fellow men, only so much the more as they are wretched and degraded, down-trodden and oppressed. Enough, that they are the children of our own father, the dearest of fathers and the greatest and the best—though they be degenerate children; this alone should entitle them to a truly fraternal sympathy and interest.

Our view of the universal brotherhood of man is complete only when we look at it on the human side as well as the divine. If we all have the same first parents on earth as well as the same Father in heaven, then we are all brethren

by a double bond of unity. Then we have the same father in the flesh as well as the same Father of Spirits; and will we turn away and "hide ourselves from our own flesh?" We sometimes speak of some men as made of better clay than others. In reality, all men are made of the same dust of the earth. It is a bond of union between us and others to know, that we and they have the same blood flowing in our veins. In reality the same blood flows in the veins of every son and daughter of Adam. We pride ourselves much on blood, and family, and race. In fact we are all of one blood, that of our first parents—all of one family, the family of man—all of one race, the race of mankind. "God hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." This was the humbling and leveling doctrine which Paul preached from the bema of the Areopagus to the Athenians, who were proud above all the Greeks (and all the Greeks gloried in the impassable barrier between themselves and *barbarians*) of their pure *autochthony*.

And the Apostle more than once connects this doctrine with another which is still more humiliating—binds the Athenians to the other Greeks and the Greeks to the barbarians by a bond of brotherhood which is still more offensive to the pride of race or nation. Our common blood, the blood of the whole human race is *tainted by sin*—a fact which humiliating as it is, is recognized by the traditions and the universal consciousness of men as distinctly as it is revealed in the word of God. We are brethren in the apostacy, being apostate children of apostate parents; brethren in sin and shame, in guilt and misery, none of us being without sin and therefore none of us having the right to throw the first stone at any poor sinner of our mortal race; brethren in sorrow and suffering, in trials and temptations and infirmities, and shall we not cover the nakedness of our own kindred?

But blessed be God, there is a glorious counterpart to this humiliating truth. We are brethren in the apostacy. But we are brethren also in the redemption and recovery, that is in Christ Jesus. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ all may be made alive. The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we may, we *shall*, if we are united to him by faith, bear the image of the heavenly." Christ has taken upon himself our fallen human na-

ture, and lifted it up, hallowed it, and put honor upon it, making it but a little lower than the angels, even while he dwelt on earth, and then exalting it to the eternal throne in heaven. Christ has united himself to our "sinful flesh," and sanctified it, ideally and potentially for the race, really and personally in every individual, who, by repentance and faith, voluntarily united himself to him. Christ has infused his own pure and vital blood into our human veins and is gradually purifying and vivifying the heart and life of the race, removing the taint of sin and the poison of death and pouring in his own spiritual and heavenly life. For thus it is written, "The first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening, that is, a life-giving spirit. Renovated by vital union with him and adopted in him as the sons of God, we become brethren in the Lord, because we all have the same elder Brother; brethren in honor and true blessedness, because we have been redeemed by the same Saviour from the same state of sin and wretchedness; brethren in the most vital and joyful sympathy, because we have all been incorporated into the same body, the body of Christ.

Such are the great facts in the history of our human race—truly *wonderful* facts we should deem them, if our sensibilities were not blunted by familiarity; such our nature and relations to God and mankind; such the universal fatherhood of God and such the universal brotherhood of man, as they are revealed to us in the Scriptures, and more or less attested by science and the consciousness of men. Now what is the obvious inference? What are the lessons of duty, indissolubly linked to such facts in our own consciences as well as in the divine argument of the Scriptures? Manifestly lessons of charity, philanthropy and universal love. Manifestly lessons of liberty, equality and fraternity, not indeed as held by schools of infidel philosophers or clubs of radical revolutionists, but of liberty, equality and fraternity as taught in the law of God and the Gospel of Christ. Lessons in the exalted dignity of human nature—much as this language has been perverted and abused, it is a Scriptural and a Christian sentiment, *the exalted dignity of human nature*, not indeed as ruined by the fall, and degraded and defiled by sin, but as originally made in the image of God and as exalted again by the incarnation, exaltation and glorification of the *Son of Man* at the right hand of God. Lessons of sympathy and compassion for the poor, the afflicted the

oppressed and down-trodden, derived at once from the dignity and the degradation of human nature, from a thoughtful consideration of what man is, and also of what he is capable of becoming, is yet destined to become. In a word, a lesson of the sacredness of our common humanity, as seen in the fact that we all have one father, and we are all brethren, a sacredness scarcely less tender and touching when contemplated on the weak human side, than it is solemn and commanding when considered in the loftier and grander aspect of our common relation to our Father in heaven.

Men are prone to magnify the differences of birth and native talent and family and race, the distinctions of rank and caste and wealth and power. And they usually prize more highly that by which they are distinguished from other men, than those things which they enjoy in common. But Christ overlooked all these outward distinctions, looked beyond and beneath them and saw him only in those common elements of humanity in which they are all essentially alike as rational and accountable beings and as sinners whom he came to redeem. And therein he proved himself to be the *Son of God*; for God "looketh not on the outward appearance but on the heart," and looking down from heaven into the heart of man, sees them all alike by nature sinners, and if any are righteous in his sight, it is only because they have been renewed and sanctified by his grace. Therein he showed himself to be the SON OF MAN also, not the son of one man or the representative of one class or nation, but the Son of *Man* and the representative of our common humanity.

Nor is it difficult to show that this is not only the Christian, but the rational and right view, the only broad and deep and true aspect. in which man can be contemplated and seen as he is. The differences are not small between the civilized man and the savage, the prince and the peasant, the master and his slave. But after all how many more are the things in which they are essentially alike than those in which they differ. And of how much higher intrinsic dignity and importance are these things. How much more they pertain to the character. How much more essential they are even to the happiness of the possessors. The same Father in heaven, the same earthly parentage, the same human nature, the same bodily organs, so superior to those of the inferior animals, the same mental and moral faculties which exalt man, as man, so far above the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air. The same consciousness of accounta-

bility to a higher than any human tribunal, and a destiny reaching infinitely beyond the bounds of this earthly existence. The love and care of the same heavenly Father and the same common bounties of his providence—the common light, the common air and the common earth from which no caste, color or class can be wholly excluded. The common fruits of the earth, without which the wealthiest nabob can no more feed and clothe himself than the meanest slave, and the common rain and sunshine, without which the wisdom of the scholar, and the power of the autocrat are alike impotent to raise a blade of grass or a kernel of corn. The same human infirmities, the same limitations of the bodily or mental faculties, the liability to the same diseases of body and mind, exposure to essentially the same dangers, difficulties and trials and the same entire dependence on God for health, strength, success and life itself. The same *moral* weaknesses, temptations to be resisted, evil dispositions to be overcome, and sins to be forgiven, and the same Redeemer from the penalty and the power of sin. And after all real and all possible external differences, essentially the same deep and abiding fountains of pleasure or pain, of joy or sorrow, the same heart-aches, disappointments and dissatisfactions with the world, the same restless longings after something higher and better, when the world has done all it can to make them happy. Thus few and trifling, thus accidental and unessential are the differences; thus numerous and important, thus fundamental and essential the common elements in the extremes of human life, even as they appear to our imperfect vision. We can readily infer, that in the sight of God, as he looks down from heaven and sees things just as they are, these accidental differences will appear as nothing, and all men must stand before him involved in the same essential weaknesses and sins, invested with the same inalienable rights and dignities.

The doctrine of the equal and inalienable rights of man is not a dogma of a leveling and atheistic philosophy, but a law of nature and a law of God. Every *man* has an equal right to *be a man*, to be what God has made him, to use and enjoy what God has given him, to exercise and develop his bodily organs, to educate and exercise his reason, conscience, affections and will, all his mental and moral faculties. And since God has created all men with essentially the same attributes, of physical, mental and moral beings, every man is

bound by the law of his being, to regard and treat every other man as he would regard and treat himself in like circumstances; in other words, to love his neighbor as himself and to do unto others all things whatsoever he would have them do to him. So that the golden rule, though not discovered by the light of nature, is, in fact, a law of nature, a rule of human duty, co-extensive with the platform of human rights and, like that, founded in the nature of man and his relations to his Maker. Before the law and government of God, it is the duty of every man to love every other man as himself, and the right of every man to be thus loved and treated by every other man. And the laws of men approximate to the perfection of the law of God, just in proportion as, overlooking all mere accidental differences, they enforce upon men of all classes and conditions the performance of the same sacred duties, and secure to all the enjoyment of the same inalienable rights.

The man who really knows himself, and properly considers himself, will not be likely to wrong another man. He will hardly be unforgiving, who considers, how much he needs to be forgiven. They will hardly throw stones at others who remember that they themselves live in glass houses. He will hardly look down upon any other man who is conscious of all the depths of degradation, into which he is capable of falling, and has actually fallen in the sight of God. And he who estimates duly the dignity and capacity of his own immortal spirit and the infinite price at which, in common with every other human soul, he has been redeemed, will not dare to rob any human being of that which makes him a man. Enslave a *man*! It is to rob him of his humanity. It is to treat him like a brute, as if he had no reason, conscience or will of his own, no right even to worship God without the consent of his master, no resemblance to the divine nature, and no title to immortality. Buy and sell a *man*! It is to treat him as property. It is to make him a *thing* and no man. It is not only to strip him of property, family and all that he values around him, but to rob him of himself. Well may the poor slave, bound and beaten, look up to his oppressor with imploring look, as in the picture with which we are all familiar, pleading, "Am I not a man and a brother?" And the oppressor's hand would fall powerless at his side at the sight of his fellow man, his neighbor, his brother, thus weeping and pleading before him, if he had not already lost his own humanity. Of all

"man's inhumanity to man," enslaving him is the most inhuman ; it so utterly *dehumanizes* the slave, and so dreadfully *inhumanizes* the master. This is a new lesson which the world will learn from the rebellion and the war which slavery is now waging against the government and the free institutions of our country, or rather it is a new illustration of that old lesson, the blinding, perverting, hardening and utterly depraving power of sin. In its whole history, from its first inception, it has been a war not only against liberty and law, not only against the fundamental principles of religion and morality, but, at length, a war against the instincts of nature and the common sentiments of humanity. Do you call this prejudice, and ask for the proof? Compare the utterances of Southern pulpits, synods and other ecclesiastical bodies half a century ago with the justifications and glorifications of slavery which, for a few years past, have been waxing louder and louder from the same sources till they have filled the ears and stifled the conscience of the South ; and say, if the world ever saw so rapid and so deplorable a degeneracy in theology and religion. Compare the speeches and the votes of Southern statesmen during the first half century of our national existence with the speeches and the votes of the same States, and the very same men during the last quarter of a century—compare, above all the chivalrous honor and stainless integrity of Southern men in the Cabinets of Washington, Jefferson and Monroe with the shameless falsehood, fraud and treason of Southern men in the Cabinet of Buchanan ; and say, if political morality ever experienced so sudden and so sad a blight. Do you doubt the growing unnaturalness and inhumanity of the slaveholders' war? Ask the graves of Northern soldiers at Manassas, rifled of their sacred contents as trophies of savage triumphs. Ask the women of Winchester, and I know not how many other places, unsexed as well as barbarized and inhumanized, shooting down our too-forbearing soldiers from the windows, as they retreated, exhausted through the streets. Ask the hospitals and prisons of Richmond and Petersburg and Salisbury and Charleston, or rather let our returning prisoners recount, how they were deprived of suitable food and pure water, how they were shot at, if they approached the grated windows of their prison and tyrannized over and tortured ; and how the Union men of the South are wasting away in prisons and dungeons, and hung on trees and put to death in a thousand barbarous ways, or drag out an exist-

ence in ignominy and agony, worse than death. Hear Parson Brownlow and Chaplain Eddy and Col. Corcoran tell the story of their own wrongs and the horrid sufferings and persecutions of their fellow-prisoners, and say, if slaveholders themselves have not put the finishing stroke to the overwhelming argument, by which the Senator from Massachusetts demonstrated "*the Barbarism of Slavery.*"

The fundamental wrong, which underlies all the other wrongs of the slaves and their unhappy race, is not recognizing them as human beings, and therefore, not acknowledging that they have any rights which other human beings are bound to recognize. This inhuman doctrine leads inevitably to inhuman treatment, and inhuman treatment leads again legitimately to more inhuman doctrine. And thus the process of corruption and degeneracy has been going on, till, at length, almost the whole country, North as well as South, has been more or less blinded and hardened against the rightful claims of a whole race of human beings whose only crime is their misfortune, whom we have first robbed of the most precious rights and attributes of humanity, and then attempt to justify ourselves by the very degradation and ruin, which we ourselves have brought upon them.

Never was a more inhuman sentiment uttered by human lips than that which proceeded, not from the Supreme Court of the United States—thank God! we were saved that humiliation—but from the Chief Justice of that Court, not only disfranchising but dehumanizing with a stroke of his inhuman pen four millions of human beings born in our own country, and the inhabitants of a whole continent across the Atlantic, and harmlessly publishing it to the world as a fact in American history and an article in the code of American laws, that "black men have no rights, which white men are bound to respect." And that inhuman sentiment is the very corner-stone of the Constitution of the so-called Confederate States of America, as expounded by the Vice-President of the Confederacy; nay, the very Gospel which, as the Southern press with one voice now declare, "Our Confederacy is a God-sent missionary to preach to the nations."*

And (with sorrow and shame be it spoken) the same inhuman sentiment is still cherished in the hearts of too many of the people of these *United States*, is still clung to by too many of our civil and military officers with the tenacity of a

*Richmond Examiner, p. 863.

dying struggle, still influences too much the action of the national and some of the State governments, even in the conduct of the war, which the Republic is waging for its very life with the hosts of slavery. In proof of this, we need not revert to the times of ignorance in the early stages of the war, when the legislative and executive departments of the Government vied with each other in eager promises of non-interference with the institutions of the South, and our Generals invaded the territory of rebellious States with loud proclamations, that they would put down with a strong hand all attempts at insurrection among the slaves. We need not recall the long and shameful months, during which the subordinate officers and soldiers in our armies, blushing for shame and burning with indignation, were compelled to perform the office, dishonorable even at the South, of jailors and catchers of fugitive slaves, and loyal men, faithful servants of their country, after bringing intelligence to our commanders, piloting our boats, guiding our armies, rendering invaluable service to our cause, simply because their skin is of a darker hue than that of their oppressors, were given up into their hands and literally scourged to death in sight of the American flag, and almost in sight of the American Capitol. In this third year of the war, after the President's proclamation of emancipation, marking a new epoch in the war, and a new era in the history of our country, and our age, and after all the marvellous progress which has been made in the education of the public sentiment, while I write, I read with sorrow and shame, of contrabands on the Mississippi, who had assisted our troops in finding and putting on board several boat-loads of cotton, left behind trembling and shrieking to fall into the hands of their infuriated masters; of fugitive slaves in New Orleans driven back by the bayonets of Massachusetts soldiers to be the property of their so-called owners, and the victims of their long and cruel oppressors; and most monstrous folly as well as injustice and cruelty of the colored regiments who covered themselves with glory in the heroic assault on Port Hudson; the colored regiments alone among the heroes of that assault provided with no stretchers or ambulances for their wounded, and, when provision was made under a flag of truce for bringing all the others who had fallen, their dead alone not included in the arrangement!* Are we yet ready and willing, as a nation, to rec-

*See Vicksburg Correspondence of the New York Times, June 13.

ognize colored men, as men and brethren, and treat them like other men, and extend to them their rights as human beings, and use them just as we would other men, without inquiring the color of their skin, in all ways in which they can be employed for the accomplishment of the ends of the war, and *extend to them the same protection* which our flag spreads over other men, whether as laborers or soldiers, who render the same service, and consider their rights and interests as sacred as any other equal number of men, women and children in our population? Do we not still to a great extent, ignore the existence of four millions of human beings, and one-third of the entire population of the Southern States, the majority of the inhabitants, and the only loyal inhabitants of some of the States? Do we not overlook *their* interests; forget *their* rights, leave *them* out of the account in our calculations? Do we not *practically ignore their very* existence, and that too when we stand in extreme need of their assistance, when they might, could, would and should fortify *our* camps and fight in *our* ranks instead of the enemy's, when every month's experience makes it more manifest that their full and hearty co-operation would turn the scales in our favor, while, with their weight thrown into the opposite scale, we never can effectually conquer the rebellion, and when their prayers, cries and tears for deliverance are of more account in the sight of God, of more *weight in his balance*, and therefore, certain to outweigh in the final issue, all the wealth and pride and power of the Southern aristocracy, age, and all the vaunted material and military resources of the North? I know not which is the more amazing the wickedness or the folly and madness of such prejudice. It is the very essence of caste, of a caste worse than heathenish in this Christian land. Jefferson said, he trembled for his country, when he remembered that God is just. I tremble for my country even now, when I remember that God is, in an especial manner, the God of the *stranger* and the *suppliant*, the protector of the poor, and the avenger of the oppressed. Has he not said, "If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will *surely* hear their cry; and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword, and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless?" In view of such solemn declarations is it superstition to believe, at least to fear, that it is this very thing which is sending defeat on our armies, disaster to our cause, and mourning into all our cities and towns, into almost all our

homes and hearts? I fear, that the sin of oppression is not all on one side in this war, that the God of the suppliant and the stranger, the God of the more than widowed and fatherless, the God of those who are robbed not only of their wages but of their wives and children and themselves, has somewhat against the North as well as the South; that public sentiment and even legislation in some of the Northern States is oppressive and inhuman; that the government of the States and the nation is not yet in full harmony with the law and government of God in its conduct towards the millions of helpless and defenceless human beings, who have been recently thrown upon it for protection and look to it as their only human hope; that God could not bring the war to a close in the present state of public sentiment and governmental action on this great question without bestowing a premium on inhumanity; and, if he could and would, that we are neither fit for republican freedom nor capable of it, till we understand better, and better practise the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that solemn "covenant" which our "fathers" entered into before God and mankind, and which we glorify with our lips while yet in practice, as a nation, we cast it behind our backs and trample it under our feet. Was there ever a more inhuman act of law-making or constitution-making than that article which lately received the sanction of a majority of the votes, (I trust not a majority of the voters) of the State of Illinois, forbidding negroes henceforth and forever to enter the boundaries of the State? How much better is such an article in the Constitution of Illinois, than that which they boast as the corner-stone of the Southern Confederacy. There is but one step further in inhumanity, and that is for the citizens of that professedly republican and Christian State to take their stand on the banks of the Ohio, with gun loaded, cocked and primed and as the poor fugitives emerge from the waters of the river in the flight swimming for liberty and life, shoot them down as they do squirrels in their migrations to a Northern clime. What can be more inhuman than the language we so often read in the columns of Northern newspapers, and hear from the lips of Northern men, loyal men, and men who glory in their Republican or Democratic principles, "I care nothing for the negroes, the war is for the benefit of the whites." You do not care for four millions of human beings, your own brothers and sisters, the children of your own Father; you do not care whether they are

treated like men or like cattle, whether they are permitted to live as men, women and children, or slaughtered like wild beasts, hung up like dogs, bought and sold and bound and beaten worse than the very brutes ! Friend, fellow-citizen, take back that inhuman speech ; it was either uttered in thoughtlessness, or you are a monster of inhumanity. Oh, my country, my suffering, bleeding, almost perishing country, turn not a deaf ear to the prayers and tears of oppressed millions, lest they enter into the ears of the God of hosts, and provoke *his* intervention, more powerful than that of all the kingdoms and empires of the Old World, bring down his vengeance, more to be dreaded than all the hosts which treason and rebellion can array against thee ! Oh, my countrymen, scorn not the co-operation of four millions of slaves ! Forget not their rights and interests ! Harden not your hearts against their sighs and groans. Let not their tears and blood cry to heaven against you.

They are your countrymen, loyal almost to a man, the only loyal men in large portions of the South, loving and trusting you in spite of all your indifference to their welfare, willing, waiting, longing to cast in their lot with you, and serve and save the country. They are your brethren, bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh, children of the same earthly parents, offspring of the same Heavenly Father with yourselves, bound to you by all the sacred ties of a common nature and a common experience. When the God of heaven has so wonderfully thrown upon you, upon the whole people of the country, the responsibility of their protection, education and emancipation, when he asks you almost with an audible voice, "Where is thy brother ?" say not in the spirit of the first murderer, "I know not ; Am I my brother's keeper," lest God in reply shall say, "What hast thou done ? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the earth."

They are the brethren of the Lord Jesus Christ, your Redeemer, and your final Judge. And when you stand before him in judgment, he will say unto you, "I was an hungered, I was thirsty, I was a stranger, naked, and sick, and in prison, and inasmuch as ye ministered or failed to minister unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did or did it not to me." Oh suffer not the brethren of your divine Lord and Master, his brethren not a few of them by generation and adoption as well as by creation, and so members of his own sacred and blessed body—suffer them not to be bound and scourged—suffer them not to be dragged away by your

own soldiers from your own camps and your own Capitol to an ignominy and agony, which you would deem worse than death if inflicted on your brothers or on yourselves. They are the children of God, all his children by nature, all created in his image and loved by him, as the infinite and universal Father alone can love his children, all pitied by him, as the God of heaven pities none but the stranger, the suppliant and the oppressed; many of them re-created in his moral and spiritual image and, therefore, loved by him with something of the same divine complacency which he cherishes toward his first-begotten and well-beloved Son, dear to him as the apple of his eye, and the Son of his love. And will you enslave, or be a party to the enslaving of a son of God, you, who would pronounce him a fellow fit only for the gallows, who should kidnap your son? Men of America, Christian men, shall the image of God always be bought and sold in your country? Shall the children of God always be bound and scourged and tortured in America for no crime but a skin, not colored like your own? Shall the American Church never be free from the sin and shame of slavery? Shall the great Republic of the West always be a by-word and a scoffing among the nations, as a slave-holding Republic? Forbid it consistency, charity, justice, mercy! Every attribute of God and every right feeling of man forbid it! A just and merciful God will not permit it. Humane and Christian men will not permit it. The conscience and common sense of a free and Christian people will not long permit it, but will rise in their might, as one man, and, as they draw the sword to extinguish this wicked rebellion, they will annihilate utterly and forever that monstrous evil, that sin against God, and crime against humanity, which has been the root of the rebellion, and the cause of all our calamities.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Last Times and the Great Consummation. An earnest Discussion of momentous Themes. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D. Revised and enlarged edition. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1863. This work was originally published in 1856, and favorably noticed in the *Review*. It is regarded by those who sympathize with the writer's sentiments, as

one of the ablest discussions, connected with the Millenarian investigations of the present day. To this edition several important additions have been made, such as a complete analysis of Scripture references, which bear on the subject, a full exhibit of the literature, ancient and modern, a number of interesting explanatory notes and an Index, which greatly enhance the value of the volume. Although we do not agree with the author in his peculiar views, they are his honest, earnest convictions, and have the sanction of the highest authority. The book has done good in awakening an interest in the subject of religion. We know an intelligent and educated physician, who had been, for many years, a sceptic, whose attention was first arrested to the consideration of Divine truth by the perusal of this work.

Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church. Part I, Abraham to Samuel. By A. P. Stanley, D. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. With Maps and Plans. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. This volume, presented to the eye in so attractive a style, consists of a series of lectures, delivered at Oxford. They do not give the history of the Jewish race, but a history of the Jewish Church, particularly of those parts which bear directly on the religious development of the nation. The author never forgets that the literature of the Hebrew race, from which the materials of these lectures are derived, is the Bible; he, therefore, constantly reminds the reader, that the Christian Church sprang out of the Jewish, and endeavors, whenever opportunity offers, to connect the history of the two, both by way of contrast and illustration. Although we may differ from the author in many of his views, as latitudinarian, his candor cannot fail to commend our respect, whilst the valuable information communicated, and the literary beauties of the work, its remarkable discrimination in the use of language, will render it attractive to all Students.

History of the Reformation in Europe in the time of Calvin. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D. D., Author of the History of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Two volumes. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1863. This history, although a separate work, may be regarded as a continuation of the author's former history of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. It is not merely a Memoir of Calvin, but a history of the times, in which that Reformer lived, and over which he exercised so important an influence. The deep interest felt in that eventful period as well as the great skill and power of D'Aubigné, as a writer, will secure for the work a wide circulation.

The Pentateuch vindicated from the aspersions of Bishop Colenso. By William Henry Green, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. New York: John Wiley. 1863. This is a brief, clear and satisfactory reply to Colenso's extraordinary attack on the Pentateuch, and a triumphant vindication of the historical character of the Sacred Record. The author is a fine Hebrew scholar, and in the task undertaken evinces much learning and critical ability. He easily detects the errors, and in a vein of quiet humor skillfully disposes of the alleged discrepancies and inconsistencies. He takes up the Bishop's charges in the order, in which they are presented, answers his positions in detail, and completely demolishes the work.

The Confessions of Augustine. Edited with an Introduction by G. T. Shedd, D. D. Andover: W. F. Draper. 1860. The deep piety, undoubted sincerity, and remarkable experience of Augustine have thrown a charm around his Confessions, which will give them permanent in-

fluence, and attract the attention even of those who cannot always subscribe to his reasonings or endorse the conclusions which he reaches. This beautiful edition is a revised reprint of the old translation, carefully compared with the original Latin text, to which are added some valuable explanatory notes.

The New Testament, with brief explanatory Notes or Scholia. By Howard Crosby, D. D., Professor of the Greek language and literature in Rutgers College. New York: Charles Scribner: 1863. These notes are not disquisitions on the sacred text, but rather hints and suggestions, intended to remove obscurities, reconcile inconsistencies and to explain grammatical peculiarities and archæological difficulties. Many of the suggestions are new and striking, evidently the result of thorough scholarship, presented briefly and in the most simple manner. The volume will prove an aid to Biblical teachers as well as to private Christians in harmonizing, elucidating and enforcing Scriptural truth.

Bible Illustrations, Being a storehouse of similes, allegories and anecdotes, selected from Spencer's "Things New and Old," and other sources. With an introduction by the Rev. Richard Newton, D. D. and a copious Index. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1863. The title sufficiently indicates the character of the work. It is a collection of varied, apt and suggestive illustrations, a *thesaurus* of moral and religious truth, gathered from classic authors, and Christian writers of all ages and countries, designed to elucidate or improve some important doctrine lesson. The book will be found useful to ministers of the Gospel, to teachers of Bible classes, and to all who have to do with the instruction of the young.

Triumphs of the Bible, with the Testimony of Science to its truth. By Rev. Henry Tullidge, A. M. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863. This is a book on the evidences of Christianity, designed to meet a popular want, and to show that the success of God's word in overcoming obstacles, and accomplishing wonders is an irresistible argument in favor of its divine origin. Its truth and authority are vindicated, its harmony with the discoveries of science and archæological investigations proved, and some of the more prominent and plausible objections of modern scepticism successfully answered.

Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel. By Francis Wayland. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863. There are few men in the country whose opinions are entitled to a more careful and candid consideration than Dr. Wayland. His large experience, extended observation, strong sense, practical character and earnest piety fit him to speak with more than ordinary authority. His thoughts are always valuable, even when they do not secure conviction. In these ten familiar letters he discusses topics of vital importance, such as a call to the ministry, its essential qualifications and duties, the characteristics of sermons and the manner of delivering them, pastoral visitation and ministerial example. The author takes decided ground against the use of the manuscript in the pulpit. The book will be read with profit by all, clergymen and laymen, who are anxious to promote the efficiency of the Christian ministry.

Tales and Sketches. By Hugh Miller. Edited with a Preface. By Mrs. Miller. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863. There is a deep interest, connected with all the writings of the distinguished author, and the volume before us contains his earlier and lighter productions, giving us his views of men and things more clearly, and letting us into his inner life more fully than his other works. We were particularly interested in his recollections, told with so much simplicity and pathos, of the unfortunate poets, Ferguson and Burns.

My Mother's Chair. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1863. This is an interesting little book, by the wife of a highly esteemed Lutheran minister, and is worthy a place in our Sunday School libraries.

The Rebellion Record. Edited by Frank Moore. New York: C. T. Evans. The last number completes the fifth volume of this important serial, of which we have so frequently spoken in the highest terms. It is indeed a storehouse of authentic information on all points connected with the great Southern Rebellion, and will, from year to year, become more and more valuable. No Library can be regarded as complete without this important publication.

Harper's Magazine. The June No. contains several most excellent articles. Two of them are beautifully illustrated. The one on the Quicksilver Mines of New Almaden, furnishing an instructive description of those mines, and the process of working the ore—and the other on the Indian Massacres and War of 1862, giving a thrilling account of those tragical scenes, from which the people of Minnesota suffered so much.

The Atlantic Monthly. The last No. of this valuable monthly contains many able and interesting articles. The contribution by Dr. Lewis on "Weak Lungs and how to make them strong," is worthy of serious attention. Consumption is treated by the author, not as a local disease, but as a disease of the system, manifesting itself in the lungs. If removed from the lungs and yet not eradicated from the system, it will speedily re-appear somewhere else or show itself in some other form.

The American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette, promises to be a more complete and successful publication than any thing of the kind that has hitherto appeared among us. It is surprising what an amount of interesting and valuable information in reference to books, authors and publishers at home and abroad, is here collected. It is a credit to American Literature, and we wish our friend Childs, the enterprising publisher, the most encouraging success in this new field of labor.

Gould and Lincoln have published the *Story of my Career*, being the Life of Heinrich Steffens, as student at Freiberg and Jena, and as Professor at Halle, Breslau and Berlin, with personal reminiscences of Goethe, Schiller, Fichte and others. *J. W. Bradley* has published the first volume of the History of the Civil War in the United States, by Samuel M. Schmucker, LL. D. The second volume was ready for the press at the time of the author's death. *Harper and Brothers* have added two additional volumes, *Sallust* and the *Anabasis of Xenophon*, to their admirable series of Latin and Greek Texts, which to convenience of form unites beauty of appearance and cheapness. A Second Series of sermons is announced by Rev. Dr. Stockton, under the title, *The Book Above All*, or the Holy Bible, the only sensible, infallible and divine authority on earth.

Sunshine in Thought. By Charles Godfrey Leland, Author of "Meister Karl's Sketch-Book," and "Translator of Heine's Pictures of Traul." New York: Charles T. Evans. 1862.

The Problem of American Destiny, solved by Science and History. New York: C. T. Evans. 1863.

The Choice of a Wife: A Lecture to the Graduating Class of Theological Students in the Missionary Institute of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Delivered in Selinsgrove, Pa., June 3, 1863. By B. Kurtz, D. D., LL. D. Baltimore: T. N. Kurtz. 1863.

INDEX TO VOL. XIV.

- Abbott's American History, 311
 Andrew's Life of Christ, 460
 Aphorisms on the Practical Explanation of the Scriptures, 351
 Argument against Oppression, 578
 Atlantic Monthly, 312, 602
 Augustine's Confession, 600
 Battle-Song of the Reformation, 537
 Bayne's Testimony of Christ to Christianity, 153
 Bengel's Gnomon, 150
 Bergstresser, Rev. P., Art. by, 365
 Bethune, Memoirs of Mrs., 458
 Bibliotheca Sacra, 311
 Bittinger, Rev. J. B., Art. by, 215
 Book of Job, 1
 Brownlow on Secession, 155
 Bullion's Latin Dictionary, 310
 Caspari's Frank's Friend, 308
 Chambers' Encyclopædia, 459
 Child's National Almanac, 461
 Christianity and Politics, 243
 Christian Sabbath, 365
 Collegiate Education in the West, 306
 Crosby's Notes on the New Testament, 601
 Crusades, 116
 D'Aubigné's Reformation in Europe, 600
 Diehl, Rev. Dr., Art. by, 33
 Dignity of the Ministerial Office, 284
 Döderlein's Latin Synonyms, 461
 Draper's Psalms in Hebrew, 458
 Eberle, Dr., Translation from, 313
 Efficient Ministry, 269
 Eichelberger, Rev. Dr., Reminiscences of, 293
 Emmons' Memoirs of, 458
 Erskine's Constitutional History of England, 154
 Essick, Rev. A., Art. by, 269
 Exposition of Mark IX: 49, 240
 " of Rom. VI: 3, 4, 144
 Finckel, Rev. Dr., Art. by, 336
 Flacius Illyricus, 481
 Focht, Rev. D. H., Art. by, 212
 Focht's Churches between the Mountains, 459
 Frieze's Virgil, 310
 General Quitman, 259
 General Synod, 97
 Gieseler's Church History, 456
 Great Commandment, 132
 Green's Reply to Colenso, 600
 Greenwald, Rev. Dr., Art. by, 144
 God's Argument against Oppression, 578
 Guericke's Church History, 457
 Hadley's Greek Grammar, 311
 Hanson's Latin Prose Book, 309
 Harless, Dr., Translation from, 243
 Harper's Magazine, 155, 312, 602
 Hart's Bible, as an educating Power, 461
 Hebrew Poetry, 390
 Heroes and Martyrs, 311
 Heydenreich, Rev. L. W. Art. by 382
 Hopkins' Moral Science, 309
 Hout's Conversations on Engineering, 460
 Hull, Rev. W., Art. by, 284
 Illyricus, M. Flacius, 481
 Irving's Life, 307
 Job, Book of, 1
 Junkin's Political Fallacies, 460
 Kniekerbocker, 312
 Kostlin, Dr. Julius, Translation from, 33
 Kurtz's Church History, 150
 Lintner, Rev. Dr., Art. by, 116, 323
 Lord's Supper, 567
 Luther and the Reformation, 336
 Luther's Battle-Song of the Reformation, 537
 Luther's Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, 152

- Luther's Preaching, 313
 Mark IX : 49, Exposition of, 240
 Marsh's Lectures on the English Language, 308
 Martin Luther, 33
 Miller, Rev. Dr. J. B., Art. by, 132
 Miller's Tales and Sketches, 601
 Ministerial Office, 284
 Miraculous Triumphs of the Early Church, 157
 Muhlenberg, Prof. F. A., Art. by, 68
 Müller on the Science of Language, 153
 Murray's Memoirs, 307
 Mussey on Health, 155
 My Mother's Chair, 602
 Mysterious Union of the Divine and Human Natures in the Son of God, 323
 North American Review, 311
 Notices of New Publications, 150, 306, 450, 599
 Oppression, Argument against, 578
 Our General Synod, 97
 Owen's Anabasis, 310
 Paul and James, 382
 Paul's Salutations, 215
 Parton's Life of Jackson, 154
 Politics and Christianity, 243
 Problem of American Destiny, 602
 Public Worship, 60
 Publishers', American, Circular, 602
 Quitman, Life and Correspondence of, 259
 Rationalism and Supranaturalism, 180
 Rebellion Record, 155, 311, 462, 602
 Reformation and Luther, 336
 Reminiscences of deceased Lutheran Ministers, 293
 Resources of the Church, 463
 Reynolds, Rev. Dr., Art. by, 537
 Romans VI : 3, 4, Remarks on, 144
 Sabbath, Christian, 365
 Sallust and the Anabasis of Xenophon, 602
 Salutations of Paul, 215
 Schaeffer, Rev. Dr. C. F., Art. by, 180, 390, 481
 Schaeffer, Rev. Dr. C. W., Art. by 313
 Schlottman, Translation from, 1
 Seiss, Rev. Dr., Art. by, 157
 Seiss's Last Times, 599
 Seiss's Parable of the Ten Virgins, 150
 Self-Culture, 440
 Shield's Manual of Worship, 459
 Smith, Rev. Dr. Few, Art. by, 169
 Spencer's Bible Illustrations, 601
 Spener, Philip Jacob, 68
 Sprague, Rev. Dr., Art. by, 463
 Spurgeon's Sermons, 308
 Stanley's History of the Eastern Church, 152
 Stanley's History of the Jewish Church, 600
 Sternberg, Prof. L., Art. by, 60, 558
 Stevens' History of Methodism, 152
 Stickney's Cicero, 310
 Story of my Career, 602
 St. Paul and St. James, 382
 Sunshine in Thought, 602
 Tholuck, Translation from, 68, 188
 Thomasius, Translation from, 351
 Tullidge's Triumphs of the Bible, 601
 Ulrich, Rev. J., Reminiscences of 298
 Undeveloped Resources of the Church, 403
 Union of Christ and Believers, 212
 Union of the Divine and Human Natures in the Son of God, 323
 Universal Brotherhood of Man, 578
 Universal Fatherhood of God, 578
 Wayland's Letters on the Ministry of the Gospel, 601
 Wedgewood's English Etymology, 154
 Well's Manual of Scientific Discovery, 154
 Wenzel, Rev. G. A., Art. by, 243, 351
 Wescott's Study of the Gospels, 153
 Why did Jesus pray ? 169
 Worship, Public, 60
 Zeller, Translation from, 390



